

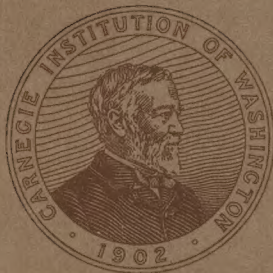
THE SEAL CYLINDERS

OF

WESTERN ASIA

BY

WILLIAM HAYES WARD



WASHINGTON, D. C.

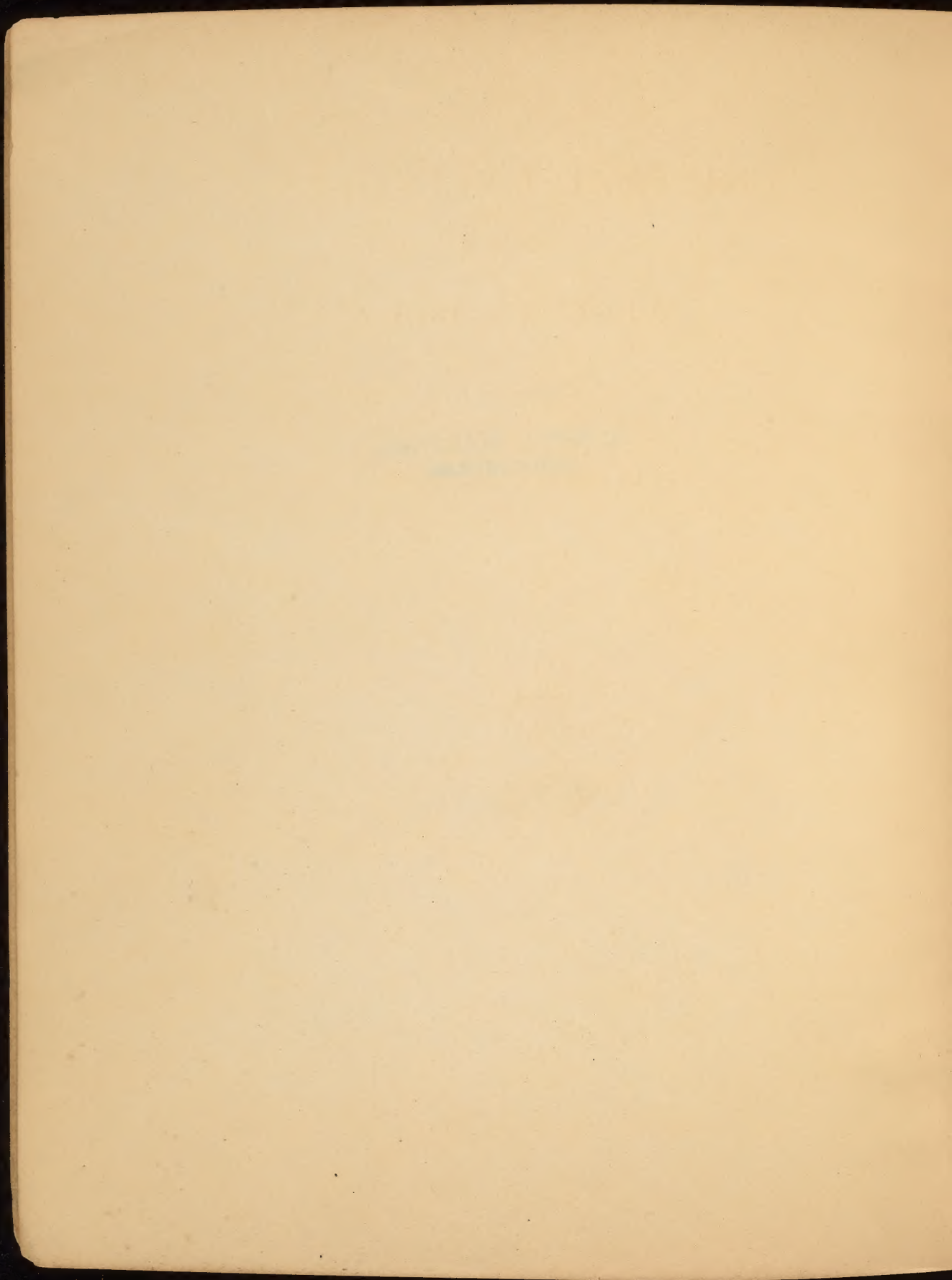
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RUSSELL SULLIVAN,
INDIANAPOLIS.



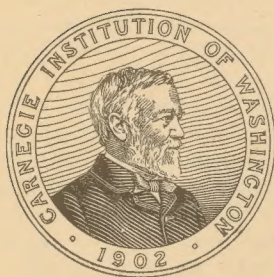
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PREFACE.

For twenty years I have given a good part of the minutes or hours that could be spared from very engrossing daily office-work to the study of Oriental seal cylinders. I first hoped to be able to master the cuneiform texts, and had begun the study as far back as 1862; but the dribblets of time which could be taken for it, often with long periods when nothing could be done, were not sufficient to achieve a task which needed all one's time if merely to keep in memory the forms of so complex a system of writing. Not being myself a professional Orientalist, I therefore sought an easier task and a field which did not seem to be overmuch trodden by scholars, and yet where M. Ménant and M. Heuzey might be my teachers. As it was not possible for me to study in libraries or museums, I was compelled to depend wholly on my own library for books and on my own efforts to collect cylinders, as far as possible, and casts of those in museums or in the possession of private persons. By the favor of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and of the office in which I was employed as editor, I was able to spend a part of two summers in Europe, and I hereby express the warmest thanks to M. Heuzey, of the Louvre, to M. Babelon, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and to Professor Delitzsch and Dr. Messerschmidt, of the Berlin Museum, where I was allowed to make careful notes of all their fine collections of cylinders and to obtain casts of all that I wished. Nothing could have been more generous than their courtesy and their help. I had been allowed a similar opportunity for study some years before at the British Museum, and was able again briefly to reëxamine its fine collection of cylinders, for which favor I owe thanks to Dr. Budge. It is very much to be desired that these entire collections should be published in as admirable a style as that in which M. de Clercq published his fine collection. I am also indebted to numerous owners of smaller collections of cylinders, among whom I may mention the late Lord Southesk, Mrs. Henry Draper, the Marquis de Vogué, and M. Schlumberger. I have also had the advantage of the fine collection which has passed into the possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan since the text of this volume was written and which, since the de Clercq collection has gone to the Louvre, is now by far the largest collection in private hands and is particularly rich in Syro-Hittite cylinders.

Of the public collections in this country the Metropolitan Museum has acquired by far the largest number of cylinders, most of them obtained by purchase from my own collections; but I have been able to make use of its numerous Cypriote cylinders, gathered by the late General di Cesnola and published in his "Atlas" of Cypriote antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum, also that collected by A. P. di Cesnola and published in his "Salaminia."

I have received through the kindness of Professor Lyon the privilege of taking casts of the cylinders in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University; and to the courtesy of Professor Hilprecht I owe the same privilege in connection with the collection of cylinders obtained in the expeditions to Nippur of the University of Pennsylvania. To many others, by whom I have been allowed to receive casts of cylinders in their possession, I give acknowledgment in the text of this volume.

But I owe particular thanks to Prof. Ira M. Price, for his labor in translation of inscriptions on cylinders and reading the proof of the entire work; and to Professor Morris Jastrow, Prof. W. A. V. Jackson, Prof. W. Max Müller, and Dr. Louis H. Gray for valuable suggestions and aid; also to Dr. T. G. Pinches, who has given his scholarly assistance. I have been much helped by the technical knowledge of Mr. George F. Kunz in determining the material of the cylinders; and Mr. Daniel Z. Noorian, by his acquaintance with the customs of the Orient and his skilled aid in detecting forgeries, has given me much valuable aid.

In editing a public or private collection, it would be most desirable to have all cylinders represented by a phototype process, as in the case with the magnificent collection of M. de Clercq edited by M. Ménant, and that of Mr. Morgan edited by myself; but this is not possible in such a work as this, which depends on all sorts of casts, in plaster, hard or soft wax, or gutta-percha, or even on a paper squeeze or the impression on a tablet. The only practicable way was to have the impressions drawn by an artist under my direction; and while this method has its disadvantages, it yet makes more distinct, especially with worn cylinders, the outlines of the figures. I have thus followed the examples of Lajard in his magnificent "*Culte de Mithra*" and of Ménant in his "*Glyptique Orientale*."

My purpose has been, passing by the Egyptian cylinders, as already sufficiently given to the public, to provide as complete a monograph as possible of the cylinder art of Western Asia, from Persia to Palestine and Cyprus, and to classify the cylinders by countries and subjects. I have especially desired to study the forms under which the gods and their emblems were worshiped, so that we may add pictorial representations to the literary material which a host of scholars have gathered. While I have given my best efforts to make this work as nearly complete as possible, yet I know there will be many points brought out which will give further suggestion to learned Assyriologists, who will find from the texts light which has escaped me. I may also venture to hope that the interrupted and fragmentary way in which I have been compelled to pursue this work has not too much prevented that consistent and harmonious discussion of the many interrelated branches of the subject which is so essential. While I have done what I could, much may have escaped me of some importance in the fields of special study which reach from the plains of Elam and the later investigations by M. de Morgan, to the Cretan discoveries of Mr. Evans.

The reader will observe that in a certain number of cases a cylinder has been repeated in a succeeding chapter for comparison with those there considered. This is true especially of Chapter III, where the cylinders which we can date by the names of kings inscribed on them are duplicated in the chapters where their designs place them. Also in Chapter LXVI, on "*Altars and Sacrifices*," it seemed well to gather a number of cylinders previously considered. The author regrets that the numbering of the figures is not quite consistent, but the process of revision has compelled occasional deviation from a regular sequence.

Such as it is, I commit this work to the judgment of scholars. Of this I am satisfied, that the thousands of cylinders that have passed under my eye have included the main Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, and Syro-Hittite types, and to no one will further explanations and better identifications of the gods and their emblems be more welcome than to myself.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
Preface.....	iii
I. Introduction: Origin, Use, and Materials.....	I
II. Bibliography.....	11
III. Classification of Cylinders.....	19
IV. Archaic Cylinders: The Eagle of Lagash.....	30
V. Archaic Cylinders: The Seated Deities.....	36
VI. Archaic Cylinders: A Deity in a Boat.....	40
VII. Archaic Cylinders: Contests with Wild Beasts.....	44
VIII. The Winged Dragon Subdued.....	48
IX. The God Attacking an Enemy.....	53
X. Gilgamesh, Eabani, and the Divine Bull.....	59
XI. Gilgamesh with Streams.....	76
XII. Bau-Gula.....	80
XIII. Shamash, The Rising Sun.....	87
XIV. The Seated Shamash: With Rays or Streams.....	96
XV. The Sun-God and the Bird-Man.....	102
XVI. The Seated God with Approaching Figures.....	108
XVII. Goddess with Winged Gate and Bull.....	123
XVIII. The Serpent Gods.....	127
XIX. Deities of Agriculture.....	132
XX. Deities Gathering Fruit: The "Temptation" Scene.....	138
XXI. Expedition Scene.....	140
XXII. Etana and the Eagle.....	142
XXIII. Allatu under the Bent Tree.....	149
XXIV. The Goddess and Child.....	152
XXV. Ishtar.....	155
XXVI. The Naked Goddess.....	161
XXVII. Marduk with the Scimitar.....	163
XXVIII. God with Foot on Victim.....	167
XXIX. The Dragon Swallowing a Man.....	169
XXX. Adad Leading a Bull.....	171
XXXI. Ramman and Shala.....	176
XXXII. Thick Cylinders with Shrines and Animals.....	179
XXXIII. The Kassite Cylinders.....	184
XXXIV. The Later Babylonian Period.....	193
XXXV. Miscellaneous Babylonian Cylinders.....	196
XXXVI. Assyrian Cylinders: Bel and the Dragon.....	197
XXXVII. Assyrian Cylinders: The Spouting Vase.....	213
XXXVIII. Assyrian Cylinders: The Tree of Life.....	219
XXXIX. Seated Assyrian Deities.....	239
XL. Adad and Ishtar.....	248
XLI. The Physician's Seal.....	255
XLII. Syro-Hittite Cylinders: General Considerations.....	256

XLIII. Cylinders with Hittite Inscriptions	267
XLIV. Syro-Hittite Cylinders: Egyptian Style	270
XLV. Syro-Hittite Cylinders: Babylonian Types	274
XLVI. Syro-Hittite Cylinders: The Lower World	280
XLVII. The Hittite Vested God	284
XLVIII. Teshub	288
XLIX. The Seated Syro-Hittite Goddess	293
L. Syro-Hittite Cylinders: The Goddess with Robe Withdrawn	296
LI. Winged Figures in Syro-Hittite Cylinders	303
LII. The Bull-Altar	307
LIII. Syro-Hittite Deity in a Chariot	311
LIV. Rude Syro-Hittite Cylinders	314
LV. Miscellaneous Syro-Hittite Cylinders	316
LVI. Objects Repeated	323
LVII. Geometrical Designs	325
LVIII. Military Scenes	327
LIX. Hunting Scenes	330
LX. Persian Cylinders: Mythologic and Heraldic	336
LXI. Cylinders with Phenician Inscriptions	341
LXII. Cylinders from Cyprus	344
LXIII. Sabeian Inscriptions	351
LXIV. Greek Influence	355
LXV. Susian Cylinders	357
LXVI. Altars and Sacrifices	360
LXVII. The Recognition of the Deities	368
LXVIII. Figures of Deities	372
LXIX. Emblems of Deities	389
LXX. The Animals and Plants figured on the Cylinders	414
LXXI. Origin of Babylonian Civilization, from Archæology	424

INDEX OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
1, 1 <i>a</i> . Asphalt stopper of a jar, Metropolitan Museum	1
2. Pat of clay impressed with cone seal, belonging to W. H. Ward	1
3. Case tablet impressed with cylinder, belonging to W. H. Ward	1
4. Shell cylinder, concave	2
5. Cylinder, fully cylindrical	2
6. Cylinder with convex ends	2
7. Barrel-shaped cylinder	2
8. Imperfect cylinder or ring, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	2
9. Assyrian cone seal	2
10. Assyrian seal with octagonal section	2
11. Hemispherical Sassanian seal, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	2
12. Ring-shaped Sassanian seal, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	2
13. Same as above	2
14. Same as above	3
15. Tablet impressed with cone seals, University of Pennsylvania Expedition, IX, plate X, fig. 18 . .	3
16, 16 <i>a</i> . Cylinders with handles at end	3
17. Cylinder with enlarged ends	3
18. Elongated archaic cylinder	3
19, 19 <i>a</i> . Cylinders with metal handles	3
20, 21. Ornamented gold border of cylinder, University of Pennsylvania Expedition, XIV, p. 15 . .	4
22. Egyptian seal-maker. Proceedings Society of Biblical Archæology, XXVII, p. 281	9
23, 24, 25. Cylinders showing use of engraving tools	9
26. Cylinder of Sargon I., de Clercq Catalogue, No. 46	20
27. Cylinder of Bin-gani-sharali	20
28. Cylinder of Bil-gur-akhi, British Museum	20
29. Cylinder of a king of Erech, Metropolitan Museum	20
30. Cylinder of Ur-Engur, British Museum	21
31. Cylinder of Dungi, British Museum	22
32. Cylinder of Dungi, de Clercq Catalogue, 86	22
33. Cylinder of Bur-Sin, Berlin Museum, VA2720	22
34. Cylinder of Gimil-Sin, Berlin Museum, VA697	23
35. Cylinder of Gimil-Sin, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, I, p. 132	23
36. Cylinder of Ibi-Sin, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	23
37. Royal cylinder, name erased, de Clercq Catalogue, 210, 113	23
37 <i>a</i> . Cylinder of Kisari, Berlin, VA688	23
38. Cylinder of Gudea, de Clercq Catalogue, 84	24
39. Cylinder of Gudea, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	24
39 <i>a</i> . Cylinder of Urlama, Heuzey, "Sceau de Goudéa," fig. 1	24
39 <i>b</i> . Cylinder of Gudea, Heuzey, "Sceau de Goudéa," fig. 6	24
40. Cylinder of Burnaburiash, Metropolitan Museum	24
40 <i>a</i> . Cylinder of Kurigalzu, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, I, fig. 124	24
41. Cylinder of Sakkanaku, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXIV, 1	24
41 <i>a</i> . Cylinder of Kurigalzu, Dieulafoy, L'Acropole de Suse, No. 340	24
42. Cylinder of Urzana, Museum of The Hague	25
43. Cylinder of Darius, British Museum	25
44. Impression of Sargon cylinder on tablet, Heuzey, Découvertes en Chaldée, p. 281	26
45. Same as above, p. 282	26
46. Same as above, p. 283	26
47. Impression of Sargon cylinder on tablet, copied by Dr. Banks from Bismya	26
48. Same as above	26
49. Impression of Naram-Sin cylinder on tablet, Heuzey, Découvertes en Chaldée, p. 284	27
50. Same as above, p. 285	27

50a. Impression of Naram-Sin cylinder on tablet, Heuzey, Découvertes en Chaldée, p. 286	27
51. Impression of Dungi cylinder on tablet belonging to W. H. Ward	27
51a. Impression of Dungi cylinder on tablet, Heuzey, Découvertes, p. 308	27
51b. Impression of Dungi cylinder on tablet belonging to W. H. Ward	28
52. Same as above	28
52a. Impression of Gimil-Sin cylinder on tablet, Heuzey, Découvertes, p. 309	28
52b. Same as above, p. 310	28
53. Bas-relief, Heuzey, Antiquités Archéol. de Chaldée, p. 88	30
54. Bas-relief, University of Pennsylvania, Babylonian Expedition, I, XVI, 87	30
55. Same as above, 88	30
56. Vase of Entemena, Heuzey, Découvertes, pls. 43, 43 bis	30
57. Cylinder, British Museum	31
58. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2131	31
59. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	31
60. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2130	31
61. Cylinder from a cast	31
62. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, No. 5008	32
62a. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	32
63. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	32
64. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, No. 12	32
65. Same as above, No. 10	32
66. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	33
67. Cylinder, Berlin, VA550	33
68. Cylinder from a cast	33
69. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	33
70. Cylinder, Louvre	33
71. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	34
72. Cylinder, Lord Southesk's Collection, Q123	34
73. Bas-relief, Heuzey, Cat. des Antiquités Chaldéennes, p. 93	34
74. Same as above, p. 83	34
75. Same as above, p. 107	35
76. Same as above, p. 107	35
77. Cylinder from a cast	36
78. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2070	36
79. Cylinder, Berlin, VA617	36
80. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 719	36
81. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	36
82. Same as above	37
83. Same as above	37
84. Same as above	37
85. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 724 bis	37
86. Same as above, 725	37
87. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	37
88. Cylinder, Berlin, VA530	37
89. Cylinder, Ball, Light from the East, p. 151	38
90. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	38
91. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 727	38
92. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	38
93. Cylinder, Louvre, AO1902	38
94. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	38
95. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	38
96. Same as above	39
97. Cylinder, Louvre, AO1166	39
98. Cylinder, La Haye	39
99. Cylinder, Heuzey, Découvertes, pl. 30, 4b	39
100. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2112	39
101. Cylinder, from a paper impression	39
102. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2332	40
103. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 767	40
104. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	40
105. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	41

106. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 7	41
107. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 8	41
108. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2952	41
108a. Cylinder, Fischer and Wiedermann, No. 4	42
109. Cylinder, Jeremias, Das Alte Testament, ed. 2, 436	42
110. Cylinder, The Hague	43
110a. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, pl. L, fig. 8	43
111. Cylinder, British Museum	44
112. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	44
113. Same as above	44
114. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	44
115. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2401	45
116. Cylinder, from a cast	45
117. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	45
118. Cylinder, Berlin, VA636	45
119. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	45
120. Cylinder, British Museum	46
121. Cylinder, Louvre, MNB1187	46
122. Cylinder, from a paper impression	46
123. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, 1113	46
124. Cylinder, British Museum	46
125. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 434	47
126. Cylinder, Lord Southesk's Collection	47
127. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	48
128. Cylinder, Berlin, 242	49
129. Cylinder, British Museum	49
129a. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	49
130. Cylinder, Berlin, VA611	49
131. Cylinder, Louvre, Crown, N8429	50
132. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, 1067	50
133. Cylinder, Heuzey, Mythes Chaldéens, fig. 9	50
134. Cylinder, British Museum	50
135. Same as above	50
135a. Impression on a tablet belonging to W. H. Ward	51
135b. Cylinder, University of Chicago	51
136. Cylinder, Proceedings Society of Biblical Archaeology, Feb., 1892, fig. 7	53
136a. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 181	53
136b. Cylinder Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros, CLI34	53
136c. Cylinder de Clercq Catalogue, 176	54
136d. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 720	54
137. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 178	54
137a. Same as above, 180	54
137b. Same as above, 181 <i>bis</i>	54
137c. Same as above, 179 <i>bis</i>	55
138. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 888 <i>bis</i>	55
138a. Proceedings Society of Biblical Archaeology, Feb., 1892, fig. 6	55
138b. Same as above, fig. 2	55
138c. Same as above, fig. 1	56
138d. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 402	56
139. Same as above, 924	56
139a. Cylinder, Berlin, VA3045	57
139b. Cylinder, Proceedings Society of Biblical Archaeology, Feb., 1892, fig. 5	57
139c. Same as above, fig. 4	57
140. Cylinder, Berlin, 2572	57
140a. Cylinder, Heuzey, Mythes Chaldéens, p. 8	57
140b. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 707	57
140c. Bas-relief, Maspero, Mission Scient. en Perse, II, p. 109	58
141. Cylinder, British Museum	59
141a. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	59
141b. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 41	60
141c. Heuzey, Armoires Chald., p. 14, fig. A	60

141 <i>d</i> . Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 43.....	60
142. Same as above, 45.....	61
143. Cylinder, Lord Southesk's Collection, Q89.....	61
144. Cylinder, The Hague.....	61
145. Cylinder, Berlin, VA637.....	61
146. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library.....	61
147. Cylinder, British Museum.....	62
148. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library.....	62
149. Cylinder belonging to Rev. J. B. Nies.....	62
150. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	62
151. Cylinder, Lajard, pl. XIII, 6.....	62
152. Cylinder belonging to M. Schlumberger.....	62
153. Cylinder, Cullimore, Oriental Cylinders, 170.....	62
154. Cylinder, Louvre.....	63
155. Cylinder, Berlin, VA641.....	63
156. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 46.....	64
157. Same as No. 44.....	64
158. Same as No. 47.....	64
159. Cylinder, British Museum.....	65
160. Cylinder, Berlin, VA638.....	66
161. Cylinder, Sir Henry Peek, No. 3.....	66
162. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2404.....	66
163. Cylinder, British Museum.....	66
164. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 48.....	66
165. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXV, 3.....	66
166. Same as above, 2.....	66
167. Cylinder belonging to W. H. Ward.....	67
168. Cylinder, British Museum.....	67
169. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	67
170. Cylinder, from a paper impression.....	67
171. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, No. 5062.....	68
172. Cylinder, from a paper impression.....	68
173. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 403.....	68
174. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XIII, 4.....	68
175. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	68
176. Cylinder, Dieulafoy, L'Acropole de Suse, fig. 143.....	68
177. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	69
178. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 903.....	69
179. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	69
180. Cylinder, source unrecorded.....	69
181. Cylinder, Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros text, p. 83, fig. 111.....	69
182. Cylinder, British Museum.....	70
183. Same as above.....	70
184. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	70
185. Same as above.....	70
186. Cylinder, Ménant, Glyptique, I, p. 90.....	70
187. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 54.....	70
187 <i>a</i> . Cylinder from a cast.....	71
187 <i>b</i> . Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	71
188. Cylinder, de Sarze, Découvertes, pl. 30, fig. 5.....	72
189. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	72
190. Same as above.....	72
191. Lajard, Culte de Mithra, pl. L, 5.....	72
192. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, 1071.....	73
192 <i>a</i> . Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage.....	73
193. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, pl. LI, 1.....	73
194. Cylinder, from a cast.....	73
195. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library.....	73
196. Same as above.....	74
197. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 45 <i>bis</i>	74
198. Same as above, 66.....	74

199. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, pl. XXXV, 7	74
200. Cylinder, Louvre, KLq35	74
201. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	75
202. Cylinder, Amherst College	75
203. Cylinder, Heuzey, Revue Archéologique, V, p. 130	77
204. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	77
205. Cylinder, British Museum	77
206. Cylinder, from a cast	77
207. Cylinder, Louvre	77
208. Cylinder, Louvre, KLq28	78
209. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	78
210. Cylinder, Vienna Museum, Cullimore, Oriental Cylinders, 117	78
211. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	78
212. Cylinder, Harvard, 1882	79
213. Cylinder belonging to R. C. McMann	79
214. Cylinder, Louvre, AOD21	80
215. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	80
216. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 82	81
217. Cylinder, Marquis of Lorne Collection	81
218. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	81
219. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXVIII, 12	81
220. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, Somerville Collection	81
221. Cylinder, Berlin, VA3037	82
222. Cylinder, de Sarzec, Découvertes, pl. 30, 7b	82
223. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	82
224. Same as above	82
225. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	82
226. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2666	82
227. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 753	83
228. Cylinder, impression from tablet belonging to W. H. Ward	83
229. Same as above	83
230. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	83
231. Cylinder, impression from tablet belonging to W. H. Ward	83
232. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	84
233. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	84
234. Cylinder, impression on tablet belonging to W. H. Ward	84
235. Cylinder belonging to M. Schlumberger	84
236. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania	84
237. Cylinder, Berlin, VA220	84
238. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	84
239. Cylinder, from a cast	84
240. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 343	84
241. Cylinder belonging to W. Harding Smith	85
242. Cylinder, Louvre, AC2400	85
243. Bas-relief, de Sarzec, Découvertes, pl. 25, fig. 5	85
244. Cylinder, British Museum	88
245. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	88
246. Same as above	89
247. Same as above	89
248. Cylinder, Musée Guimet	89
249. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	89
250. Same as above	89
251. Same as above	90
251a. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	90
252. Cylinder, The Hague	90
253. Cylinder, British Museum	90
254. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 702	90
255. Cylinder, British Museum	90
256. Cylinder, The Hague	90
257. Cylinder, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, I, p. 123	90
258. Cylinder, British Museum	91

259. Cylinder, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, p. 121	91
260. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	91
261. Cylinder, de Morgan, Mission Scientifique, p. 256, fig. 7	91
262. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	91
263. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	91
264. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, pl. XXXVIII, 2	91
265. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	92
266. Cylinder, Berlin, VA3145	92
267. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, 1082	92
268. Cylinder, W. Harding Smith	92
269. Pyx belonging to Metropolitan Museum	92
270. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	96
270a. Same as above	96
271. Same as above	97
272. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 721	97
273. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	97
274. Same as above	97
275. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2373	97
276. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	97
277. Cylinder, British Museum	98
278. Same as above	98
279. Same as above	98
280. Cylinder, Sir Henry Peek Collection, 12	98
281. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	98
282. Cylinder, De Sarzec, Découvertes, XXX bis, 14	98
283. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	99
284. Same as above	99
285. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2730	99
286. Cylinder, Heuzey, Origines Orientales, p. 163	99
287. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Collection	99
288. Cylinder, de Sarzec, Découvertes, XXX bis, 15	99
289. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 83 bis	100
290. Cylinder, Louvre, MNB1169	100
291. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	102
292. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	103
293. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	103
294. Cylinder, Berlin, VA244	104
295. Cylinder, Berlin, VA541	104
296. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 722	105
297. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	105
298. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	105
299. Cylinder, Cullimore, Oriental Cylinders, 147	105
300. Cylinder, British Museum	105
300a. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	105
300b. Same as above	106
301. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, L, 2	108
302. Cylinder, Berlin, VA668	109
303. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 121	109
303a. Cylinder, British Museum. (See 52a)	109
304. Cylinder, Berlin, VA697	110
305. Cylinder, The Hague	111
306. Cylinder, British Museum	111
307. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 732	111
308. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	112
309. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2374	112
310. Bas-relief of Abu Habba	112
311. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	112
312. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 129	113
313. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	113
314. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 113	113
315. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2720	113

316. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	114
317. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	114
318. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LIV, A, 4.	114
319. Cylinder belonging to Rev. Benjamin Labaree.	114
320. Cylinder, British Museum	114
321. Cylinder belonging to Lord Southesk	114
322. Statuette of human-headed bull, Heuzey, Cat. des Ant. Chald., p. 269.	115
323. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 368.	116
324. Cylinder, Harvard Museum, 1204.	116
325. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 341.	116
326. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	116
327. Same as above.	116
328. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 108.	116
329. Cylinder, reference lost.	116
330. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	117
331. Same as above.	117
332. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage.	117
333. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	117
334. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	117
335. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 107.	117
336. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 336.	117
337. Cylinder belonging to Mrs. J. William Clark	117
338. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	118
339. Cylinder, British Museum	118
340. Cylinder, from a cast	118
341. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 143.	118
342. Cylinder, Louvre, AOD30	118
343. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 149.	118
344. Same as above, 106.	119
345. Same as above, 162.	119
346. Same as above, 117.	119
347. Cylinder, The Hague	119
348. Bas-relief, Heuzey, Cat. Ant. Chald., p. 139.	121
349. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LIV, 1.	123
350. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 706.	123
351. Cylinder, University of Chicago.	123
352. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	124
353. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XVIII, 2.	124
354. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	124
355. Cylinder, Louvre	124
356. Cylinder, de Sarzec, Découvertes, pl. 30, fig. 6.	125
357. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	125
358. Same as above	125
359. Same as above	125
360. Cylinder, Louvre, AO1901.	126
361. Cylinder, belonging to Rev. Dr. Zimmerman	126
362. Cylinder, British Museum	127
363. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	127
364. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	127
365. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 718.	127
366. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	128
367. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2931.	128
368. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 141.	128
368a. Cylinder, Heuzey, Sceau de Goudéa, fig. I.	128
368b. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	129
368c. Vase, Heuzey, Sceau de Goudéa, fig. K.	129
368d. Bas-relief, E. Meyer, Sumerier und Semiten, pl. VII.	129
368e. Persian tile belonging to W. H. Ward	129
368f. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	129
369. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2330.	132
370. Cylinder, from a paper impression	132

371. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 931	132
372. Cylinder, from a cast	132
373. Cylinder, Berlin, VA612	133
374. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	133
375. Cylinder, Amherst College	133
376. Metropolitan Museum	133
377. Cylinder, Berlin VA243	134
378. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 333	134
379. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	134
380. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 946	135
381. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 140	135
382. Cylinder, Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch., Feb., 1892, fig. 7	135
383. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 720 <i>bis</i>	135
384. American Daily Consular Reports, No. 1763	136
385. Same as above	136
386. Cylinder, De Sarzec, Découvertes, p. 287	136
387. Cylinder, Ball, Light from the East, p. 15	136
388. Cylinder, British Museum	138
389. Cylinder, The Hague	139
390. Cylinder, British Museum	140
391. Cylinder, De Sarzec, Découvertes, pl. 30 <i>bis</i> , fig. 13	144
392. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	144
393. Cylinder, Sir Henry Peek, No. 18	144
394. Cylinder, British Museum	144
395. Cylinder, Lord Southesk	145
396. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XLI, 5	145
397. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2403	147
398. Cylinder, Louvre	147
399. Same as above	149
400. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	150
401. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 789 <i>bis</i>	152
402. Cylinder, British Museum	152
403. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 83	152
404. Cylinder, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, I, p. 166	152
405. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	153
406. Statuette, Heuzey, Origines Orientales, p. 5	154
407. Cylinder, Rich, Second Memoir, fig. 10	155
408. Cylinder, British Museum	155
409. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	155
410. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2371	155
411. Cylinder, Louvre, MNB1169	156
412. Cylinder, King, Religion of Babylonia, p. 182	156
413. Bas-relief, de Morgan, Mission Scientifique en Perse, IV, p. 161	157
414. Cylinder, British Museum	158
415. Cylinder, Lord Southesk	158
416. Cylinder, British Museum	158
417. Same as above	158
418. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	159
418a. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	159
419. Bas-relief, de Sarzec, Découvertes, p. 209	159
420. Bronze Statuette, Heuzey, Origines, pl. IX	159
421. Cylinder, Heuzey, Origines, p. 41	160
422. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 219	161
423. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	161
424. Same as above	161
425. Same as above	161
426. Same as above	161
427. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	161
428. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	161
429. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	162
430. Same as above	162

431. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 233.....	162
432. Same as above, 235 <i>bis</i>	162
433. Figure of Zirbanit, de Morgan, Délégation en Perse, VIII, p. 89	162
434. Perseus, Reinach, Vases Peints, I, p. 289	163
435. Statue of Marduk, Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, II, pl. 52	163
436. Cylinder, British Museum	164
437. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	165
438. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	165
439. Cylinder, from a cast	165
440. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	165
441. Cylinder, British Museum	165
442. Cylinder, Lajard, XXXVII, 7	165
443. Cylinder, British Museum	166
444. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 157	166
445. Cylinder, Lajard, LIV, A5	166
446. Cylinder, British Museum	167
447. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, 5012	167
448. Cylinder, British Museum	167
449. Same as above	167
450. Cylinder, Lajard, LIV, B5	167
451. Cylinder, British Museum	167
452. Same as above	168
453. Same as above	169
453a. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	169
453b. Same as above	169
453c. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	169
454. Same as above	169
454a. Same as above	169
454b. Same as above	169
454c. Same as above	169
455. Cylinder, British Museum	171
456. Same as above	171
457. Cylinder, from a paper impression	171
458. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	172
459. Cylinder, Lajard, XXX, 1	172
460. Cylinder, from a cast	172
461. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 709	172
462. Same as above, 712	172
463. Cylinder, Cullimore, Oriental Cylinders, 119	172
464. Same as above, 132	172
465. Cylinder, British Museum	173
466. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	173
467. Cylinder, from a cast	174
468. Same as above	174
469. Same as above	174
470. Cylinder, Fischer and Wiedermann, 8	174
470a. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	174
471. Jupiter Dolichenus, Roscher Lexicon, I, col. 1194	175
472. Cylinder, British Museum	176
473. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, 1118	176
474. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 204	177
475. Cylinder, Nicolsky, La Découverte des Cylindres, p. 5	177
476. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 225	177
477. Cylinder, British Museum	177
478. Cylinder, Cullimore, Oriental Cylinders, 132	177
479. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	178
480. Cylinder, British Museum	178
481. Same as above	178
482. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	178
483. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 202	178
484. Same as above, 2	180

485. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	180
486. Cylinder, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, I, p. 51	180
487. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	180
488. Same as above	180
489. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	180
490. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	180
491. Cylinder, de Sarzec, Découvertes, XXX, 1	181
492. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	181
493. Cylinder, Musée Guimet, 3144	181
494. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	181
495. Cylinder, from a cast	181
496. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	182
497. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	182
498. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	182
499. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	182
500. Cylinder, Dieulafoy, L'Acropole de Suse, p. 439, fig. 337	182
501. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	182
502. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	183
502a. Same as above	183
503. Same as above	183
504. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	183
505. Cylinder, Harvard Museum	183
506. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	183
507. Cylinder, Berlin, VA 554	183
508. Same as above, VA 634	183
509. Shrine from Latium, Chantre, Cappadoce, p. 90, fig. 82	183
510. Same as above, p. 90, fig. 83	183
511. [There is no 511.]	
512. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	184
513. Cylinder, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, I, p. 193, fig. 124	184
514. Same as above, fig. 123	184
515. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 257	185
516. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	185
517. Cylinder, Princeton Museum	185
518. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	186
519. [There is no 519.]	
520. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 262	186
521. Cylinder, Cullimore, Oriental Cylinders, 63	186
522. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	186
523. Same as above	187
524. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 264	187
525. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 448	187
526. Cylinder, British Museum	187
527. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 261	187
528. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	187
529. Cylinder, British Museum	188
530. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 776	188
531. Cylinder, Chicago Field Museum	188
532. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	189
533. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LVIII, 8	189
534. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 266	189
535. Cylinder, British Museum	189
536. Cylinder, Mrs. Hamilton Rowe	190
537. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 254	190
537a. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	190
538. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	191
539. Cylinder, Dieulafoy, L'Acropole de Suse, fig. 340	191
540. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 253	191
541. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 454	191
542. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 258	191
543. Same as above, 392	192

544. Impression of cylinder on tablet, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, II, p. 132.....	193
545. Same as above, p. 134.....	193
546. Same as above, p. 136.....	193
547. Same as above, p. 126.....	193
548. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 957 <i>ter</i> , Ménant, Pierres Gravées, II, p. 137.....	193
549. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 957 <i>ter</i> , Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXIX, 4.....	194
550. Same as above, XXXIX, 6.....	194
550a. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage.....	194
551. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LII, 4.....	194
552. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	194
553. Cylinder, British Museum.....	194
554. Same as above.....	194
555. Cylinder, from a cast.....	195
556. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	195
557. Same as above.....	195
558. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 373.....	195
559. Cylinder, British Museum.....	196
560. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale.....	196
561. Cylinder, de Sarzec, Découvertes, pl. 30 <i>bis</i> , 21.....	196
562. Cylinder, Harvard Museum, 1195.....	196
563. Impression of cylinder on tablet belonging to W. H. Ward.....	197
564. Bas-relief, Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, II, pl. 5.....	197
565. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	197
566. Same as above.....	199
567. Cylinder, S. Williams, Am. Journ. of Archaeology, II, pl. V, fig. 8.....	199
568. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 932.....	199
569. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 331.....	199
570. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXV, 5.....	199
571. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	200
572. Same as above.....	200
573. Cylinder, Sir Henry Peek, 5.....	200
574. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	200
575. Cylinder belonging to W. Harding Smith.....	201
576. Cylinder, Louvre, KLq31.....	201
577. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 332.....	201
578. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library.....	201
579. Cylinder, King, Babylonian Religion, p. 102.....	201
580. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	201
581. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 356.....	202
582. Cylinder, British Museum.....	202
583. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LVIII, 1.....	202
584. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 411.....	202
585. Cylinder, from a cast.....	202
586. Cylinder, Rev. Henry Fairbanks.....	203
587. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	203
588. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 911.....	203
589. Cylinder, The Hague.....	203
590. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	203
591. Same as above.....	204
592. Cylinder, from a cast.....	204
593. Cylinder, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, II, fig. 94.....	204
594. Cylinder, A. S. Hardy.....	204
595. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2936.....	204
596. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	204
597. Cylinder, British Museum.....	205
598. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 911 <i>ter</i>	205
599. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 348.....	205
600. Same as above, 366.....	205
601. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 32.....	205
602. Cylinder, The Hague.....	205
603. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 334.....	206

604. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 337	206
605. Same as above, 336	206
606. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	206
607. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 401	206
608. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 352	206
609. Cylinder, from a cast	206
610. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	206
611. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXII, 5	207
612. Same as above, LII, 1	207
613. Same as above, LII, 3	207
614. Cylinder, from a cast	207
615. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	207
616. Cylinder, British Museum	207
617. Same as above	207
618. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XIII, 2	208
619. Same as above, XIII, 1	208
620. Same as above, XVII, 6	208
621. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	208
622. Cylinder, from a paper impression	208
623. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	208
624. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	208
625. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 335	209
626. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	209
627. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	209
628. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	209
629. Cylinder, Louvre, MNB1179	209
630. Same as above, 1909	209
631. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	210
632. Same as above	210
633. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2667	210
634. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	210
635. Same as above	210
636. Same as above	210
637. Same as above	211
638. Same as above	211
639. Horus piercing Apep, Lenormant, <i>Histoire Ancienne</i> III, 192	211
640. Pierret, <i>Le Pantheon Egyptien</i> , p. 72	211
641. Sassanian seal, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	211
642. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	211
643. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2145	212
644. Cylinder, British Museum	212
645. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	212
646. Cylinder, British Museum	212
647. St. George and the Dragon	212
648. Cylinder, British Museum	214
649. Cylinder, Heuzey, Sceau de Goudéa, fig. C	214
650. Same as above, fig. I	215
651. Bas-relief, Heuzey, Sceau de Goudéa, fig. J	215
652. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	216
653. Bas-relief, Heuzey, <i>Origines Orientales</i> , p. 154	216
654. Cylinder, British Museum	216
655. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXI, 4	217
656. Cylinder, Harvard Museum, Rich, <i>Second Memoir</i> , fig. 14	217
657. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LI, 4	217
658. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	217
659. Assyrian cone seal, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LXII, 2	217
660. Same as above, 1	217
661. Assyrian cone seal, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	217
661a. Same as above	217
662a. Statue, Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, III, pl. XXXI <i>bis</i>	218
662b. Same as above	218

663. Impression on tablet belonging to W. H. Ward	219
664. Stele of Marduk-nadin-akhi, Rawlinson, W.A.I., III, 45, I	220
665. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	220
666. Same as above	220
667. Same as above	220
668. Cylinder, Layard, Monuments, II, pl. 69, fig. 45	220
669. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	220
670. Bas-relief, Layard, Monuments, I, pl. 6	221
671. Same as above, pl. 7A	221
672. Same as above, pl. 6	222
673. Same as above, pl. 25	222
674. Same as above, pl. 5	223
675. Same as above, pl. 34	223
676. Cylinder, Lord Southesk	224
677. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	224
678. Same as above, XVII, 5	224
679. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XLIX, 9	224
680. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	225
681. Cylinder, Fischer and Wiedermann, 2	225
682. Cylinder, British Museum	225
683. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	225
684. Cylinder, Levy, Phœnische Studien, fig. 97	225
685. Cylinder, from a cast	225
686. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	226
687. Same as above	226
688. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 343	226
689. Cylinder, Louvre, AO1755	227
690. Cylinder, Harvard Museum, 1356	227
691. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	227
692. Cylinder, Louvre, AO1894	227
693. Cylinder, British Museum	227
694. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	227
695. Cylinder, British Museum	227
696. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, 5042	228
697. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 443	228
698. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	228
699. Cylinder, belonging to Rev. Henry Fairbanks	228
700. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 13	229
701. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXI, 2	229
702. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 342 <i>bis</i>	229
703. Cylinder, British Museum	229
704. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 326	229
705. Same as above, 327	229
706. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	230
707. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	230
708. Phœnician Bowl, Clermont-Ganneau, L'Imagerie Phœnicienne, pl. VI	231
709. Bas-relief from a photograph, D'Alviella, Migration of Symbols, p. 146	231
710. Cylinder, W. G. Beatty	237
711. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	237
712. Same as above	237
713. Cylinder, Ménant, Pierres Gravées, II, p. 115	238
714. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	238
715. Cylinder, Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, III, pl. 76, G.	238
716. Cylinder, British Museum	239
717. [There is no 717.]	
718. Cylinder, Lord Lorne	239
719. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	240
720. Cylinder, Louvre	240
721. Cylinder, British Museum	240
722. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LIV, A, 9	241
723. Cylinder, British Museum	241

724. Cylinder, British Museum	241
725. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 744	241
726. Cylinder, British Museum	241
727. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	242
728. Same as above	242
729. Same as above	242
730. Cylinder from a cast	242
731. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	243
732. Cylinder, British Museum	243
733. Same as above	243
734. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	243
735. Cylinder, Louvre, crown N8379	243
736. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	243
737. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 344 <i>bis</i>	245
738. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 771	245
739. Cylinder, Louvre, AOD79	245
740. Cylinder, Louvre, crown N8375	245
741. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	245
742. Same as above	245
743. Cylinder, Fischer and Wiedermann, 3	245
744. Cylinder, from a cast	245
745. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	245
746. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	245
747. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2923	245
747 <i>a</i> . Cone, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	245
748. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XVII, 4	246
749. Bas-relief, Humann und Puchstein, Ausgrabungen, p. 23	246
750. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	247
751. Cylinder, British Museum	248
752. Cylinder, Berlin, VA508	248
753. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 308	249
754. Same as above, 326 <i>bis</i>	249
755. Cylinder, Louvre, AO1514	249
756. Cylinder, M. Schlumberger	249
757. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 705	249
758. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2706	249
759. Cylinder, Louvre	250
760. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	250
761. Cylinder, British Museum	250
762. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 358	250
763. Same as above, 344	250
764. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 703	251
765. Cylinder, British Museum	251
766. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXIX, 6	251
767. Same as above, XXXV, 6	252
768. Cylinder, British Museum	252
769. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XVI, 1	252
770. Same as above, XXXVII, 2	252
771. Same as above, XXXV, 9	252
772. Cylinder, Louvre, de Sarzec, Découvertes, pl. 30 <i>bis</i> , figs. <i>a</i> and <i>b</i>	255
773. Lenormant, Histoire Ancienne, IV, p. 196	258
774. Same as above	258
775. Pierret, La Pantheon Egyptian, p. 46	258
776. Bas-relief, Perrot and Chipiez, History of Art in Sardinia, etc., II, pl. VIII	260
777. Same as above, fig. 321	260
778. Same as above, fig. 314	260
779. Same as above, fig. 354	262
780. Same as above, fig. 320	262
781. Same as above, fig. 337	262
782. Bas-relief, von Luschan, Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli, p. 23	262
783. Same as above, pl. XXXVIII	263

784. Bas-relief, von Luschan, Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, pl. XXXVIII	263
785. Same as above	263
786. Same as above	263
787. Same as above	263
788. Same as above, pl. XLIV	264
789. Bas-relief, Am. Journal of Archaeology, IV, pl. 4	264
790. Bas-relief, Jerabis, photograph by W. H. Ward	264
791. Bas-relief, Koldewey, Die Hettitische Inschrift, p. 3	264
792. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	266
793. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	267
794. Same as above	267
795. Same as above	267
796. Same as above	267
797. Cylinder, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	268
798. Cylinder, Mrs. Henry Draper	268
799. From a vase, Perrot and Chipiez, Grèce Primitive, fig. 487	268
800. Silver boss of Tarkondemos, Wright, Empire of the Hittites, p. 165	269
801. Disk, Bibliothèque Nationale	269
802. Disk belonging to W. H. Ward	269
803. Seal belonging to W. H. Ward	269
804a, b, c, d, and e. Seals belonging to W. H. Ward	269
805. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 386 <i>bis</i>	271
806. Same as above, 386 <i>ter</i>	271
807. Same as above, 386	271
808. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 459	271
809. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	271
810. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	271
811. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	271
812. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	271
813. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LVI, 1	271
814. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	272
815. Cylinder belonging to Lord Percy	272
816. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LVIII, 6	272
817. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 289	272
818. Same as above, 292	272
819. Same as above, 387	272
820. Same as above, 388	272
821. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	272
822. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 389	272
823. Cylinder, British Museum	274
824. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	274
825. Cylinder, British Museum	274
826. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	274
827. Same as above	274
828. Same as above	274
829. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 715 <i>bis</i>	275
830. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	275
831. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 898	275
832. Cylinder, from a cast	275
833. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 873	276
834. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	276
835. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2928	276
836. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	276
837. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 342	277
838. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	277
839. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 460	277
840. Cylinder, Louvre	278
841. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	278
842. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LVI, 8	278
843. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 717	278
844. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	278

845. Cylinder, British Museum	278
846. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	279
847. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	279
848. Same as above	279
849. Cylinder, British Museum	279
850. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	279
851. Cylinder, British Museum	279
852. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 392	279
853. Cylinder, Mrs. Henry Draper	279
854. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 770	280
855. <i>a</i> , and <i>b</i> . Cylinders, Louvre	281
856. Bronze plaque, Clermont-Ganneau, <i>Revue Arch.</i> , XXXVIII, pl. XXV	282
857. Cylinder, Boston Museum	283
858. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXVI, 13	283
859. Cylinder belonging to T. E. H. Curtis	283
860. Same as above	283
861. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 716	284
862. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	284
863. Cylinder, British Museum	284
864. Same as above	284
865. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 789	284
866. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	284
867. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	285
868. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania	286
869. Cylinder, British Museum	286
870. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	286
871. Cylinder belonging to Edward A. Bowen	286
872. Cylinder, Princeton University	286
873. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXV, 4	287
874. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 715	287
875. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 395	287
876. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXVI, 11	287
877. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	287
878. Cylinder, Berlin, VA518	288
879. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	288
880. Cylinder, Louvre	289
881. Same as above	289
882. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	289
883. Cylinder, from a cast	289
884. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	289
885. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXVII, 1	289
886. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	290
887. Cylinder belonging to T. E. H. Curtis	290
888. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	290
889. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	290
890. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXVI, 8	290
891. Same as above, LXII, 4	290
892. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2291	291
893. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 715	291
894. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	291
895. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, de la Chapelle, 15	291
896. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	291
897. Cylinder, British Museum	291
898. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXVI, 10	293
899. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	293
900. Cylinder belonging to Miss Isabel F. Dodd	294
901. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	294
902. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XV, 1	294
903. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	294
904. Same as above	295
905. Same as above	295

906. Cylinder, from a cast	295
907. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	295
908. Same as above	295
909. Same as above	295
910. Same as above	295
911. Budge, <i>Gods of the Egyptians</i> , II, p. 277	295
912. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	296
913. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	296
914. Same as above	296
915. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	297
916. Same as above	297
917. Same as above	297
918. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	297
919. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	297
920. Same as above	297
921. Cylinder, Lajard, <i>Culte de Mithra</i> , XXXII, 9	297
922. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 393	297
923. Same as above, 376	298
924. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	298
925. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	298
926. Same as above	299
927. Cylinder, Lord Percy	299
928. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2932	299
929. Cylinder, British Museum	299
930. Same as above	299
931. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	300
932. Cylinder, British Museum	300
933. Same as above	300
934. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	300
935. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 297	300
936. Cylinder, British Museum	300
937. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 387	301
938. Cylinder, British Museum	301
939. Cylinder, Lajard, <i>Culte de Mithra</i> , LIV, 8	301
939a. Cylinder belonging to W. H. Ward	301
940. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	301
941. Same as above	301
942. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 396	302
943. Same as above, 398	302
944. Cylinder, from a cast	302
945. Cylinder, British Museum	303
946. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 908, A	304
947. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	304
948. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	304
949. Cylinder, Lajard, <i>Culte de Mithra</i> , LII, 6	304
950. Same as above, LVII, 5	304
951. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 407	304
952. Cylinder, Berlin, 13196	304
953. Cylinder belonging to M. Schlumberger	304
954. Cylinder, British Museum	304
955. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	304
956. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 357	305
956a. Cylinder belonging to Mrs. Henry Draper	305
957. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	305
958. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	305
959. Same as above	305
960. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	305
961. Cylinder, from a cast	306
961a. Cylinder, Vienna Museum	306
962. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	306
963. Cylinder, Lajard, <i>Culte de Mithra</i> , XVII, 8	306

964. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	306
965. Same as above	307
966. Cylinder, Louvre, AO1522	307
967. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	307
968. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	308
969. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	309
970. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	309
971. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	309
972. Same as above	309
973. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	309
974. Same as above	309
975. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	310
976. Cylinder, British Museum.....	310
977. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	310
978. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 284	311
979. Cylinder, British Museum	312
980. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	312
981. Cylinder, M. Schlumberger	312
982. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 457	312
983. Budge, Gods of the Egyptians, II, p. 279	312
984. Cylinder, Louvre	314
985. Cylinder, from a cast	314
986. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	314
987. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	315
988. Same as above	315
989. Same as above	315
990. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	315
991. Same as above	315
992. Same as above	315
993. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	315
994. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania	315
995. Same as above	315
996. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	315
997. Cylinder, British Museum	316
998. Cylinder belonging to Lord Percy	316
999. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	316
1000. Cylinder belonging to Mrs. Henry Draper	316
1001. Cylinder, Louvre	316
1002. Cylinder, British Museum.....	317
1003. Same as above	317
1004. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2921	318
1005. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XLIX, 5	318
1006. Same as above, XXVIII, 2	318
1007. Cylinder belonging to Mrs. Henry Draper	318
1008. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	318
1009. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 789	318
1010. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	319
1011. Cylinder, Louvre	319
1012. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	319
1013. Cylinder, British Museum	319
1014. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	319
1015. Same as above	319
1015a. Cylinder, from a cast	319
1016. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XLIX, 4	319
1017. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	319
1018. Cylinder, from a cast	320
1019. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, L, 3	320
1020. Same as above, XLIX, 5	320
1021. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum.....	321
1022. Cylinder belonging to W. Harding Smith	321
1023. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	321

1024. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXII, 7	321
1025. Cylinder, Louvre, AO1864	321
1026. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	321
1027. Same as above	321
1027 <i>a</i> . Cylinder belonging to Mrs. Henry Draper	321
1027 <i>b</i> . Same as above	321
1027 <i>c</i> . Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	321
1028. Cylinder, British Museum	323
1029. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	323
1030. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	323
1031. Cylinder, British Museum	323
1032. Same as above	323
1033. Cylinder, from a paper impression	323
1034. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 296	324
1035. Cylinder, University of Pennsylvania, 1828	324
1036. Cylinder belonging to Mrs. Henry Draper	324
1037. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	325
1038. Same as above	325
1039. Same as above	325
1040. Same as above	325
1041. Same as above	325
1042. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	325
1043. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	325
1044. Cylinder, British Museum	325
1045. Cylinder, Louvre	326
1046. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	326
1047. Cylinder, Louvre, AOD 24	326
1048. Cylinder from a cast	327
1049. Cylinder, Méant, Pierres Gravées, II, pl. IX, fig. 1	327
1050. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 952	327
1051. Same as above, 952 <i>ter</i>	327
1052. Cylinder from a cast	328
1053. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	328
1054. Cylinder belonging to Mrs. Henry Draper	328
1055. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	328
1056. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 950	328
1057. Same as above, 458	328
1058. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	328
1059. Cylinder, Louvre	328
1060. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 310	328
1061. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 405	328
1062. Cylinder, Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, III, pl. 76, O	329
1063. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	330
1064. Same as above	330
1065. Cylinder, British Museum	330
1066. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	330
1067. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 364	330
1068. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XIX, 1	331
1069. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	331
1070. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 211	331
1071. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	331
1072. Cylinder, from a cast	331
1073. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2283	331
1074. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	331
1075. Cylinder, British Museum	331
1076. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXV, 7	331
1077. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, de la Chapelle, 17	332
1078. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2612	332
1079. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	332
1080. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 370 <i>bis</i>	332
1081. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 951	332

1082. Cylinder, Lajard, XXV, 4	332
1083. Cylinder, from a cast	332
1084. Cylinder, Berlin, VA553	332
1085. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	333
1086. Same as above	333
1087. Cylinder, Liverpool Museum	333
1088. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	333
1089. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 444	333
1090. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	333
1091. Cylinder, Louvre, MNB1907	333
1092. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	333
1093. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, de la Chapelle, 18	334
1094. Cylinder, British Museum	334
1095. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	334
1096. Same as above	334
1097. Same as above	334
1097a. Cylinder, St. Petersburg, The Hermitage	334
1098. Cylinder, Lord Lorne	334
1099. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	335
1100. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	335
1101. Same as above	335
1102. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	335
1103. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 369	335
1104. Cylinder, British Museum	336
1105. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	336
1106. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	336
1107. Same as above	336
1108. Cylinder, from a cast	336
1109. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	337
1110. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LI, 7	337
1111. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	337
1112. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	337
1113. Cylinder, from a cast	337
1114. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LIV, A13	337
1115. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	337
1116. Cylinder, from a cast	337
1117. Cylinder, Culte de Mithra, LII, 5a	338
1118. Cylinder, British Museum	338
1119. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2405	338
1120. Cylinder, British Museum	338
1121. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	338
1122. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	338
1123. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LVII, 6	338
1124. Cylinder, from a cast	339
1125. Cylinder, British Museum	339
1126. Cylinder, from a cast	339
1127. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XV, 4	339
1128. Same as above, XIX, 3	339
1129. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	339
1130. Same as above	339
1131. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXV, 1	339
1132. Cylinder, British Museum	339
1133. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	339
1134. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	339
1134a. Same as above	339
1135. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 408	339
1136. Cylinder, Berlin, VA3022	340
1137. Cylinder, British Museum	340
1138. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2700	340
1139. Cylinder, from a cast	340
1140. Cylinder, M. Schlumberger	340

1141. Cylinder, Dieulafoy, L'Acropole de Suse, fig. 338	340
1142. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LVII, 2	340
1143. Cylinder, Louvre, AO 1568	340
1144. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, de la Chapelle, 116	340
1145. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	340
1146. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LIV, C 2	340
1147. Cylinder, British Museum	340
1148. Cylinder, Levy, Siegel und Gemmen, pl. I, fig. 4a	341
1149. Same as above, fig. 12	341
1150. Cylinder, Sir Henry Peck	341
1151. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 321	341
1152. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	341
1153. Cylinder, British Museum	341
1154. Same as above	342
1155. Same as above	342
1156. Same as above	342
1157. Same as above	342
1158. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, XXXI, 1	344
1159. Cylinder, Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros, text, p. 35	344
1160. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, XXXI, 4	344
1161. Same as above, XXXI, 6	344
1162. Cylinder, A. P. di Cesnola, Salamina, fig. 139	344
1163. Same as above, pl. XIV, 39	344
1164. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, Cypriote Antiquities, III, pl. CXVIII, 4	344
1165. Cylinder, Proceedings Society Bibliothèque Archæology, XXVII, p. 254	345
1166. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, pl. XXXII, fig. 12	345
1167. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 39	345
1168. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, XXX, 31	345
1169. Same as above, XXXII, 13	345
1170. Same as above, L. P. di Cesnola, Cypriote Antiquities, III, CXX, 10	347
1171. Same as above, A. P. di Cesnola, Salamina, pl. XII, 6	347
1172. Same as above, pl. XII, 5	347
1173. Same as above, pl. XIV, 43	347
1174. Same as above, pl. XII, 7	347
1175. Same as above, 8	347
1176. Same as above, 2	347
1177. Same as above, 4	347
1178. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, XXXIII, 25	347
1179. Cylinder, A. P. di Cesnola, Salamina fig. 138	347
1180. Same as above, pl. XIV, fig. 41	348
1181. Same as above, fig. 38	348
1182. Same as above, fig. 40	348
1183. Same as above, fig. 45	348
1184. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, pl. XXXI, 9	348
1185. Same as above, pl. XXXIII, 28	348
1186. Same as above, pl. XXII, 18	348
1187. Cylinder, A. P. di Cesnola, Salamina, pl. XIV, 46	348
1188. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, XXXI, 5	348
1189. Same as above, pl. XXXIII, 24	348
1190. Cylinder, A. P. di Cesnola, Salamina, fig. 130	348
1191. Same as above, pl. XII, 22	348
1192. Same as above, pl. XIII, 20	349
1193. Same as above, pl. XIII, 28	349
1194. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, pl. XXXII, 15	349
1195. Same as above, 21	349
1196. Same as above, pl. XXXIII, 30	349
1197. Cylinder, A. P. di Cesnola, Salamina, pl. XII, 10	349
1198. Same as above, 11	349
1199. Same as above, 15	349
1200. Same as above, 16	349
1201. Same as above, p. 120, fig. 134	349

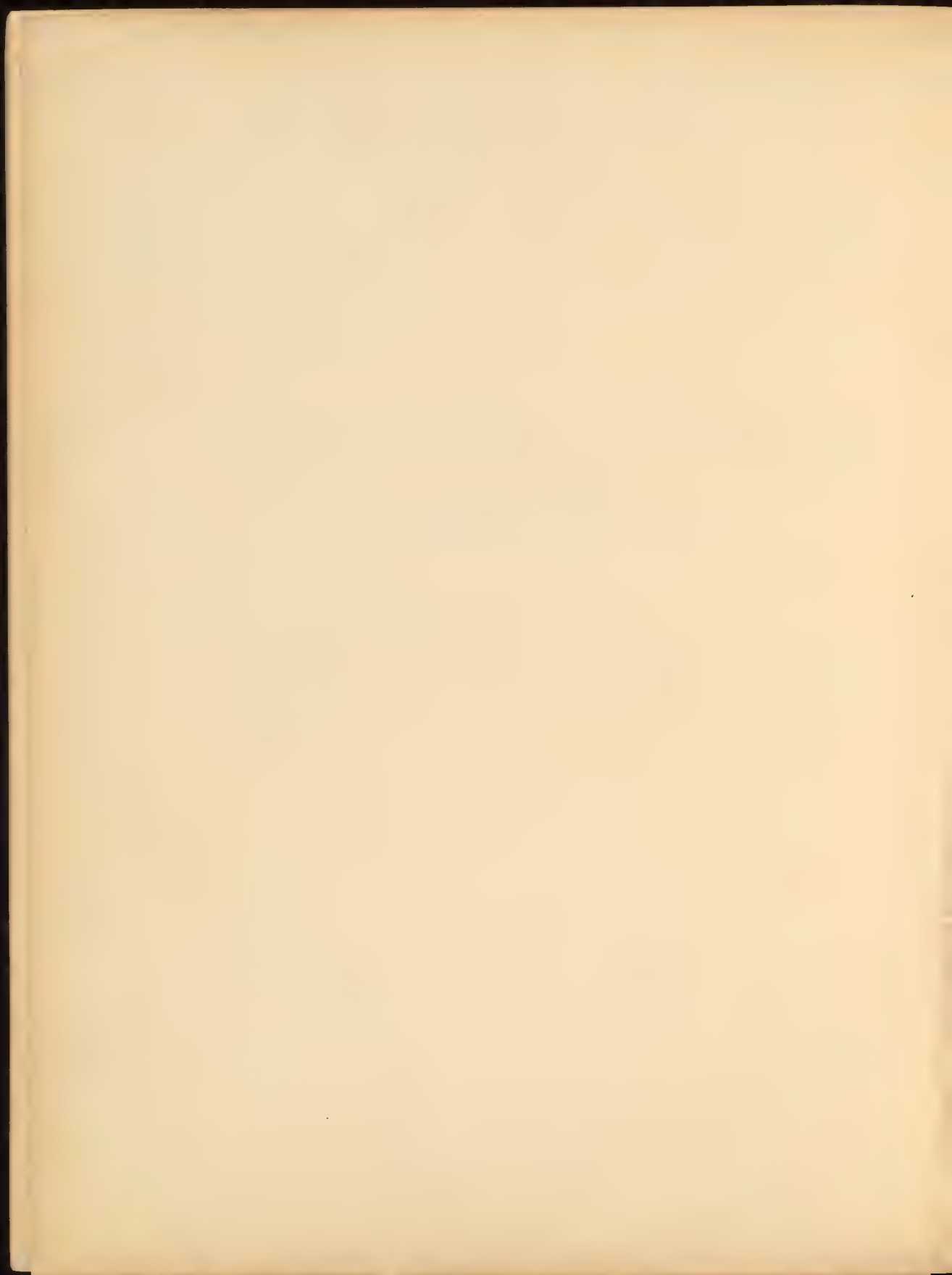
1202. Cylinder, A. P. di Cesnola, Salamina, p. 120, fig. 131	350
1203. Same as above, p. 120, fig. 136	350
1204. Same as above, pl. XIII, 18	350
1205. Same as above, pl. XIII, 19	350
1206. Cylinder, L. P. di Cesnola, XXXII, 14	350
1207. Cylinder, British Museum	351
1208. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	352
1209. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	353
1210. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXXIII, 8	353
1211. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	353
1212. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 418	353
1213. Cylinder, Tassie, Catalogue of Gems, pl. IX, 2	355
1214. Cylinder, Dieulafoy, L'Acropole de Suse, fig. 341	355
1215. Cylinder, Victoria and Albert Museum	355
1216. Cylinder, from a cast	356
1217. Cylinder, de Morgan, Délégation en Perse, VIII, fig. 12	357
1218. Same as above, fig. 13	357
1219. Same as above, fig. 19	357
1220. Same as above, fig. 20	357
1221. Same as above, fig. 22	358
1222. Same as above, fig. 33	358
1223. Same as above, fig. 41	358
1224. Same as above, fig. 46	358
1225. Same as above, pl. I, fig. 1	358
1226. Same as above, pl. I, fig. 2	358
1227. Same as above, pl. VIII, fig. 54	358
1228. Same as above, fig. 59	359
1228a. Impression on tablet, de Morgan, Délégation en Perse, VI, pl. 24	359
1229. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	360
1230. Same as above	360
1231. Same as above	360
1232. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	360
1233. Cylinder, Rich, Second Memoir, fig. 10	360
1234. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	360
1235. Bas-relief, de Morgan, Délégation en Perse, I, p. 102	361
1236. Cylinder, Proc. Society Biblical Archaeology, Feb., 1882, fig. 1	361
1237. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2371	361
1238. Cylinder, Louvre, MNB1207	361
1239. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	362
1240. Cylinder, Heuzey, Origines Orientales, p. 41	362
1241. Cylinder, British Museum	362
1242. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 86	362
1243. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, XXVIII, 12	362
1244. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	362
1245. Bas-relief, Hilprecht, Exploration in Bible Lands, p. 475	362
1246. Cylinder, Harvard Museum, 1195	363
1247. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	363
1248. Cylinder, Berlin, VA2931	363
1249. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 141	364
1250. Cylinder, de Sarzec, Découvertes, pl. 130 bis	364
1251. Bas-relief, Hilprecht, Babylonian Expedition, I, pl. X, fig. 37	364
1252. Bas-relief, de Sarzec, Découvertes, pl. IV	364
1253. Altar, Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, II, pl. 4	364
1254. Cylinder, British Museum	365
1255. Same as above	365
1256. Cylinder, Louvre, crown NB379	365
1257. Gates of Balawat, B, 1, 2	366
1258. Altar, Botta, Monuments de Ninive, V, p. 152	366
1259. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LIV, A9	366
1260. Cylinder, British Museum	366
1261. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	367

1262. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, de la Chapelle, 116	367
1263. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	367
1264. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LIV, Cz	367
1265. Cylinder, British Museum	367
1266. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	367
1267. Same as above	367
1268. Same as above	367
1269. Cylinder, British Museum	367
1270. Bas-relief, Stele of Abu-habba	368
1271. Bas-relief, Stele of Hammurabi	368
1272. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 353	369
1273. Bas-relief, Weissbach, Miscellen, frontispiece	369
1274. Same as above, p. 16	369
1275. Same as above, p. 17	369
1276. Cylinder, Nicolsky, La Déesse des Cylindres, p. 5	369
1277. Bas-relief, de Sarzec, Découvertes, pl. 25, fig. 5	369
1278. Cylinder, British Museum	371
1279. Stele of Asarhaddon, Von Luschán, Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, p. 18	389
1280. Stele of Assurnazirpal	389
1281. Stele of Asarhaddon, Maspero, Passing of the Empires, p. 51	389
1282. Bas-relief of Bavian, Von Luschán, Ausgrabungen, p. 21	390
1283. Bas-relief of Maltaya, Von Luschán, Ausgrabungen, p. 23	390
1284. Kudurru, de Morgan, Délégation en Perse, I, p. 168	390
1285. Same as above, pl. XIV	390
1285a. Same as above, pl. XV	390
1286. Same as above, pl. XVI	391
1287. Kudurru, Rawlinson, W.A.I., V, pl. 57	391
1288. Same as above, IV, pl. 43	392
1289. Same as above, III, pl. 45, 1	393
1290. Same as above, III, pl. 45, 2	393
1291. Kudurru, the Michaux Stone, Lichtenstein, Tentamen, pl. V	393
1291a. Same as above, pl. VI	393
1292. Kudurru of Nabu-ukin-aplu, from a photograph	393
1293. Cylinder, British Museum	393
1294. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	393
1295. Cylinder, Lajard, Culte de Mithra, LIV, B16	395
1296. Bowl of Palestrina, after Clermont-Ganneau	397
1297. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	399
1298. Cone seal, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	400
1299. Same as above	400
1300. Dragon of Marduk, Heuzey, Revue d'Assyriologie, VI, p. 101	400
1301. Cone seal, Bibliothèque Nationale	400
1302. Cylinder, Cullimore, 19	401
1303. Cone seal, Museum of Avignon	401
1304. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 326 <i>ter</i>	401
1305. Cylinder, Place, Monuments de Ninive, III, pl. 76n	401
1305a. Cylinder, Lord Southesk	401
1305b. Impression of cylinder on tablet, W. H. Ward	401
1305c. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	405
1306. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale	409
1307. Cylinder, Louvre, AO2392	409
1308. Cylinder, J. Pierpont Morgan Library	411
1309. Cylinder, Heuzey, Origines Orientales, p. 194	411
1310. Cylinder, Bibliothèque Nationale, 898	411
1311. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 232	411
1312. Cylinder, from a cast	412
1313. Cylinder, de Clercq Catalogue, 238	412
1314. Cylinder, Metropolitan Museum	412
1315. Cylinder, British Museum	412



THE
SEAL CYLINDERS OF WESTERN ASIA.

BY
WILLIAM HAYES WARD.



CHAPTER I.

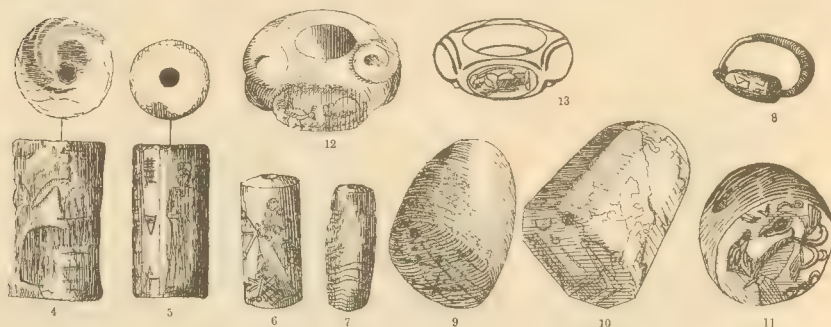
INTRODUCTION: ORIGIN, USE, AND MATERIALS.

The earliest method by which, so far as we know, proprietary rights were recorded in the East was by the use of a seal in the shape of a cylinder, or an approximation to the cylinder, engraved with some special device peculiar to the owner. We find it in use in the very earliest period in Babylonia and also in Egypt, although in the latter country it was after the twelfth dynasty mostly superseded by the scarab. Its use, as an archaism, was not wholly discarded there as late as the twenty-second dynasty.



The shape of the seal suggests that the early writing was on clay. Of course, property rights existed before writing was invented, or even hieroglyphics. I have seen in a khan at Hillah, near Babylon, the door of a room in which a merchant left his goods, while absent on a journey, sealed with the owner's seal impressed on pats of clay, so placed that the opening of the door would break the seal. Thus in the earliest times a seal might be used occasionally to protect property stored in rooms or jars. Occasionally such sealed pats of clay are found, but generally burned by some conflagration, and showing marks of the string which was attached

to them. In figs. 1, 1a, we have such an asphalt stopper to a jar, impressed with three cylinders, and in fig. 2 a pat of clay, with mark of the string on the back side, impressed with cone seals. But the main use of the seal was to authenticate written documents, letters, and bills of sale, or receipts for goods or money. For such documents we know that clay was used in Babylonia, no other material being so convenient and enduring. In fig. 3 we have such a sealed tablet, what is called a case tablet, of the period of Gudea, perhaps 2500 B. C. In Egypt clay was seldom in use, apparently, for writing, as the Egyptians at an early period learned to manufacture papyrus. The papyrus plant does not grow in Babylonia, and, indeed, is not found in Egypt at present, except far up the Nile. Parchment might seem to have been a more natural substitute for clay in a country where sheep and goats were so plentiful, but we have no evidence that it was known. Indeed clay was much cheaper and suffered no deterioration in the wet winters, if properly burned.



Very many of the early Babylonian cylinders, though probably not the very earliest, were more or less concave on the surface, as in fig. 4, that is, they approached the shape of a shallow spool. The probable reason for this is that the tablet itself was usually convex on its surface, and the cylinder was made concave to fit it. The usual tablet was naturally molded in the shape of an ordinary cake of soap, with no square edges. At a later time tablets, usually larger ones, were nearly flat on the two faces, with square sides and ends. For these a perfectly cylindrical seal (fig. 5) would be more convenient, and these came into common use. Indeed, only such a perfect cylinder could be used on any material for writing other than clay. Still later the cylindrical seal had convex ends, as in fig. 6. In the later Persian period the cylinder itself became convex, or even somewhat barrel-shaped (fig. 7), and might, if small enough, be set in a ring (fig. 8). But in the case of the convex cylinder only a small device was usually engraved on the center surface; and, indeed, it may be that the seal had come to be little more than an amulet. By this time the cone seal, with a somewhat convex surface at the bottom (figs. 9, 10), was in common use. It was not always a cone, but quite as frequently the section would be approximately a parallelogram with truncated angles. It has been suggested by Mr. Boscawen ("The First of Empires," p. 345) that the cone seal was a miniature *matsebah*, or sacrificial column, worn as an amulet, but I do

not know the evidence for it. These cone seals were developed later into the Sasanian seals, hemispherical (fig. 11), or flattened (fig. 12) more and more until they became a complete finger-ring (figs. 13, 14). Comparatively few tablets, and those of the Persian period or later, are found sealed with cone seals (fig. 15), which suggests that by this time parchment was in common use, as it was in Greece; and for parchment the flat seal was necessary, and indeed it is in common use in the East for impressions on paper at the present day.

Among the infrequent forms may be mentioned those, mainly of the Hittite period, in which one end of the cylinder was prolonged into a handle, through which a hole was pierced transversely, instead of the usual longitudinal hole. Such cylinders are shown in figs. 16, 16a. Also in the earlier times of Gudea we find cylinders with the upper and lower ends thickened with a ridge (fig. 17), as if to make a setting for the design, or perhaps to substitute the plate of copper used to fasten the handle. These ridges show in the impressions on tablets.



Dr. Hilprecht ("The Babylonian Expedition," vol. I, part II, p. 36) offers a new suggestion as to the origin of the seal cylinder. He shows that the earliest form of the character *mu*, meaning *name*, is an arrow, and he conjectures that the idea of *name* came from the owner's mark on the shaft of his arrow. Then he adds:

It becomes now very evident that the Babylonian seal cylinder, with its peculiar shape and use, was developed out of this hollow shaft of an arrow, marked with symbols and figures, and is but a combination and elaboration in a more artistic form of an ancient primitive idea.

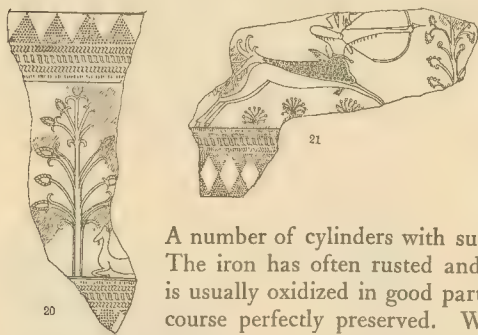
The archaic form for *mu* is an arrow with two short parallel lines crossing two others in the middle of the shaft, thus $\leftarrow \text{---} \times \text{---} \rightarrow$, these cross lines representing, in Dr. Hilprecht's view, the marks cut on the shaft. Of course the early thick and somewhat concave cylinders of the time of Sargon I. can not have had such an origin. Even those of the period that are not hollowed on the surface are too thick to have originated in the shaft of an arrow.

But there is another type of very archaic cylinder seals, usually uninscribed and apparently older than Sargon I., which presents a size and shape which might have had its origin in the shaft of an arrow. Such a cylinder is seen in fig. 18. A number of these will be shown in chapters on "Archaic Cylinders." They are often very long and slender, and the vertical hole suggests a hollow reed-arrow. They are usually in two registers, the two separated generally by two lines in

the middle of the cylinder. Even when this archaic type becomes quite thick it is likely to retain the two registers and the separating lines. Judging from the peculiarities in the art, the drawing of the human faces, and the other designs, they appear to belong to a period which Heuzey and Hilprecht have made 4000 and more B. C.; that is, as early as the time of the most ancient kings of Nippur and Lagash.

Herodotus tells us (Book I, 195) that every Babylonian gentleman had his seal. "Every one carries a seal and a walking-stick." It was worn suspended by a cord about the neck or on the wrist. It was not mounted on a swivel; but a

single or double wire of copper, or occasionally gold or silver, and in later times iron, was put through the circular hole with which it was pierced longitudinally. This was clamped at the lower end, and bent or doubled into a loop at the upper end to receive the cord (figs. 19, 19a).



A number of cylinders with such mountings are in the museums. The iron has often rusted and split the cylinder, and the copper is usually oxidized in good part, but those mounted in gold are of course perfectly preserved. We find cases in which a flat plate of copper was applied to each end to protect the cylinder, and the copper wire was passed double through these plates and clamped at the lower end as usual, but against the copper plate, with the loop at the upper end. These are not of the older period, when, perhaps only the copper wire was used, without any cap at the end; or usually, it may be presumed, only a cord was used, with no metal core or handle.

Mr. J. Taylor found at Mugheir (Ur) graves with skeletons having cylinders on the wrists. He says:

On the arm is sometimes found an inscribed cylinder of meteoric stone [hematite]. I have procured them with the remains of the string still existing, and I always observed that the ends went round the wrist. In some cases I have found a second engraved (rudely) but un-inscribed cylinder of sandstone [?] between the feet. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv, 1855, p. 273.

Speaking of one burial vault, he says:

There was, of course, the usual copper bowl (but broken); and a beautifully perfect inscribed cylinder of meteoric stone was fastened round the wrist. . . . At its feet was a cylinder, in common white sandstone (but much damaged), without an inscription. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xv, 1855, p. 273.

There were found at Nippur, by the University of Pennsylvania Expedition, cylinders with the remains of the string, as I am informed by Mr. D. Z. Noorian, one of its members.

We have evidence in the case of certain cylinders of the Kassite period, as we gather from their impressions on tablets, as figured by Clay in his vol. xiv of "Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania," p. 15, that the ends were covered at times with a wide band of gold, very finely embossed with a geometrical design of chevrons and curves and dots (figs. 20, 21) as elaborate as some

of the interlacings on Hittite cylinders or in Mycenæan art. See also the gold mounting in fig. 1215; and we have almost the same design in the ornamentation about the base of a gold lion's head in M. de Morgan's "Délégation en Perse," "Mémoires," vol. VII, plate XXIV.

This highly developed perfection of ornamentation by lines and curves is, however, no evidence of advanced civilization, as Ridgeway has shown in his "Early Greece," I, pp. 272-274, where he figures a Maori chieftain's wooden scepter and ax, beautifully ornamented with whorl and spiral, almost exactly after the Mycenæan style. Indeed, the returning spirals are precisely the same as are to be seen on Syro-Hittite cylinders, as in fig. 827.

I have said that it was probably the shape of the clay tablet that gave its shape to the seal. But it has been seductively suggested (C. W. King, "Handbook of Engraved Gems," p. 4) that the original seal, in the rudest times, was the joint of a reed from the swamps. The lower joints are not far from the size and shape of the early concave seals. It would have been easy to make a seal out of one of these joints by cutting any desired coarse device on the surface. The reed would itself supply the hole for suspension. But this is pure conjecture unsubstantiated by any evidence; and, indeed, the very oldest cylinders, as has been said, do not seem to have been concave.

The hole, or tube, for the suspension of the cylinder was, in the earliest times, quite large, in the case of the larger seals sometimes almost a centimeter in diameter. It was bored from both ends, and never would the two borings exactly meet in the middle. In the later seals, especially those in hard stone, the bore was much smaller. Very often, on the more common seals, those in a soft stone, we find the edges of the hole very much worn and enlarged, showing that it was carried not on a fixed and firm metal mounting, but on a string. Still, some of this wearing may be late, as cylinders when found are valued by the Arab women and are worn as charms.

Previous to Gudea's time and further back than the time of Sargon I. the cylinders were usually large and thick, from 30 to 60 mm. in length and the diameter considerably more than half. During Gudea's time the fashion changed to the smaller hematite cylinders, about 20 mm. in length and the diameter half the length. Fig. 39 is a cylinder of Gudea of the old style, and others with his name are of the later and smaller hematite type.

MATERIALS.

According to W. M. Flinders Petrie (Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, "Precious Stones"), the stones commonly known to the Egyptians for jewelry and engraving are the following, arranged by colors:

Black, obsidian; *blue*, amethyst, lapis-lazuli; *green*, serpentine, feldspar (Amazon stone), jasper, turquoise; *yellow*, agate, jasper; *brown*, sard; *red*, red sard, feldspar, carnelian, jasper; *white*, quartz, milky quartz, chalcedony. To these he adds hematite, beryl, garnet, and corundum, which are found not engraved. After the Greek times the onyx (or nicolo) and the olivine (peridot, modern chrysolite) appear, and the beryl is rare before Græco-Roman times. These are much the same that were known to the Greeks before Theophrastus, 300 B. C. Nearly all the stones used for engraving in Egypt are also found in the cylinders. The excep-

tions would be (rarely if ever found) turquoise and red feldspar. Hematite is the commonest of all stones for cylinders, contrary to Petrie's report of its non-use for engraving in Egypt; and beryl, garnet, and corundum are not known in cylinders. The onyx appears cut transversely in cylinders; cut along its layers it was employed for the eyes of idols.

If the earliest seals were made of the lower joint of a reed or the slender reed shaft of an arrow, they have all perished. The earliest material that we know seems to have been *shell*. The center core was used of certain univalves of the genera *Trito* and *Melo* (Heuzey, "Cat. des Antiquités Chaldéennes," p. 383), found in the Persian Gulf. Some of these are quite well preserved, and they nearly always show on the ends the curves of the helix of the shell (fig. 4) and usually on the surface some signs of the somewhat laminated, though quite solid, deposition of the nacreous substance. Usually the shell shows abundant evidence of decomposition and its substance is much deteriorated; and yet in some cases it is so compact that it might easily be mistaken for marble. It took fine lines, and from the earliest period both the core and the spreading outer portion of the shell were employed for decorative designs (Heuzey, "Cat. des Antiquités Chaldéennes," pp. 383-405).

Another very common material, indeed the most common of all, in the earlier Babylonian period, was *serpentine*, usually a rather hard black serpentine, occasionally with a brown tint, sometimes showing a green shade in the case of a thin fracture. Less common than the black was a somewhat softer light-green serpentine of a less compact structure, which does not take so fine a polish with wear, but which would seem to have been more valued. While serpentine is somewhat too soft for preservation against wear, it is not dissolved or injured by the elements, and such cylinders come to us in as good condition as they left their owners, unless, as is too often the case, they have been recut by modern merchants in antiquities. Many are thus rendered quite valueless. Most of the seals of this material are of the period before the time of Gudea; they are large, 3 cm. or more in length and half as thick, and are concave on the surface, although some are quite cylindrical. The serpentine of the early south Babylonian period is of a different quality from most of the north Assyrian serpentine, which is usually much softer and less compact and is very much worn in most cases. The color of these northern cylinders is of a dark greenish gray, not like the clearer green of the older cylinders of early Chaldea. Some extraordinarily large cylinders found by M. de Morgan in Susa are of a very light-green serpentine. The sources of these varieties of serpentine still need investigation.

Another material, less common, is *white marble*. These cylinders may be of a very early period and of a large size, but they are seldom, if ever, concave on the face. It would therefore seem likely that they were not produced so much in Chaldea as in some of the outlying provinces. One must avoid mistaking shell, when undecayed, for marble.

The source of the marble is still uncertain. On the cylinder "Inscription A," Gudea, we are told that the stone *sir* (marble) was brought from the Mountain of Marble (Thureau-Dangin, *Zeitsch. für Ass.*, 1903, p. 196). This Thureau-Dangin identifies with *sir-gal*, on Gudea, "Cylinder B," said to have come from a place near the Mediterranean Sea, as we learn from an inscription on a small object in the Louvre, which says it is made of *sir-gal* (Heuzey, "Catalogue des Antiquités

Chaldéennes, p. 265). It is of a dolomitic marble. Yet it also seems to have come from Elam (Thureau-Dangin, *Rev. Ass.*, v, p. 74, note 9; also Heuzey, "La Masse d'Armes de Goudéa," *Rev. Arch.*, 1891). Calcareous and dolomitic marble would not be distinguished and are found in many places.

Aragonite is another more crystalline stone resembling marble, being also calcareous. It is slightly translucent, like alabaster, with which it might be confounded but for its superior hardness. The cylinders of this material are often like those in marble, large and quite cylindrical; but they are also often rather small in diameter and of a length three times their diameter or more, while the large cylinders have usually a diameter somewhat more than half their length. These cylinders are often, or usually, of a great antiquity, judging from the style of the engraving, and they affect the style of two, sometimes three, registers. The large majority of cylinders of this type are white, either marble or aragonite. They probably belong to a special district where was produced a type different from that prevalent in most of Babylonia.

Lapis-lazuli: This was a favorite and choice material in use from a very early and indeed the earliest period, and was probably obtained from the Persian mines. We have it in very large cylinders of the late Persian period and in those of the smallest dimensions, apparently too small for anything but ear-rings. It was often spangled with yellow mica, looking like flakes of gold, and often with white patches of calcite. The Babylonian name was *uknu*.

Apparently the first hard stone to be used, of the hardness of quartz, was *jasper*. The famous seal of Sargon the Elder is of brown jasper, if we may trust the designation of the material in de Clercq's "Catalogue," but the color is rare, if not unique. The difficulty of cutting it made it, in the early period, a rare material.

A red jasper occasionally appears in the earlier seals. One such is that given by the distinguished orientalist de Saulcy to Ménant, the first careful student of this glyptic art, and it is now in my possession (fig. 167).

A checkered red and white jasper, perhaps a kind of *breccia*, appears at an early period, and in the Kassite period a yellow and white *breccia*.

Quartz crystal: We do not find this material in the very earliest art, but it appears in the time of Gudea and was quite common and valued in the Middle Babylonian period and occasionally down to the Persian period. It is a very poor stone for cutting with such tools as the Babylonians had, and not often does it take a clean engraving, owing to the brittle conchoidal fracture. It would seem as if the earlier artists must have used a gentle blow to engrave their harder stones. The surface is often well polished, but the engraving is rough.

Chalcedony: This material was seldom employed, if at all, in the early period for cylinders; but when we reach the later Babylonian empire it was the most common and cheapest of all materials. Although of the hardness of quartz crystal, its structure is not crystalline but colloidal, and it has a toughness that responds admirably to the tool. Accordingly the finest work can be done on it, and equally the rudest with a coarse wheel.

Sapphirine, a variety of chalcedony, is a clear light-blue stone, very attractive and of various depths of color. In the Persian times it was used for much fine work, either in cylinders or in cone seals, as also later for scaraboids.

Red *carnelian* is another variety of chalcedony, used in much the same way as sapphirine for both cylinders and cone seals, but which seems to have come into use at a somewhat earlier period during the Middle Empire.

Agate is yet another variety of chalcedony of various shades of banded color, often used in later times. The carnelian and sapphirine may have been the core of an agate pebble.

Rose quartz: Some cylinders are found of this material, but rather late and probably from the north.

Syenite: Some very archaic cylinders are in this material.

Jade: A very few cylinders are in jade. They are all late and seem to relate themselves to Asia Minor; but the quarry is unknown, as in the case of most of the other choice stones. Jade was somewhat frequently used by the prehistoric inhabitants of Asia Minor as a material for implements of the Smooth Stone Age.*

Glass: Very rarely glass cylinders appear of a very late period. They are of the white glass, not of the deep green, like emerald, of which one cone seal is known, belonging to the Metropolitan Museum. This museum has two glass cylinders.

Terra-cotta: The Egyptian cylinders are of terra-cotta, mostly glazed green, but a number of them from Asia Minor are in stone, generally serpentine.

Composition: The Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has one cylinder made of a composition said to be of "sulphur and resin." (See Chabouillet's "Catalogue.") This cylinder is No. 723. It is a reddish-gray material, with what look like small bubble-holes. The engraving appears to be of the period of Gudea. I know of no other cylinder that is likely to be of a composition, although a plaque of this period, if genuine, is of a composition of bitumen and clay or sand (see Heuzey, "Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes," p. 125). This also is unique as to material for an object of art, and the design is very peculiar. I presume the cylinder is a late cast, like those distributed by Tassie.

Slaty stone: A number of cylinders of a middle and late period are of such a stone.

Flint: A very few seem to be of this stone.

Obsidian: In the Kassite period obsidian began to be used, but it was never common. Two fine cylinders of this material are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and there are two or three in the Metropolitan Museum. Obsidian prehistoric knives and saws are found in Asia Minor, and it is likely that the material for these cylinders came from that region.

Among peculiar and unusual stones may be mentioned a siliceous petrified coralline stone, with red circles of the coral, also another with abundant branching dark patches which look like seaweed ("Louvre, M. N. B., 1907").

Red marble: A soft red marble is found employed, as well as the white marble, for the thick cylinders.

Amazon stone: This material came into use in the Kassite period and was evidently much valued for its clear green color. It is a little softer than the quartzites, being a feldspar, and its lamellar crystalline structure makes it brittle. It has been described in catalogues as beryl or emerald, but I have seen only a single cylinder that seemed to be of a bluish beryl. The Amazon stone, as also the green

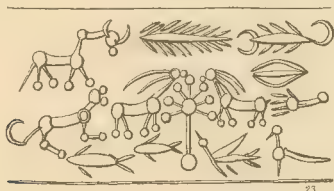
* Identified as "jadeite" by M. Gennard, "un de nos minéralogistes les plus éminents," and used for "haches" (Chantre, "Mission en Cappadoce," pp. 79, 131). A number of such celts have come into my possession from the same region.

variety of sard known as prase, and even jade, appears in catalogues as "mother of emerald" or "root of emerald," a more proper designation of the coarser beryls. Pliny describes two Persian stones which may be the Amazon stone, one the *tanos*, "a disagreeable green, foisted among the smaragdi," and the other the *eumithres*, "or gem of Belus, of the color of a leek-leaf, and a favorite in their superstitions." (King, "Gems or Semi-precious Stones," p. 128.)

TOOLS FOR CUTTING.

The seals in soft material of an early age, such as shell, serpentine, and marble, could easily have been cut with flint, which was in familiar use in chips, flakes, knives, and saws. But when they came to engrave quartzite material as hard as flint, such as agate, syenite, or quartz crystal, it would be necessary to employ a harder tool. While it would be possible to engrave quartz with quartz, as we polish diamond with diamond, this would be a very tedious process. The harder substance would be found probably in corundum or emery, whether in chipped points or in powder. The crude corundum, not in the nature of gems, is a rather frequent stone and was in very early use in Egypt and later in Greece. We may presume that all of the early fine work in hard stone was done with this substance, as diamond was probably unknown. The powder could be used for piercing the holes, and any sand would do for the holes in the softer materials, such as shell, serpentine, or even the feldspar of Amazon stone.

All the early seals were thus cut with the free hand. It is not unlikely that the holes piercing the cylinders were perforated by a copper tool, used with emery,



and revolved by the aid of the string of a bow, or simply rolled with the hand. In Egypt, we have a picture of the process (fig. 22), Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch., xxvii, p. 280, and the inscription says, "Drilling a seal by the seal-maker" (Newberry). But the use of revolving metal tools for engraving the surface was earlier in Egypt and was introduced from Egypt into Assyria by way of Syria. It is not till the time of the Egyptian invasion of the eighteenth dynasty that we begin to find tools revolved with the bowstring thus used for engraving with emery powder. We can date this use in Babylonia first by the seals of the Kassite style. But in the Syro-Hittite region, somewhat later, a multitude of seals in hematite and chalcedony are roughly cut in this way.



We can recognize the various types of these engraving tools. The first was a burr, large or small, to make round holes. The second was a disk, the edge of which was applied to the stone; this tool being very thin for mere lines and quite thick for the bodies of men or animals. The third was the tube, which

was used to cut circles, as in the coarse rope pattern, or held at an angle to make a crescent, whether of the moon or of a dog's tail. The work with these tools is sometimes extremely coarse, so that it is almost impossible to recognize the design, and sometimes so fine that it seems like free-hand work. Specimens of the work of these tools may be seen in figs. 23, 24, 25. In figs. 24, 25 we see the work of all three tools. The round dots are made with the burr, or drill; the straight lines, deeper and wider in the middle, are made with the disk; and the circles, and the crescents deepest and thickest in the middle, are made with the tube. It may be that at the latest period the tools were revolved by attachment to a wheel, like the potter's wheel, which was worked by the foot. Such a use of a tool rapidly revolved by the wheel may be what Pliny means by the "*terebrarum ferva*," which he says in his "Natural History," LXXVI, LXXXVII, was of chief advantage in gem-cutting.* And yet it is not clear that anything like the potter's wheel was used to revolve the tools, at least in the period of the cylinders. Even at the present time in the East the engraver's work of the finest kind, such as the most delicate Arabic lettering, is done with the simple bowstring, and the most minute disks are attached to the end of the tool. Some of the finest Assyrian cylinders seem to show the use of such minute disks, for the straight lines do not protrude at all beyond their border, nor are they thickest in the middle. Indeed, at times the parallel straight lines in the wings grow broader toward the lower end and could not have been made by a large thick disk. Very minute dots and points were made with a burr, and very short lines with the edge of a very small disk and not with the free hand.

In earlier times a copper tool would be used, with a flake of corundum fastened in it, and later an iron tool, which in still later classical times, but not during the Assyrian period, would have attached to it a flake of diamond instead of corundum. This sort of tool is what the prophet Jeremiah has in mind when he says (17: 1): "The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron with a point of emery;† it is graven upon the table of their heart." The Greeks, and equally the Egyptians and the Assyrians, had no knowledge of the diamond until the Indian conquests of Alexander. We learn from Petrie ("Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh," p. 173) that the Egyptians did all their fine stone-cutting with emery, the coarser opaque form of corundum, of which the sapphire and the ruby are the finer forms. Emery sand was found in abundance in Ethiopia. The Greeks obtained corundum from Naxos and Cyprus; but Theophrastus says that the best emery was brought from Armenia, which was accessible to the Babylonians, and indeed they might very likely have found sources of corundum in Elam or Arabia.

* For a discussion of the tools used in gem engraving by the ancients, see C. W. King, "Precious Stones and Metals," p. 50; "Gems and Semi-precious Stones," p. 192; also Soldi, "Les Cylindres Babyloniens," p. 15.

† The Hebrew word *shamir*, emery, is mistranslated "diamond" in both the Authorized and Revised Versions.

CHAPTER II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

It was soon after the middle of the eighteenth century that interest began to be taken in the seal cylinders brought by travelers from the East. The Greek and Roman gems had long been collected and had been the object of careful study,* but very few Babylonian or Assyrian intaglios had fallen in the way of collectors, and they had excited little more than a mild curiosity. Whatever was not Greek, Roman, or evidently Egyptian was classed under the general designation of Etruscan.†

The first publication of any of the Oriental seal cylinders known to me was by Comte Caylus in his "*Recueil d'Antiquités Égyptiennes, Étrusques, Grecques et Romaines*." Of this handsome collection, mainly of classical antiquities, with some Egyptian and Oriental interspersed, there were issued seven volumes, some of which passed into a second edition within a few years. The first five volumes contain figures of seven cylinders, ‡ and other Assyrian cone seals and Sassanian seals.

The objects figured by Count Caylus were, or had been, in his own collection (I, Introduction, p. i) and many of them passed into the Cabinet du Roi (p. xii). Count Caylus seems to speak (I, p. 56) of a cylinder figured by Montfauçon "parmi plusieurs morceaux Égyptiens," but I have not found it.

One cylinder had also been published by Bianchini, in his "*Storia Universale*," p. 537. (so Tassie, I, p. 63).

In 1791 there was published in London Tassie and Raspe's "*A Descriptive Catalogue of a General Collection of Ancient and Modern Engraved Gems, etc.*," of which Tassie offered casts for sale in paste, enamel, and sulphur. This work was in two quarto volumes, printed in double columns, one English and one French; and at the end of the second volume were a large number of plates, of which plates ix, *ix*a, and x gave nine cylinders from the British Museum and Mr. Townley's collection. They were described as Persepolitan, although only one of the nine is of Persian origin; but the cuneiform characters on some of them were then known only from the monuments of Persepolis. The text was written by M. Raspe, and he was inclined to connect the form of writing with the Chinese (vol. I, p. 64), herein anticipating M. Delacouperie. The Egyptian hieroglyphics, however, he regarded as of a different order, having no Chinese affinities.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century these objects began to attract the attention of scholars as well as of collectors. But at first it was the writing rather than the art that invited curious study. In 1801 Dr. Joseph Hager published at

* Mariette, *Traité des Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1750. 2 vols. folio.

† Ménot, "*Les Pierres Gravées*," I, p. 11, refers on this point to *Pietri Sancti Bartoli, "Sepulchri Antichi"*; Gori, "*Museum Etrusc.*," p. 431, Florence, 1737; Mariette, "*Traité des Pierres Gravées*," p. 7.

‡ T. I, pl. xviii, 1, 2 (nouvelle édition, 1761); t. II, pl. ix, 2 (1756); t. III, pl. xii, 1, 2 (1759); t. IV, pl. xxii, 2 (1761); t. V, pl. xiii, 4. Of these the first two are said to have been found in Egypt; but Count Caylus regarded all these cylinders as specimens rather of Persian art, except that from t. IV, which contains an Egyptian cartouche and inscription.

London "A Dissertation on the Newly Discovered Babylonian Inscriptions," in which (p. 40) he figures three cylinders, two of which were copied from Tassie and Raspe, and a third was sent him by Dr. Münter from Copenhagen. This last is an interesting one, as it shows the goat-fish, or capricorn, with vase and streams. Dr. Hager was taken up wholly with the inscriptions, especially on those brought lately to England from Babylon by order of the East India Company.

In 1802 Dr. Friedrich Münter published in Copenhagen his "Versuch über die Keilformigen Inschriften," in which he gave copies of four cylinders, two of them after Tassie and Raspe, and one of them the same cylinder, with the goat-fish, which Dr. Hager had published the previous year. Twenty-five years later the same author returned to the subject and published his "Religion der Babylonier," Copenhagen, 1827, in which he gave figures of fifteen cylinders, besides cone seals, and one of the so-called "boundary-stones," or *kudurrus*. These cylinders are taken from Caylus's "Recueil," Tassie and Raspe's "Catalogue," and also the "Fundgruben des Orients," Rich's "Second Memoir," Murr's "Journal für Kunst," and Dorow's "Morgenländische Alterthümer," 1, which had meanwhile appeared. Münter was a careful and intelligent student of these objects, and secured plaster casts of the 59 seals, mostly cylinders, bought from the Rich collection by the British Museum, and of others given by Rich to the Vienna Museum. Casts of the collection of cylinders made by Captain Lockett, of London, when with Mr. Rich in Baghdad, seem to have been in Münter's hands (p. 95).

In 1803 was published at Helmstadt D. A. A. H. Lichtenstein's "Tentamen Palæographiæ Assyrio-Persicæ," which was a futile attempt, long pursued, to decipher the cuneiform inscriptions. On plate VIII he gives the design of an interesting cylinder of late Assyrian period, often copied from him.*

In the years 1809-18 appeared in two languages at Vienna six successive folio volumes of Von Hammer's "Fundgruben des Orients," also called "Mines de l'Orient." Of this series two volumes are important for the first contributions of C. J. Rich and the publication of his cylinders. His first "Mémorial on the Ruins of Babylon" was published in vol. III, pp. 129-162 (1813), and was followed in the next Heft by a further article entitled "Continuation of the Mémorial on the Antiquities of Babylon." This is accompanied by a plate with 8 cylinders, well chosen for their importance, for they include the seated Ishtar (fig. 407), that of a lion with her paw on a bull's shoulder, attacked by a man with a spear (fig. 1068), and that with the streams about a kneeling figure under a solar disk (fig. 655).

In vol. IV, p. 86, under the title "Babylonische Talismane," is a short notice of the cylinders figured on two plates from the Rich collection. These were given partly to Erzherzog Johann for the Johanneum in Graz,† and partly to Graf Rzewusky and Herr von Hammer. One of these plates (p. 86) contains 14 cylinders, and the other, following an article by von Hammer, "Ueber die Talismane der Muslimen," contains 15 more of the Rich cylinders.

In 1818 Claudius James Rich, who had been for some years British Resident at Baghdad and had devoted himself to topographical and archeological investigation, published in London his "Second Memoir on Babylon," the substance of which had appeared just before in "Fundgruben des Orients." In it he gives

* For its history see "Tentamen," p. 145.

† See Fischer and Wiedermann's Catalogue of the Johanneum "Talismane."

(plate III) figures of five cylinders brought by him from Babylonia. Among them is one of prime importance, that which represents the seated Ishtar with weapons rising from her shoulders (see fig. 407). These are all which he published from the fine collections which he and his companions, Dr. Hine and Captain Abraham Lockett, brought from the East, most of which found their way into the British Museum and were the foundation of its great collection. Unfortunately, however, the gem of them all, the cylinder with the seated Ishtar, does not appear to be in the British Museum, and I do not know where it is.

The next year, 1819, appeared in London the first of two large quarto volumes of Sir William Ouseley's "Travels in Various Countries in the East." In vol. I, pp. 423-433, plate XXI, he describes and figures two cylinders, one of them from Captain Lockett's collection, of interest as representing a god grasping on each side a man-fish (fig. 657). In vol. II, p. 536, plate XXXVII, is described and figured another Assyrian seal received from Captain Lockett in exchange for the one with the man-fishes previously presented to him. It represents a composite winged figure with a bird head holding a basket, and a deity with a spouting vase held at his breast. This is figured also on the title-page of Landseer's "Sabeian Researches."*

Ouseley corrects Tassie and Raspe's idea that these cylinders were Persepolitan, seeing they were found in Babylon. He supposes that the figures on the cylinders are such as are described by Berosus as figured on the walls of the temple of Belus. But here he probably followed Rich.

In 1820 Dr. Dorow published, at Wiesbaden, Heft I of his "Morgenländische Alterthümer," under a long title, "Die Assyrische Keilschrift erläutert durch zwei noch nicht bekannt gewordene Jaspis-Cylinder aus Nineveh und Babylon," etc. In it he gives engravings of three cylinders, one of them after Lichtenstein's "Tentamen" and the two others not before published. They are both among the most important cylinders known, one of them being the royal cylinder with the name of an Armenian king and the figure of a winged god holding two ostriches (fig. 42). This belonged to Dr. Dorow and is now in the Museum of The Hague. It was brought from Constantinople by Graf Joseph von Schwachheim, who was for eight years Austrian Minister at the Porte, and was given by his heir, through the intervention of Prof. G. C. Braun, Mainz, to Dr. Dorow, in 1819. See Dorow's "Die Assyrische Keilschrift," p. 13 (15). The other is the even more important cylinder belonging then to Dr. John Hine, of Baghdad, a copy of which had been sent to Dr. Dorow by Rich, now, after long disappearance, one of the treasures of the British Museum, giving the name of King Ur-Engur, of the first dynasty of Ur (fig. 30).† Attached to Dr. Dorow's paper are several letters on the subject from his scholarly friends, the longest and most important of which is from the distinguished scholar, Prof. G. F. Grotefend, who was the first to discover a clue

* Sir William Ouseley was not without some critical skill. He says:

"I strongly suspect that in drawings, or engravings made from them, the same face has, through mistake, been sometimes furnished with a beard; this suspicion may perhaps fall even on a cylinder delineated by the ingenious Raspe (Tassie's 'Gems,' plate IX, 2, No. 15099)." Vol. I, p. 424, note.

In this case Ouseley is right. It is a figure of the goddess Aa, which is furnished with a short beard; beards are almost always long. But later and more accomplished scholars have made the same mistake.

† The authenticity of this cylinder was much doubted, but a letter from Mr. C. D. Cobham, in the London Athenæum of August 24, 1889, vouches, against Ménant, that it is the same cylinder which Ker Porter saw at Baghdad in 1818, and which remained in Dr. Hine's possession until his death, in 1859, at the age of 82. A few days after Dr. Hine's death it was given by his executor to Mr. Cobham, who presented it in 1880 to the British Museum.

to the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions. Here we find (p. 25) recorded the conclusion previously reached by Caylus (*Recueil*, II, p. 27), that the cylinders were used not as amulets only, as still used by the Arab women, who wear them believing that they have the power to retain the affection of their husbands,* but were real seals. This conclusion he bases on the evidence of a cuneiform tablet belonging to Mr. Bellino, on which were not only cuneiform characters, but also the impression of a cylinder.† This conclusion he strengthens by the fact, observed by him and confirmed by the wider observation of Rich, that the writing on the cylinders is generally reversed. It is not strange that Grotefend had to depend mainly on Persian and Avestan sources for his interpretations of the designs figured on the cylinders.

In 1822 appeared Sir Robert Ker Porter's two quarto volumes of "Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc." This work was richly illustrated, and two of its plates, LXXIX and LXXX, gave four cylinders, of which one was Dr. Hine's fine cylinder of King Ur-Engur, previously published by Dr. Dorow from the copy he had received from Rich. Ker Porter had seen it in Baghdad.

In 1817 John Landseer read before the Society of Antiquaries a paper published in "*Archæologia*," vol. XVIII, entitled "Observations on Engraved Gems," etc. At the suggestion of Sir W. Ouseley and others, this was developed into a quarto volume, of which it proved the first chapter, entitled "Sabean Researches, London, 1823," consisting of letters written to various persons on the subject of the Oriental cylinders, especially those consigned to his care by Captain Lockett, who was associated with Rich when he was British Resident in Baghdad.‡ Ouseley's anticipation of the permanent value of Mr. Landseer's studies was hardly justified by the handsome volume published four years later. It was full of unsupported conjectures of the character suggested by the title, and found in the worship of heavenly bodies the explanation of all the designs on the seven cylinders figured by him, which had belonged to Captain Lockett and Sir W. E. Rouse Boughton, and which are drawn, in a chain, for the title-vignette of the first chapter. They include the two figured by Ouseley. Four of these are fully engraved, besides another of the Rich cylinders; but no one of them is of special value. Landseer makes the absurd suggestion, p. 8, that the concave face of many cylinders was so made "to adapt their shapes to the convexities of the human form," as they were worn as amulets. He did, however, recognize their use also as seals.

Grotefend continued to give occasional consideration to the cylinders subsequently to his paper, above mentioned, which he contributed to Dr. Dorow's "*Die Assyrische Keilschrift erläutert*." In 1852 in his "*Erläuterung der Keilinschriften Babylonischen*" he includes a section, pp. 24-28, "*Erläuterung einiger Morgenländischer Cylindern*," accompanied by a plate containing four cylinders previously unpublished, belonging to Hofbuchhändler Hahn. The cylinders are not of special interest.

* Dorow, p. 24, note, after Rich.

† This impressed cylinder is made the title-vignette to Herder's collected works on Philosophy and History, Dorow, p. 25.

‡ "On the eve of his departure from England, Captain Lockett consigned these Babylonian treasures to the care of Mr. Landseer, who has undertaken to conduct through the press his absent friend's long expected work on the venerable city of Nimrod or Belus, of Ninus and Semiramis; and of his most interesting researches on the plain of Shinar. . . I shall here express my wish that Mr. Landseer may soon extend his own short Memoir, now part of a miscellaneous work, to a volume which, coming from his pen, can not be too long." Ouseley's "*Travels*," I, p. 425, note.

In the Académie des Inscriptions, N. S., t. xvi, part 2, 1846, M. Raoul-Rochette had a paper, "De la Croix ansée," accompanied by a plate with eight cylinders. In t. xvii, part 2, 1848, he published another paper "Sur l'Hercule Assyrien et Phénicien considéré dans ses rapports avec l'Hercule Grecque," which is illustrated with plates, three of which contain 19 cylinders.

The first important large collection of engravings of cylinders was made by A. Cullimore, London, 1843 (n. d., 1848?), and published in four successive parts. It contained no text whatever, except three pages of autographed list of the cylinders, telling their ownership. The cylinders number 174, and are unclassified and rather poorly drawn; 114 are credited to the British Museum, 19 to the Imperial Collection at Vienna, and all the rest to private persons in Great Britain.

The importance of this work was soon completely overshadowed by that of a much more ambitious work by M. Felix Lajard, published in 1847 by the Imperial Press at Paris. This was "Introduction à l'Étude du Culte Public et les Mystères en Orient et en Occident." It is a large folio volume of plates and was followed by a stout posthumous octavo volume of text published by the Imperial Press in 1867. The plates in the first volume number 110, of which 40 contain drawings of 276 cylinders, besides numerous engraved cone seals and other objects that would illustrate the author's theory that all these designs had to do with the worship of Mithra. The drawings are excellently made in fine outline, enlarged, and the value of this collection from every available source can not be overestimated. It remained, until the publication of M. de Clercq's collection, the chief source of information on the subject of the cylinders.

The conclusions of M. Lajard as to the meanings to be attached to the monuments so carefully collected by him were nothing less than fantastic. He drew from these monuments the theory that there were represented the various stages, or grades, in the initiation into the Mithraic mysteries. Of these there were, he held, twelve grades, that of the Soldier, the Bull, the Lion, the Vulture, the Ostrich, the Raven, the Griffin, the Persians, the Sun, the Eagle-Father, the Sparrow-Father, and the Father of Fathers. With these were connected various priests, priestesses, hierodules, and initiatory ceremonies, which are figured on the seals. Wherever a worshiper is led to a god, it is a scene of initiation. This theory had considerable vogue, and its influence is seen in the writings even of Ménant and other French scholars.*

The two names of M. Joachim Ménant, Member of the Institut, and M. Louis de Clercq, deputy, will always be closely associated on account of the more scientific development of the study of the art of the nearer Orient, which we owe to the careful and modest scholarship of Ménant and the generous liberality of de Clercq, who made, at just the time when it could best be done, a remarkable collection of Oriental cylinders and other objects, and put the task of their publication into the hands of his friend Ménant. They published under the final date of 1888, at Paris, a series of forty folio plates containing 461 cylinders belonging to de Clercq's collection, with a full description. Among these are several royal cylinders, including that of the Elder Sargon (fig. 26), which is the gem of all col-

* M. Lajard believed there was an intimate relation between the mysteries of Mithra and those of Mylitta, or Venus; and he published two quarto volumes of "Recherches sur le Culte, les Symboles, les Attributs, et les Monuments figurés de Vénus en Orient et en Occident," of which the volume of text appeared in 1837, while that of plates bears date of 1849. It contains eleven cylinders, also to be found in the plates of the "Culte de Mithra."

lections and of all early Babylonian engraving, both for its art and its antiquity. The heliogravures by Dujardin are as nearly perfect as possible from the impressions of the cylinders, taken on molding wax, hardly equal to the plaster casts made by Mr. Ready at the British Museum. The publication of this work gave most important new material to scholars, and still remains, with Lajard's "*Culte de Mithra*," their chief source of material for the investigation of the engraved art of the early East.

While Ménant was carrying on his studies of the material so freely supplied by de Clercq, he did not fail to examine all the other collections of cylinders which could be reached. The result of this study he put in his most valuable "*Les Pierres Gravées de la Haute-Asie; Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale*," the two volumes of which appeared in Paris, 1883-86. This is thus far the only important work, indeed the only one of any sort, devoted specifically to the explication of the engraved stones of Babylonia and the allied regions. It is illustrated abundantly with plates in heliogravure, by Dujardin, and with a multitude of wood engravings inserted in the text. Ménant classified intelligently the cylinders and cone seals, recognizing their national origin, their subjects and styles of art. The soundness of his judgment was aided by his studies of the literature and writing of the cuneiform texts, on which he published important works. But while he edited the first large list of cuneiform characters and the first collection of translated historical texts, his best work was done in the study of these engraved stones of High Asia, where he was the teacher of all subsequent scholars. In the present work there will be constant occasion to refer to the "*Pierres Gravées*" of this scholar, as well as to his "*Catalogue*" of the de Clercq collection, and his contributions to the scientific periodicals, which will be mentioned in their place.*

It is not necessary here to cite the multitude of minor papers on the cylinders which have appeared during the last forty years. Those that are of special value will be cited later. But mention must be made of a few catalogues of minor public or private collections which are accompanied by plates. Such are, particularly, Ménant's "*Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux du Cabinet Royal des Médailles de La Haye*," 1878, which embraces 35 cylinders belonging to the Museum of The Hague, besides other Assyrian and Sassanian seals. Among them are several important ones, especially the royal Armenian cylinder (fig. 42).

Another is the collection of Cypriote cylinders brought from Cyprus by Gen. L. P. di Cesnola, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, of which 32 are figured in General di Cesnola's "*Cyprus: its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*," 1878; and in the same author's folio "*Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*" (vol. III, plates CXIX to CXXI, 1903).

A collection of "*Babylonian and Assyrian Cylinder-Seals in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart.*," was described by Dr. T. G. Pinches in 1890. This collection contains 22 cylinders.

Under the title "*Ueber Babylonische Talismane (Cylinder und andere Formen) aus den historischen Museum im Steierisch-landschaftlichen Joanneum zu*

* Ménant also found time, notwithstanding his duties as conseiller à la Cour d'Appel, to pursue investigations in Persian and Avestan antiquities, which have been continued by his daughter, Mlle. Delphine Ménant, in a work crowned by the French Institute.

Graz," Dr. Heinrich Fischer and Dr. Alfred Wiedermann published in Stuttgart, 1881, a thin quarto with 14 cylinders and some other seals.

Scattered through the numerous plates in Max Ohnefalsch-Richter's quarto, "Kypros, the Bible and Homer," London, 1893, will be found drawings of about 175 cylinders, gathered mostly from published sources, but a few not previously figured.

In "Salamina," by L. P. di Cesnola, London, 1884, are 63 figures of Cypriote cylinders collected by him during his excavations in that island.

In Maxwell Somerville's "Engraved Gems," Philadelphia, 1889, are included 43 cylinders belonging to the author's private collection.

In M. Ernest de Sarzec's "Découvertes en Chaldée," edited by M. L. Heuzey, are two plates containing photogravures of 19 cylinders collected by the French explorer. Three of these are of high value; one being that of the physician Ur-lugal-edina (fig. 772); another the goddess under the bent tree, apparently attacked by an enemy (fig. 399); and yet another, one of the rare series of cylinders containing the man borne aloft by an eagle (fig. 391).

M. Marcel Dieulafoy's "L'Acropole de Suse," Paris, 1890, contains woodcuts of 19 cylinders collected by the author mostly in Baghdad.* Some of them are choice, and these, as well as those collected by de Sarzec, are now in the Louvre.

M. de Morgan, in charge of the later French excavations in Susa, which have been so fruitful of discoveries, and of the Code of Hammurabi, has been fortunate in finding a new series of Elamite cylinders. These are published in four photogravure plates and in wood-engravings, in vols. VII and VIII, 1905, of the "Mémoires" of the "Délégation en Perse," under the special title of "Recherches Archéologiques." Twenty-three cylinders are included in the plates, and thirty-six others, more definitely Elamite and supposed to be very archaic, are engraved in the text. These are now in the Louvre.

In C. W. King's "Antique Gems and Rings," London, 1872, will be found engravings of 19 cylinders. In the same author's "Handbook of Engraved Gems," London, 1885, are engravings of 22 cylinders, most of them repeated from the earlier volume.

The collection belonging to M. O. Pauvert de la Chapelle was given by him to the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, where it was added to the magnificent collection previously given by the Duc de Luynes. This collection is described and figured in a catalogue entitled "Intailles et Camées donnés au Département des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale," Paris, 1899, the editor being M. Ernest Babelon, Conservateur of that department. It contains photogravures of 12 cylinders.

While this work is passing through the press there has appeared, 1909, under the title "Cylinders and other Oriental Seals," a quarto volume, edited by myself, privately printed, containing heliotype figures, with descriptive text, of 280 cylinders of a collection in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan. This collection is particularly rich in Syro-Hittite cylinders and contains some other notable varieties included in this volume.

Since attention has been directed to these objects in later years there have appeared a multitude of papers by various scholars discussing such cylinders or some of their figures or emblems. These will be mentioned in their place; but it

*I recognize some of them as those that I saw in Baghdad in 1885, in the possession of Mr. Blockie, the English banker.

is important to speak here of the investigations of two scholars who have much advanced these studies. One of these is M. Fr. Lenormant, many of whose notes of importance are found in his "*Essai de Commentaire des Fragments Cosmogoniques de Bérose*," 1871. He made a careful study of the cylinders collected by Lajard and attempted to identify the deities there figured. The other is M. Léon Heuzey, the learned Conservateur of the Oriental antiquities in the Louvre. He has published many articles dealing with the cylinders in the French archeological journals and has collected some of the most important of them in his "*Les Origines Orientales*," a work of the highest value, and in "*De Sarzec's Découvertes en Chaldée*," edited by M. Heuzey. To the labors of the two French scholars Ménant and Heuzey the study of the art of the cylinders owes more than to all other scholars combined.

I may also refer to a succession of short articles on the cylinders published by myself, mostly in American archeological journals, during the last twenty-five years, some of which will be cited in their place.

CHAPTER III.

CLASSIFICATION OF CYLINDERS.

The prime classification of the Oriental cylinders must be chiefly geographical and national, although with this would partly coincide a chronological classification.

1. First would come, soon to be dismissed as of comparatively little consequence or influence, the Egyptian cylinders, but valuable for the cartouches of kings. They were local and peculiar, unrelated generally to those of other countries, and were superseded in Egypt by the use of the scarab. They appear in the dawn of Egyptian history, and were then fairly common, and they are occasionally met with in an archaizing way as late as the twenty-second dynasty. The fact that both Egypt and Chaldea in their earliest period used the cylinder seal is one of the evidences on which scholars rely to prove that the two civilizations had somewhere a common origin. As Egyptian cylinders have been so fully treated by Egyptologists, they are not included in this volume.

2. The next class we may call the Chaldean, to indicate the country and the successive kingdoms of early Chaldea, as Babylon itself did not emerge into history until many centuries after the art of cutting seals had been invented. The earlier kingdoms in Babylonia were rather Chaldean than Babylonian, the term Chaldea being used to designate mainly the southern portion of Babylonia. The kingdoms that arose there before the supremacy of Babylon was achieved by Hammurabi might more properly be called either Sumerian or Semitic, or, if we prefer, Elamite or Arabian; but the term Babylonian has come to include the whole succession of kingdoms which, from the dawn of history to the conquest of Cyrus over Nabonidus, or even until the capture of Babylon by Alexander and the substitution of a Western for an Eastern civilization, held possession of the southern valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Nor is it possible, before the time of the Persian conquest under Cyrus, to separate the art of Elam from that of Babylonia. There were many wars between the two, with alternate conquests. The lower valleys of the Tigris and those of the Ulai and Choaspes form a single terrane separated by no natural barrier. In early times Chaldea and Elam were one country.

3. The third division of the subject will be concerned with Assyrian cylinders, and it includes all those produced under the influence of the Assyrian Empire. Here, while the Babylonian influence was immense and while the ruling element of the population was Semitic, from Babylonia there came in, coincident with a new chief god Assur, new motives in art and religion—whether original or gathered from the surrounding Mesopotamian or Syrian tribes or those further north in the highlands of Asia Minor, we can not always tell. The general type continued long after the fall of Nineveh, and cylinders will be called Assyrian that were probably made and used in Southern Babylonia in the latest periods of the use of the cylinder.

4. A fourth chief division will be the Syro-Hittite, which can not be sharply separated into subdivisions, Hittite, Syrian, Phenician, and Mycenæan. It is often

impossible to distinguish them. Practically one common civilization prevailed all over western Asia Minor and Syria to the border of the Arabian Desert and the Mediterranean Sea.

5. A fifth class must be allowed to the Persian cylinders of the Achæmenian period. Their motives and their style of engraving are quite distinct from those both of Babylonia and Assyria. They had a short period, but are perfectly distinct.

6. We must give a separate class to those cylinders which we may call Cypriote because hitherto found chiefly in Cyprus. They are of a late period, and no more include the early purely Babylonian cylinders occasionally found in Cyprus than they would an early Egyptian cylinder found there.

These six classes will include the great mass of cylinders. But there will remain a considerable number whose geographical or national origin we can not assign, as well as some exceptional ones that show quite other influences. Some



few are dominated by the influences of an early Greek art, and may even belong to a period long subsequent to Alexander. Others, but very few, seem distinctly Arabian, or may be called Sabeian. Then there are those which would appear, from their material and their subjects, to have come from some of the independent kingdoms or tribes of hill people to the north or east of Assyria, but it would be hazardous to conjecture more definitely. There are rude geometrical cylinders and those with indefinite lines or figures, which might have sprung up anywhere among an uncultivated people and which deserve no assignment of place and hardly a recognition in any classification.

Under all these principal divisions there will be subdivisions, depending mainly on the subjects or gods figured on the subjects, and also in part on the successive changes in style or subject in the course of centuries. It is to these divisions and subdivisions, classified as far as possible, that the succeeding chapters are devoted.

The evidence as to the place to which a cylinder belongs within such a system of classification has to do both with the general division to which it must be assigned

and to the period within that division. A cylinder may be clearly Babylonian, but it may belong to the primitive Chaldean, the Middle, or the late Babylonian period.

There are certain lines of evidence that are conclusive, and, fortunately, for Babylonia and Assyria, as for Egypt, they are fairly abundant.

ROYAL CYLINDERS.

First among these are the cylinders which bear the name of a king or viceroy, whose date is known from historical documents. Such are the seals of the Elder Sargon (fig. 26), of Ur-Engur (fig. 30), of Gudea (fig. 39), and, to come down to a very late period, of the Persian Darius (fig. 43). Cylinders that have the same general characters as these can with sufficient certainty be referred to the same general period. The resemblance must cover shape, size, and the character of the writing, as well as the art. There are two or three dozens of such royal cylinders, mostly belonging to the period of Gudea and his predecessors.



The following may be specified:

1. The cylinder of Sargon I. (fig. 26). Here the period is early Babylonian. According to the chronology given by Nabonidus it is about 3800 B. C., although we may be obliged to reduce it by five hundred years, or even by the one thousand years desired by Lehmann. Here the art is free and of the best, and it will give, for size and general style, the approximate date of a large number of cylinders, some of which are of equal merit artistically, while others, made for less distinguished owners, are of a less fine design and finish.

2. A cylinder of Bin-gani-sharali, King of Agade and grandson of Sargon I. (fig. 27). The inscription reads, "Bin-gani-sharali, son of the king. Izilum, scribe, thy servant."

3. Cylinder of Bin-gur-akhi, King of Erech (fig. 28, *Ménant*, I, p. 104; *Schrader*, "Keilinschr. Bib.," III, p. 84). This is one of the most valuable seals belonging to the British Museum. About 3000 B. C. It reads: "To Bin-gur-akhi, King of Uruk; the scribe, thy servant."—Winckler.

4. Another cylinder (fig. 29), of lapis-lazuli, belonging to the Metropolitan Museum and of very archaic period, where we have Gilgamesh, both *en face* and in profile, fighting lions and ibexes. The inscription is not easy to decipher, but may be read, "King — devoted ruler of Erech."

5. The cylinder of Ur-Engur, King of Ur (fig. 30). We note here the seated god and the approaching figures, the two styles of headdress, and the unusual ox's leg and high back to the god's seat. About 2500 B. C. It reads: "[To] Ur-Engur, mighty hero, King of Ur, [has] Hashkhamir, governor of Ishkun-Sin, thy servant, [devoted] this."—Jensen.

6. A cylinder of Dungi, King of Ur, about 2450 B. C. (fig. 31). It represents a standing god before an altar, from which rises a flame, with two figures in the attitude of adoration. The inscription reads: "To Meslamtaea, right arm of Lagash, for the life of Dungi, the strong hero, king of Ur, Kilulla-guzala, son of Urbaga, has made [this seal]. Of this seal, 'May my king in his benevolent purpose live.' Such is its name."—Thureau-Dangin.



31

7. Another cylinder of Dungi, with the same general design (fig. 32), has this inscription: "To Nusku, supreme minister of Enlil, his king, for the life of Dungi, strong hero, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, Ur nab . . . , patesi of Nippur, son of Lugal-ezen-dug, patesi of Nippur, has vowed [this]."—Thureau-Dangin. In both these cylinders it is to be noticed that the second figure in the attitude of devotion does not wear a flounced garment, but one of simple design.



32



33

8. A cylinder of Bur-Sin (fig. 33) of the second dynasty of Ur, about 2400 B. C., shows us a seated god, with a worshiper and the flounced goddess following him. The inscription reads: "Bur-Sin, mighty King, king of Sumer and Akkad; Amel-Enlil, the scribe, son of Shar . . . , his servant."

9. A cylinder of Gimil-Sin, King of Ur (fig. 34). The inscription reads: "Gimil-Sin, strong king, king of Ur, king of the four regions, Dug . . . , scribe, son of Bashagga, thy servant."—Thureau-Dangin.

10. Another cylinder of Gimil-Sin (fig. 35), of which Ménant gives a drawing from an impression in the British Museum, but of whose ownership he was not

informed (1, R., 3, No. 11). The inscription reads: "Gimil-Sin, strong hero, king of Ur, king of the four regions: Galu-annatu, scribe, son of Khesh[ag], thy servant."—Thureau-Dangin.

Both these last cylinders show the same characteristics as the cylinder of Ur-Engur, except that the seat of the god is of the usual shape, with no back and a square frame.



11. Cylinder of Ibi-Sin, King of Ur (fig. 36, about 2350 B. C.), belonging to the Metropolitan Museum. This also is of the same general style as Nos. 9, 10 (see Ward, *Journ. Semitic Studies*, April, 1903, pp. 149-151). The inscription reads: "Ibi-Sin, mighty king, King of Ur, servant of Ninib, Dura-sir, his servant."—Price.

12. A cylinder imperfectly preserved (fig. 37), the inscription carrying the name of a king of Ur, but it is uncertain which of them it is, the name ending in "Sin." This differs from the three last in that the worshiper is not led by the hand (Mén., 1, p. 137; de Clercq, No. 113).

13. A cylinder of Gudea (fig. 38), about 2500 B. C., patesi of Shirpurla, or Lagash.* Ménant, 1, p. 213; de Clercq, fig. 84. Here the art is very much the same as in those of the kings of Ur, but the worshiping figures approach the standing Sun-god. It reads: "Gudea, patesi of Lagash, Lugal-me, scribe, thy servant."—Thureau-Dangin.

14. A very beautiful cylinder bearing simply the name of Gudea, patesi of Shirpurla, is shown in fig. 39^b. It is repeated and described under figs. 368^a and 650.

15. A cylinder of Ankisari, King of Ganhar (fig. 37^a), whose date is unknown, but he appears to be older than Gudea.

* The word *patesi* is often translated *viceroys*. But Jensen gives reasons (Schrader, *Keilinschr. Bib.*, II, p. 6) for believing that the word *patesi* does not mean *viceroys*, but *officer*. Gudea was independent, and only calls himself "*patesi*" of Nin-girsu, his god.

16. Another seal of Gudea (fig. 39) gives us the usual design of a worshiper led into the presence of a seated deity, who is this time a goddess (see *Am. Journ. Sem. Studies*, xx, p. 115). It reads: "Gudea, patesi of Shirpurla; Abba the scribe, thy servant."—Price.

17. A seal of Urlama, a patesi of Tello who succeeded Gudea; fig. 39*a*. (See Heuzey, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, v, p. 139: "Découvertes," p. 307.)



18. A cylinder of the Kassite King Burnaburiash (fig. 40), 1420 or 1400 B. C., belonging to the Metropolitan Museum. The inscription reads: "Hadad, supreme god of judgment, who rains fertility, who bestoweth plenty, heart-rest, the drink ashnan his gift is that which he maketh to be good: Sutakh the Kassite, servant of Burnaburiash, King of the world."—Pinches.

19. A cylinder of the Kassite King Kurigalzu (fig. 40*a*), 1410 or 1350 B. C. (*Ménant*, I, 193). These two last cylinders have the same style, fixing that of the Kassite period. This seal belonged to Duriulmas, an officer of Kurigalzu. It is translated: "Duriulmas, son of Belsunu, servant of Kurigalzu, King of Assar, sakkanaku of the city Dur-Kurigalzu."—*Ménant*. With it may be compared a similar cylinder in the de Clercq Collection (No. 257) which belonged to a son of a Duriulmas, who may have been another person.

20. Another cylinder of Kurigalzu belonging to Terimangar (fig. 41*a*). See fig. 539 for description.

21. A cylinder belonging to Sakkanaku, son of Kurigalzu (fig. 41). *Ménant*, I, p. 193.

22. Cylinder of Urzana (fig. 42), King of Muzazir, an Armenian district (Ménant, II, p. 95). Probably about 700 B. C. The inscription reads:

Seal of Urzana
King of the City Muzazir,
the Capital city, fortified,
of *ushu* stone
which is built high up
on dangerous mountains
in full view.—PRICE.



42

23. Cylinder of Darius, King of Persia (fig. 43). This seal is remarkable not only for the quality of its work, but for the fact that only the name of the king is given, as its owner, and not that of any scribe or officer (Ménant, II, p. 166). The inscription is bilingual. The Persian reads: "I am Darius the King," and the Assyrian is a little fuller: "I am Darius the great King."

Besides these there may be mentioned several royal cylinders whose date is unknown, or which contain no figured design, but only an inscription. Such are:

24. A seal of [Dun]gi, King of Erech, in the Metropolitan Museum, somewhat broken, and containing simply an inscription.

25. Another of Gudea, belonging to the Museum of The Hague (Ménant, "Catal. de La Haye," p. 59, plate VII, No: 35; Schrader, "Keilinsch. Bib.," II, p. 64), gives the names of Gudea and his wife. It is barrel-shaped and merely inscribed. Perhaps this should hardly be called a seal cylinder, but rather a votive object. For the fine cylinder of Lugal-anda, patesi of Sirgulla, see fig. 63.



43

IMPRESSIONS ON TABLETS OF ROYAL CYLINDERS.

Quite as valuable as the royal cylinders themselves, for tests of classification, are the impressions of cylinders on tablets, whenever these impressions happen to be distinct, and either the cylinders impressed contain a royal name or the tablet contains a written date. Of the impressions which contain a royal name whose approximate date is known, the number is few. The following may be named:

1. A cylinder with the name of Sargon, drawn by M. Heuzey ("Découvertes en Chaldée," p. 281) (fig. 44). On this fine cylinder Gilgamesh is seen attacking a lion, breaking the lion's back over his knee. The style of the inscription and the design are of the same noble workmanship as the splendid de Clercq cylinder which shows Gilgamesh giving water to the buffaloes (fig. 26).

2. An impression of a second cylinder (fig. 45) bearing the name of Sargon I. also published by M. Heuzey (*"Découvertes en Chaldée,"* p. 282). The cylinder is of extraordinary size and of an entirely different design, showing a seated goddess, with a worshiper before her and an attendant behind her carrying a weapon or rod on her shoulder. The arrangement of the inscription is unique; and the tree is to be observed.



3. A third cylinder carrying the name of Sargon I. (fig. 46) is figured by M. Heuzey (*"Découvertes en Chaldée,"* p. 283); but of this there remain only the inscription and the tree, a tree of the mountains, like a cypress.

4. The impression of a cylinder found at Bismya (fig. 47) gives a lion attacked, probably by Gilgamesh, and has Sargon's name.

5. Yet another, also from Bismya, shows us Gilgamesh attacking a buffalo or bull (fig. 48), and has Sargon's name.

6. The impression of a cylinder bearing the name of Naram-Sin (fig. 49), son and successor of Sargon I., 3750 B. C. (or later), also published by M. Heuzey (*"Découvertes en Chaldée,"* p. 284). Here we have another representation of Gilgamesh fighting a lion, and another deity with rays from his shoulders.



7. A second cylinder of Naram-Sin (fig. 50) is also given by M. Heuzey (*"Découvertes en Chaldée,"* p. 285). Different portions are fortunately impressed on the two sides of a fragment of a tablet, so that the main part of the design and inscription can be restored. A deity, probably seated, with rays from his shoulders receives a worshiper, and the cypress tree is behind him. This is an extraordinarily

valuable series of designs on cylinders belonging to the same half century, and in a very early period of Chaldean art.

8. Another impression of a cylinder of a patesi of Naram-Sin, in which a sun-god with rays ascends a mountain. An accompanying goddess presents the worshiper with a sacrifice (fig. 50a). See de Sarzec, "Découvertes," p. 286.



9. Impression of a cylinder of Dungi (fig. 51), King of Ur, on a tablet belonging to myself, hitherto unpublished. It represents Gilgamesh fighting a winged monster. The inscription reads:

To Dungi,
of royal seed
by Ur-Dumuzi,
Scribe, his
servant.—PRICE.

10. A very complete impression of a seal with the name of Dungi is to be seen in fig. 51a. The god holds a two-handled vase, and the goddess presents a worshiper. Before the god is a peculiar sort of altar. The inscription is given by Heuzey as "Dungi, mighty hero, King of Ur, King of the four regions; Ur-[pasag ?] the scribe, thy servant." Above the inscription is the lion-headed eagle of Lagash.



11. Another cylinder impression on an unpublished tablet belonging to myself, with name of Dungi, King of Ur (fig. 51b). A worshiper is led to a seated bearded god.

12. Yet another cylinder impression on a tablet belonging to me and containing the name of Dungi, fig. 52. Here two female figures present the worshiper to the deity.

13. In fig. 52a we have the design on a tablet dated in the reign of Gimil-Sin, of Ur. Here the type is a usual one, except that a lion is on the god's seat and another lion lifts a standard behind him. For further discussion of this seal see fig. 303a.

14. Another impression on a tablet (fig. 52b) shows still the same design, so characteristic of the period. The long inscription dedicates the cylinder to the king Gimil-Sin, who may be represented as a god on the cylinders, as Heuzey suggests; for the sign of divinity precedes his name as is not unusual on these cylinders from Agade and Ur. It reads: "Gimil-Sin, mighty King, King of Ur, King of the four regions, Arad-Nannar, the supreme viceroy, son of Ur-Dunpauddu, his servant."



DATED TABLETS WITH CYLINDER IMPRESSIONS.

Yet another conclusive test of style appears in the multitude of tablets impressed with a seal which bears no royal name, but in which there is a date given in the inscription on the tablet itself. Most business tablets are dated with the day and month and the year of the reigning king. The impression of the seal is necessarily contemporaneous with the writing, and we thus have a sure index of the style of seal in use at the date given. While thousands of these tablets have been published, unfortunately in very few cases are the figures on the seals given, so that we have not any considerable body of them accessible to scholars. It is much to be desired that some scholar with free access to European and American collections may give us drawings of seals impressed on dated tablets, not wholly for the purpose of providing fresh evidence of the period of the seals, but still more because we shall thus be supplied with a considerable number of new types and designs not represented upon the cylinders that are gathered in the public cabinets. No scholar except Ménant has entered this field and those collected by him* are mostly of the later

* "Empreintes de Cylindres Assyro-Chaldéens relevées sur les contrats d'intérêt privé du Musée Britannique."

Babylonian or the Persian period, with a few of an earlier period. We must also mention the seals on tablets of the Kassite period published by A. T. Clay in his "Cassite Rulers."

CHANGES OF STYLE.

We know from a multitude of inscriptions, both on clay tablets and cut in stone, what was the style of the writing from the earliest Chaldean period until that of the Seleucidæ. The very earliest writing is yet of a somewhat pictorial character. Then followed the linear writing, in vertical columns, to be followed by writing in lines from left to right and made to conform, even on stone, with the wedge-shaped writing on clay. The wedge writing of Gudea's time is more complicated than that of the Middle and Later Empire, except as in late times an archaizing style was sometimes affected. Also the northern Assyrian style came to differ considerably from the Babylonian, being simpler. All these appear on the cylinders and afford a reliable test of the period to which the cylinders belong.

Besides these primary and conclusive tests of the period to which a cylinder belongs, may be mentioned some others that are perfectly satisfactory, but of a less immediate source of evidence. Thus, in the cylinders of the earliest period the art is of an archaic character not to be confounded with the scratchings of later incompetence. The profile face is mainly a great eye and a prominent nose, giving the head a marked likeness to that of a bird, so that it has sometimes been supposed that bird-headed human figures were intended. The garments are much simpler and shorter, and the figure is more often nearly naked. In this earliest period and that which immediately succeeded it the general design was usually freer and more artistic, while in the Middle kingdom, from the time of Gudea and Hammurabi, a certain fixity and conventionality characterized the designs. Again, the Assyrian period was marked by new conventions and by a different style of dress. The gods had wings and other dress and weapons, while a fresh body of symbols was adopted.

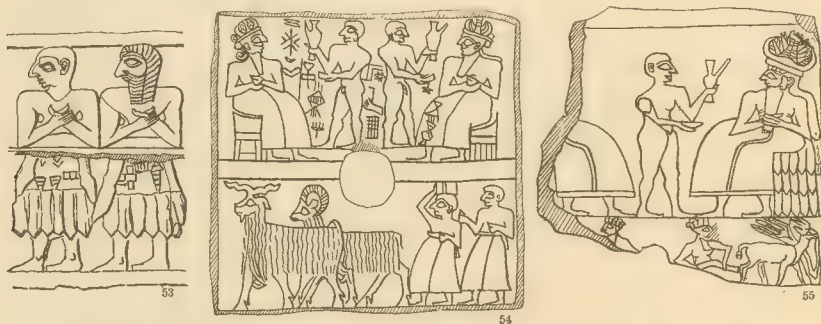
But before the Assyrian kingdom arose the Kassite period had changed the shape and size of the cylinder. It affected long religious inscriptions, with often only a single figure in the attitude of worship accompanied by symbols. The Second Empire of Nebuchadnezzar retained pretty much the style and designs of the Kassite dynasty, but developed the design and reduced the inscription. In the immediately succeeding period of the Achæmenian kings of Persia we find a fresh style, occasionally with more liberty, while the dress of men represented was of a new and peculiar style suggesting trousers. There is a paucity of design, the most frequent being that of a god fighting one or two lions.

Similarly the cylinders of the Syro-Hittite period have usually a family likeness. The rope-pattern is extremely common, hardly found elsewhere. The work is mostly fine, the figures delicate, and part of the design is often in two registers, in which are seen sphinxes, lions, etc., facing each other, while a new series of deities appears in many cases. All these characteristic and differentiating marks will be fully illustrated as the various classes of cylinders are described.

CHAPTER IV.

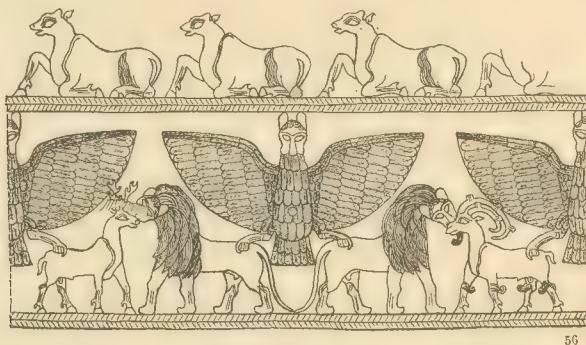
ARCHAIC CYLINDERS: THE EAGLE OF LAGASH.

On what appears to be the most archaic class of cylinders inscriptions are seldom found. We must judge of their age chiefly by their style of art, their material, and their shape, although occasionally an inscription of a very old type appears. We are fortunate in possessing bas-reliefs on stone, with figures and



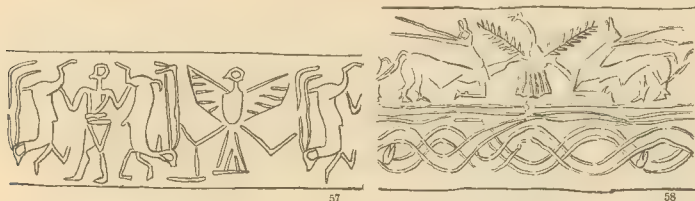
names of kings, from Nippur (Niffer) and Shirpurla (Tello), which give us the style of the primitive art. Examples are given in figs. 53, 54, 55.

The materials of cylinders are usually white marble, aragonite, or shell, occasionally serpentine or lapis-lazuli. Lapis-lazuli appears at the earliest period. The



use of aragonite, a crystalline semi-translucent variety of calcite, of a slightly greenish tinge, is peculiar to these cylinders. In shape they are usually purely cylindrical (not concave-face); and in size they are generally rather large, but sometimes slender and of a length more than twice the diameter. Very frequently they are in two registers separated by one or more lines.

One of the most frequent designs on these archaic cylinders is a mythologic bird, which has been called the eagle of Lagash. For a further consideration of this emblem see Chapter LXIX. It can be best understood from its representation on the vase of Entemena (see Heuzey, "Le Vase d'argent Entéména") (fig. 56).

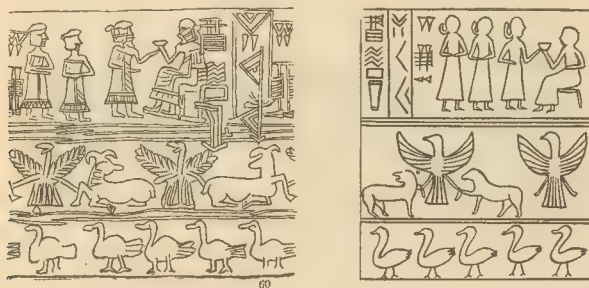


This eagle has been designated the Standard of Lagash by Heuzey, who first studied it in this fine silver vase brought from Tello (also called Lagash or Shirpurla) by M. de Sarzec. The Chaldean artists of this earliest period delighted in variations of the design, representing the eagle as seizing in its talons two lions or bulls or ibexes. In fig. 57 he seizes two reversed ibexes by the horns. This is an unusually short cylinder and thicker than usual, and of only one register. The bilateral symmetry of the eagle between the two ibexes is repeated, by the hero being placed between them on the other side and seizing each ibex by the leg. The extremely archaic drawing of the hero will be observed, with the bird-like head and the simple girdle around his waist holding probably the breech-cloth.

Another example of the same design is seen in fig. 58, in which the ibexes fallen on one knee are seized by the upper foreleg or breast. This cylinder is remarkable for what is, before the Hittite period, the very unusual, if not unique, design of a rope-pattern in the lower register, not to be expected before the Hittite period. See also figs. 95 and 108a.



In fig. 59 we have the same design, but the eagle's tail is greatly extended. We must assign to a somewhat later period the unusually elaborate design in fig. 60, although the inscription of a *dupshar*, or scribe, is in a very early style, but



the heads of the human figures appear considerably less archaic than those in most cylinders which bear this design of the eagle of Lagash. This cylinder, which is of quartz, is in three registers, and shows in the middle register two eagles alternating with rams, which they seize on each side, one by the fore legs, the other

by the hind quarters. Almost precisely like this is fig. 61. Another fine example of this type is seen in fig. 62. Here again we have the claws of the eagle on the rumps of the two ibexes; while in the upper register are shown a gate with a porter on one side and a seated figure on the other, and a presumably female figure is



drinking through a tube from a vase, a design which will be considered later. Nearly the same scene is shown in fig. 62a. We have in fig. 63 an unusually fine example of this eagle of Lagash seizing two ibexes by the rump. Hommel finds in this cylinder the name of Lugal-anda, the famous patesi of Sirgulla before Sargon. The six lines of inscription are read:

To Lu-dingir- . . [Lugul-an-da, Hommel]
The mighty man of the god
The king (or Lugal) (dingir) KA-DI
tablet

by PA-AL (= magician)
his servant.—PRICE.

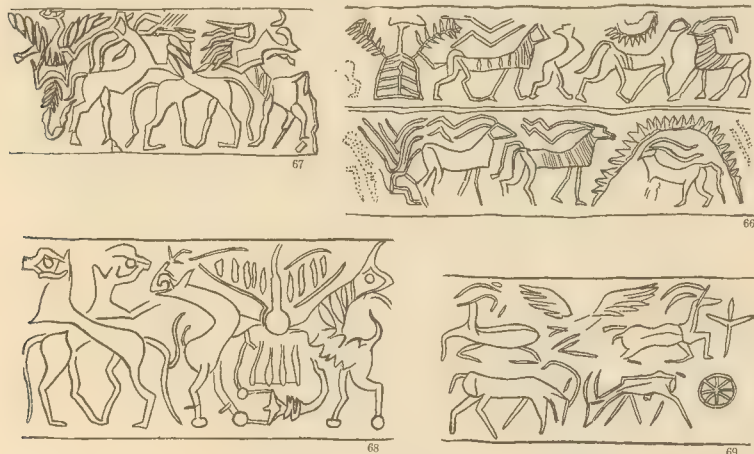


Two others are given in fig. 64 and fig. 65.



In these cases it will be observed that the perfect bilateral symmetry, which is so marked a feature in the later art, has not yet been achieved. The eagle is not between two animals back to back or face to face. It is very common to have a series of animals or birds in the lower register of these cylinders. An example with the long-tailed oryx is in fig. 66. A similar long-tailed oryx is one of the two seized by the eagle in fig. 67, the other being a bull, and the two attacked by crossed lions.

Two other examples are shown in figs. 68, 69, both worn, as usual. One of them shows a scorpion under the eagle, and the other a star. Here may be included a large cylinder in two registers (fig. 70) in which it is not clear that the eagle is seizing the two animals, perhaps deer, that are attacked by men in the lower register; in the upper register are two seated deities. This is a shell cylinder of very



rude, early work. Very peculiar is fig. 71, which is a thick marble cylinder in shape like those described in Chapter xxxii. It shows the design substantially complete, either side up; for while the eagle seizes on each side a figure like Eabani, the body of a human figure, presumably Gilgamesh, so meets that of the eagle that when reversed he is seen grasping and lifting the Eabani figures by the feet. One Eabani seizes a reversed ibex and the other the lion which attacks it.



We have a modification of this design, which is so far as I know unique, in fig. 72. Here the eagle seizes two serpents. There is a tree, and a nude man, with a peculiar archaic head-dress, seizes a deer. This apparently belongs to the forest region of Elam. It reminds us of the myth of the eagle that killed the young serpents.

For a study of this favorite emblem of the kings of Lagash (Shirpurla), we are indebted to M. Heuzey's description in "*Découvertes en Chaldée*," pp. 261-264, plate 43, 43 bis, also "*Le Vase d'argent d'Entéména*." This wonderful silver vase (fig. 56), on a copper base, is by far the finest existing monument of the earliest metal work of Chaldea. The decoration is in two bands or registers, as in so many of the archaic cylinders. M. Heuzey remarks that this system of double zones of animals was transmitted to the Assyrian and Phenician bowls and through the Mycenæan to the decoration of the Greek ceramic work of an Oriental style. ("*Comptes Rendus*," May-June, 1893, pp. 169, etc.) The lower of the two regis-



ters, with which only we have to do here, is composed of four lion-headed eagles, two of which seize a lion with each talon, while one of the alternate eagles seizes a couple of deer, and the other a couple of ibexes. The whole circle is composed with the most elaborate bilateral symmetry, and the lions each bite at the head of the deer or ibex opposite him. These fantastic and monstrous birds have, as M. Heuzey remarks, remained popular in oriental story, as the *rok* of the Arabs, the *karshiya* of the Persians, the human-headed *garudha* of India, and the harpies of the Greeks. From this eagle, in its heraldic attitude necessitated by its attack on the two animals, was derived the two-headed eagle, in the effort to complete the bilateral symmetry



of the bird when represented with an eagle head turned to one side, like the double face of the human biffons. This double-headed eagle appears in Hittite art (figs. 854, 855, 856) and is continued down through Turkish and modern European royal symbolism. The lion-headed eagle would appear to have belonged originally to the special worship of either Ishtar or Bau and Ningirsu, the gods of Lagash; it was called *Im-gig* and was the particular emblem of the kings of Lagash. We find it represented with lions in the art of the first known king of Lagash, Ur-nina, on a square, perforated, earthenware plaque from the royal palace (fig. 73); or even earlier, without the lions, on a base of the date of Mesilim, King of Kish, supposed to be 4000 B. C. (fig. 74). The bird *Im-gig* is mentioned in the inscriptions of Gudea (see Thureau-Dangin, "*Le Songe de Goudéa*," in *Acad. des Inscr.*, 1901, pp. 112, and *Z. A.*, 1903, p. 191). We there read, following M. Thureau-Dangin's trans-

lation: "The divine bird Im-gig, the emblem of his king," which is in all probability this lion-headed or eagle-headed emblem. This eagle of Lagash, with an eagle head, was carried on a military standard (fig. 76) or with a lion's head over lions, in the hands of the king (fig. 75). This may well have been the symbol of Ishtar similarly represented with lions, as Heuzey suggests (*ib.*, p. 115), when he says that the eagle standard "appears to represent a warrior goddess." These figures come from the "Stele of Vultures," made by King Eannadu, and now in the Louvre.

It may, I think, be presumed that the eagle-headed eagle and the lion-headed eagle, and also the eagle with two eagle heads, have the same significance, when figured in front view with wings spread on each side. Unlike the griffin-dragon, it is a beneficent emblem, representing a protecting power. We find it in the art of the earlier Chaldean period, but in the middle and later period it quite disappears, although it is retained in the art of the Hittite region to the north and east of Assyria. Illustrations of it appear in figs. 188, 228, 229, 230, 776.



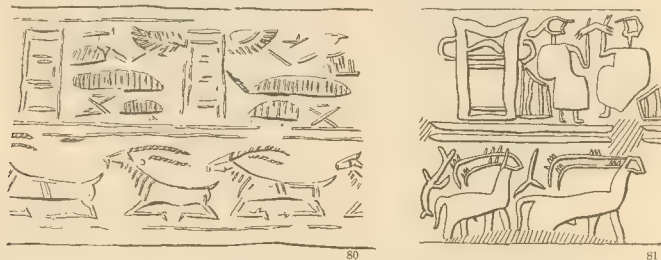
CHAPTER V.

ARCHAIC CYLINDERS: THE SEATED DEITIES.

Another of the more frequent designs of this archaic type, often accompanying the eagle of Lagash, is that of two seated deities facing each other (sometimes only one deity). The simplest form is seen in fig. 77, which gives us only the two deities and two worshipers. Other examples from the Berlin Museum are figs. 78, 79. The latter cylinder is of lapis-lazuli, and we observe the shape of the vase held in the hand of the deity. Unfortunately, no such careful study of Babylonian pottery has yet been made as of that from Egypt, and we get from it little indica-



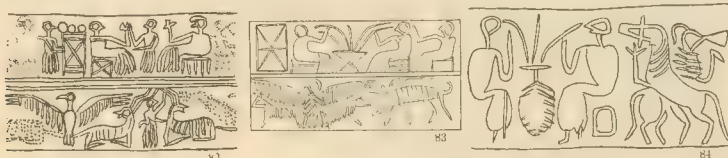
tion of antiquity. Usually we see either a vase between the two deities, from which they seem to be drinking through a tube, or they are accompanied by a gate, which is at times winged. An illustration of the winged gate (also a second gate not winged) is seen in fig. 80. The deities are, like the human figures which may accompany them, always beardless, so that it is impossible to tell whether the seated figures, which it is safe to call deities, are male or female—very probably a god and a goddess. The significance of the winged gate is very difficult to determine.



In the designs which represent the standing Shamash (Chapter XIII) rising over the mountains the accompanying gates are certainly the gates of the morning, and it may be that these are the same. We shall also see the winged gates in the designs which show us a crouched bull before or under the gate (Chapter XVII), where again the symbolism of the gates is obscure. We are reminded of "the wings of the morning," Ps. 139: 9. But usually the gate is not winged.

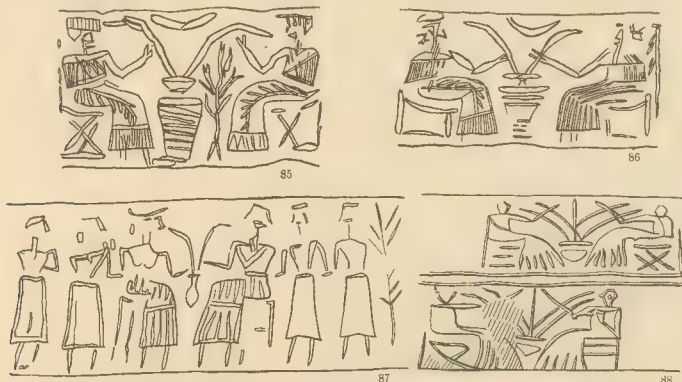
In fig. 82 the eagle seizes two ibexes in the lower register, one of which is also attacked in front by a human figure, while in the upper register the gate is between the backs of the two seated deities, between whom stands a figure in the attitude

of adoration, and a second figure stands as porter by the gate. In this instructive cylinder we may fairly presume that the worshiper between the deities is the same personage as the hunter or hero in the lower register, while the porter standing by the gate in the upper register suggests very strongly that one of the seated deities is a Sun-god and that behind him is the gate of the morning from which he emerges. Similar cylinders are seen in figs. 62 and 62a.



In fig. 81 the gate appears to have two handles in place of two wings. This recalls M. Heuzey's brilliant suggestion that the object held by a figure like Gilgamesh, at times when he seems to act as a warder or attendant, is the post of a door, or gate, with the handle as shown in fig. 648. Here the two deities sit facing each other, each apparently holding an object in his hand. The lower register shows two ibexes and a branch.

In fig. 83 we have another case of the two seated deities with the gate in the upper register, while the eagle of Lagash, with the two small bulls crowded under its wings, appears in the lower register. The two deities in the upper register here appear to be drinking through tubes from the large bowl, or crater, between them. It might be possible to interpret this scene otherwise, as if the deities were enjoying the smoke or odors from an offering. In another case, however (fig. 84), the



two seated figures have a distinct vase between them, with a slender neck, and it seems difficult to interpret it in any other way than that they are drinking through a tube. We have here the two lions crossed, a device which we shall often meet in the cylinders of a little later period. Other cases of this design will be seen in figs. 85, 86, 87, 88. In the last case the design is repeated in two registers and the cylinder is of lapis-lazuli.

In many cases the principal design on these apparently most archaic cylinders is more simple, consisting of one or two seated figures, doubtless deities, and one

or more approaching figures. If there is a second register it may have the eagle of Lagash, or a procession of birds or animals, as in figs. 60, 61, 66. Such a case we have in fig. 89. The two deities sit, as usual, back to back with a freely drawn



tree between their backs. One of them, with a fringed garment, appears to be a male and perhaps has a beard. Each deity holds a vase, and before each stands a worshiper or attendant. A gazelle occupies the middle of the design and above appears to be a large vase on a stand. The whole design is most archaic, and it is very interesting to observe that this cylinder is in lapis-lazuli, showing how early this material came into use. A yet simpler one is shown in fig. 90, also very archaic, which shows simply the two deities and a single worshiper. A single deity, with three approaching worshipers, is shown in fig. 91. The lower register has the frequently repeated succession, here of three birds. The extreme age of these cylinders and also the early period at which writing began to be used appear in a fragment of a lapis-lazuli cylinder shown in fig. 92. Here the writing is of the very oldest form, passing out of the pictorial stage.

Doubtless much later, but yet belonging to the same type as fig. 91, is fig. 93. Here the illegible writing is much less archaic, as is also the drawing of the heads of the personages. It is interesting to observe that the swans are floating on the water. This cylinder, introduced here for comparison, is of soft serpentine and probably comes from the Assyrian rather than the Babylonian territory, although very early in Assyrian history.

Yet another very early aragonite cylinder is shown in fig. 94, where we again seem to see a difference between the fringed skirt of one deity and the plain skirt of the other, indicating the difference of sex. Each of the worshipers appears to present a tree, or branch, to the deity, in one case resting on



a stand. The lower register shows perhaps antelopes. Fig. 96 is from an aragonite cylinder, very deeply cut. In the upper portion is a small seated deity, before what appear to be a man and two crossed animals. The remaining portion is very peculiar. A human figure kicks up one leg and supports two vases. There are two scorpions. But still more interesting and peculiar is the lapis-lazuli cylinder shown in fig. 95.

Here we have a two-horned seated deity apparently drinking from a vase through a tube. Before him comes a hero presenting a rampant lion, which he holds by the head and tail. Behind the deity is a gate and above the figures are two serpents moving in opposite directions, and so drawn as to suggest an origin for the rope-pattern which we observed in fig. 58 and which is also shown in fig. 507. Another peculiar, if not unique, example of this archaic style with the seated deity appears in fig. 97. Here the deity, a goddess if we can judge uncertainly from the coiffure,



holds a branch in one hand, probably a vase in the other, and two soldiers, each armed with an ax, bring to her a prisoner with his hands tied behind him. It would be easy to conjecture, if there were any other trustworthy evidence of the practice, that these prisoners were brought as a human sacrifice. In fig. 98 we have a very archaic cylinder on which three scenes are depicted, all of conflict between warriors. In two cases there are two men represented as if fighting, while in the third group one of them is taken prisoner by the other, but the victor is symmetrically repeated.

In fig. 99, from an archaic shell cylinder, we have two similar deities seated before a vase but not visibly drinking from it, while a third similar figure is seated behind them. In the lower register the lions attack a reversed ibex. In fig. 100 we seem pretty certain to have a case of a libation before a deity, the vase of wine or oil being poured out by one of the naked servants of the worshiper, while a second brings perhaps another vase or offering. Above a gate is the eagle of Lagash.



A very interesting cylinder, whose ownership is unknown to me, is shown in fig. 101 and is drawn from inked impressions which I obtained in Baghdad from a dealer there. It does not appear to be of the most archaic period, but yet to follow that style. In the upper register are three seated figures, one of whom holds a kind of lyre. There are five other standing figures, one of whom is incased in a gateway or frame. In the lower register are two seated figures and six others, of which one is holding an amphora on a stand.

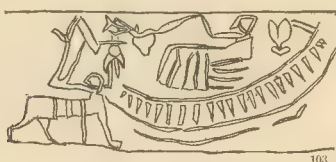
CHAPTER VI.

ARCHAIC CYLINDERS: A DEITY IN A BOAT.

Occasionally on these most primitive cylinders we have the representation of a boat, sometimes in combination with other scenes. It would seem to be the god Ea, or more likely Shamash, who stands in a boat, in fig. 102, with streams from his shoulders. The boat is propelled by two oarsmen, through a stream or canal, beside which are reeds and a wild boar, while branches are attached to the god's streams. The boat seems to be of the round coracle style still used in the East. If this is Shamash, it may be that he is sailing through the upper or lower heavens, as in fig. 293. It would appear to be a boat that is represented in fig. 103, where a



deity sits in the boat and holds a line or a tube, perhaps for drinking, which protrudes from the vase. On the other side a small figure standing at the end of the boat seizes a similar line or tube. Behind the seated figure is another vase, and a goat, perhaps, stands outside the boat. In this case it is not absolutely certain that it is a boat that is represented. But there can be no doubt about fig. 104. In this cylinder a portion of the design covers its entire length, while the rest is in two registers. In the single-register portion a seated goddess, the sex designated by the long hair, rests her feet on an animal, perhaps the lion of Ishtar. Before her



is an altar and an approaching worshiper brings a goat as an offering. This design of a worshiper with a goat, here most primitive, becomes exceedingly frequent somewhat later. In the upper register of the remaining portion we see the familiar two seated deities and the gate, while the lower register gives us a composition which piques curiosity. In a boat are two figures, one seated in the stern apparently steering or poling, while the other stands at the prow and seems to be addressing two approaching figures, one of which carries a weight, slung by a stick over his shoulder, perhaps an animal or a big fish. Is it possible that this design represents the passage of the soul of the dead over a river, as in the Egyptian and Greek mythologies?

Unfortunately, the four following cylinders that show us the human-headed boat are, with one exception, badly worn. Three of them are of shell, and all very archaic. They make it plain that the boat was represented at times as having the human form at the prow, as if it were half man, rather than having a figure-head of the human shape. An illustration of this is seen in fig. 105, where it is not easy to see what the boat carries, if boat it be and not rather a monster with the tail of a fish or serpent. Indeed it is both. While it is a boat and carries passengers, as we shall see on another cylinder, fig. 108, there apparently a seated figure, the living boat is yet a composite creature possibly related to the man-fish, Oannes according to Heuzey, which occasionally appears in cylinders of a later period. He seems in fig. 105 to be



pursuing a bull, perhaps with a whip or very likely using an oar. May we not, however, suppose that we have here a representation of the monster Apsu (Apason), who represented the original chaos in the primitive form of the myth, under which the contest was between Ea and Apsu (with Mummu), a myth which, transferred to Nippur, became a contest of Enlil and Tiamat, and later, at Babylon, of Marduk and Tiamat. This change consists in making the original male Apsu into a female Tiamat. The lower register shows a man of an archaic type and three goats.

Two similar examples of such a composite man-boat or man-fish we find in the de Clercq collection. In fig. 106 the upper register gives us the eagle of Lagash seizing two crouched animals, bulls or ibexes, while the lower register shows the boat with a human prow, within which is at least one figure. The human portion



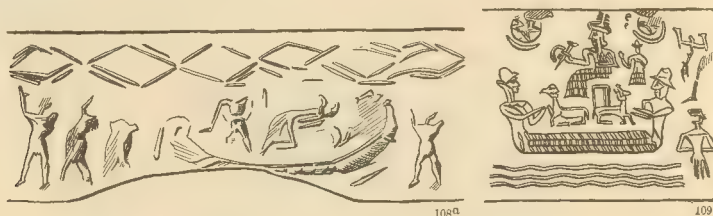
holds in his hands a three-forked branch, which might perhaps be considered the trident of a sea-god. A similar three-forked object is seen in the hand of the god on the Dungi cylinder (fig. 31). The animal he may be pursuing is lost in the disintegration of the material, although a human figure is preserved. Yet another design much like it is seen in fig. 107. We have here the same human-prowed boat or man-fish, although it is not certain what passengers are carried. But we have the same three-forked object carried in the creature's hand and the animal

in front is clearly shown. The upper register has two seated figures, a worshiper, and a gate. Both of these cylinders from the de Clercq collection are of shell (not "white marble") and are badly decomposed. In the cylinders with boats some scholars have seemed to see a representation of the passage of Gilgamesh over the waters of death, which he was not allowed to touch, and which he passed with twelve strokes of the oar. Unfortunately, there is no clear evidence that any of the seals present this portion of the Gilgamesh story.

One of the best examples of this design, and a most surprising one, is seen in fig. 108. It is of shell, unusually well preserved, and is in two registers. The upper one distinctly gives us a human head and body, perhaps feminine, which ends in a fish or serpent.

Turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne.

The head of the monster, as that of the seated figure, is crowned with the horns of a bull (bison); its head has a large queue and the tail ends in a circle with a point, possibly suggesting a scorpion. The monster seems to handle an oar. There would seem to be rays from the shoulders of the seated figure. It is impossible to recognize the animal before the boat, perhaps a lion, so far as the feet and tail are concerned. Nor is it easy to understand the meaning of the curved line over the animal, which seems to be connected with what might appear, but can not be, wings behind the standing man with bull's horns and carrying a long staff. Nor can we make out what is the object over the animal. The lower register is quite as interesting. We have a two-wheeled chariot, when a four-wheeled chariot would have been expected, as in fig. 127, and in it an archaic figure is seated and drawn by an ass. This is the earliest clear case in which we have the ass figured,



and for driving, not riding, but compare fig. 119. It can not well be a horse. It would appear that the reins are held by a ring in the nose, or a cord about the lip of the ass, yet this is not certain. The charioteer is followed by three armed soldiers, one of whom carries a spear, one an ax, and one perhaps a sling. There is an ax beside the charioteer, and a dog follows. This is certainly a most interesting and extraordinary, as well as puzzling, cylinder of importance in the history of domestic animals. Very likely the cylinder shown in fig. 108a is of a similar design, but it is sadly worn. It is also remarkable for what may be a purely accidental occurrence of a rude form of the rope-pattern which belongs to the Hittite period (see fig. 58).

Another extraordinary example of what simulates a boat is seen in fig. 110. Here the long snake-like animal has become a quadruped, not with the human head, and seated in it is apparently the goddess Bau with her characteristic bird, as seen in figs. 230-234. There is also a second animal, a vase, and probably a plow.

Clearer than in any other case in which we have a human-bodied boat is the meaning of the design in fig. 109. It is plain here that we have the seated Shamash in a boat, as we see him in fig. 293. He holds the emblems of chief authority, the ring and the rod. Under him, as a footstool, are two bulls, possibly with human heads. They are a sort of cherubim for his throne, for at the date of this cylinder the winged bull was not known to Babylonian art. They rather correspond with the footstool of the god seen in figs. 320, 323. The boat itself is clearly divine and, with its human form at the two ends, is the throne-bearer of the god over the waters, doubtless the upper waters of the heavens. The accessories are the sun in the crescent, repeated, a small worshiper behind the god, another figure rising from the water in front of the boat, and perhaps another following behind.



110

In a country like Phenicia or Palestine it was not natural to think of a god as riding in a boat. Accordingly we see the deity in a chariot, as in figs. 976-983. But in a land of canals, like Egypt or Babylonia, where all traffic was by water, it was natural to imagine the god borne over the sky in a boat, and not, like Phœbus, in a chariot. But as the chariot of Phœbus was drawn by horses, so here the boat must have the intelligence to go as required, and hence it was partly human, and the design is related to the biblical representations of the throne-bearers of Yahveh. If the boat itself was not a living creature it must have means to row or, rather, to pole it, as in fig. 102.



110a

There may here be added the remarkable cylinder shown in fig. 110a, although it is not of the extreme archaic period. We have a not unusual design of Gilgamesh fighting a human-headed bull which is attacked on the other side by a lion. The second scene gives us two figures clad in short garments, in a boat of the shape of the coracle, or kufa, still in use on the rivers of Babylonia. The figure rowing may be the god Sin, and so represent the moon sailing through the heavens; or it may be Shamash represented in the same way.

CHAPTER VII.

ARCHAIC CYLINDERS: CONTESTS WITH WILD BEASTS.

A considerable number of these very archaic cylinders of the primitive period show us contests with wild beasts and form a connecting link with the fights of Gilgamesh and Eabani with lions, bulls, and buffaloes, which we meet in the next and more advanced period. Such, for example, is fig. 111, where the human figures are thoroughly archaic in the bird-like head and the short, fringed garment, and the inscription is in the most primitive style, as in figs. 54, 73; and we have here a case of only partial bilateral symmetry. In the little lapis-lazuli seal (fig. 113)



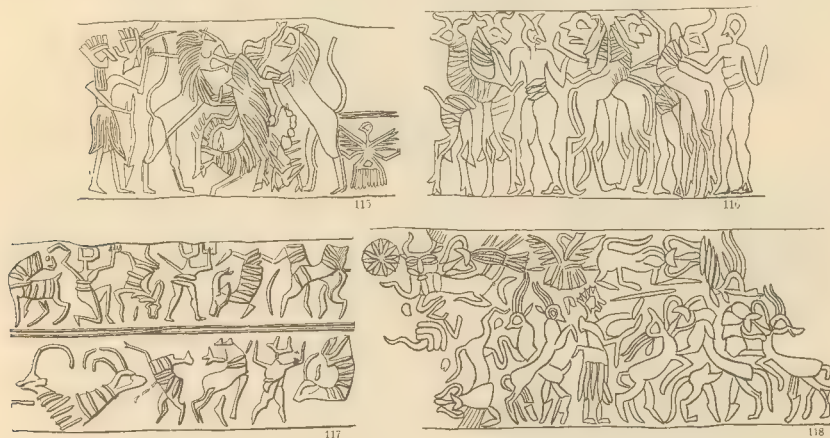
we have an ibex reversed, attacked by two lions, while a hunter attacks one of the lions with a knife or javelin. On rather thick, marble cylinders from southern Chaldea we somewhat frequently have this reversed ibex thus attacked. An example is seen in fig. 112, although this is not as thick as usual. Here two lions attack the ibex, and there is a scorpion. It is evidently bulls that are attacked by lions in fig. 114, one of the lions being in turn attacked by a hunter with a knife. Here the inscription, if there was one, over the head of what might be Eabani, is erased. It is an ibex with which the hunter contends in fig. 115. It is reversed between two lions, one of which the huntsman attacks with one weapon, while he holds another in his other hand. We have also the heraldic eagle of Lagash with legs extended



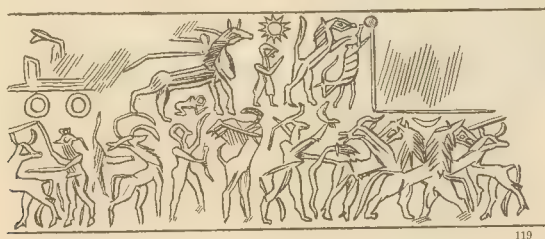
toward the lion on one side and, in lack of the corresponding lion on the other side, toward the huntsman. In fig. 116 a fine archaic lapis-lazuli cylinder gives us two human figures, with a bull, two lions, and two ibexes. The ibexes and lions are crossed, after an early convention, and one of the lions is attacking the bull. It is to be noticed that in none of the cylinders of this period do we find a representation of the buffalo of the lower Babylonian swamps, but only of the bull of the forests and mountains.

These three cylinders show but a single register, but the double register also appears. The material of the larger cylinders, however, mostly shell or aragonite,

is so easily worn or decomposed that not many of them have come down to us in good condition through these six thousand years. One of those which have thus suffered by the dissolving away of the calcareous material is the aragonite cylinder shown in fig. 117. Here both registers display such contests of animals and hunters, a number of the ibexes being reversed. These reversed ibexes or goats are apt to be very puzzling on soft cylinders that are badly worn so as to show little more than



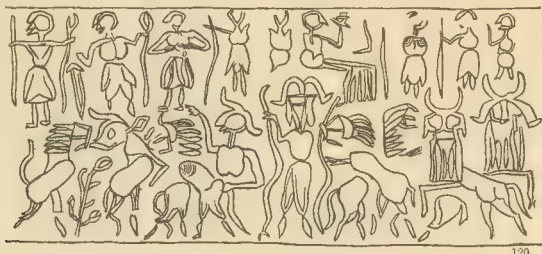
the cross lines. An unusual cylinder in the Berlin Museum, fig. 118, admirably preserved, either of undecayed shell or white marble (it is difficult to distinguish them always on inspection), has, as is occasionally the case, the two registers not separated by lines, but encroaching on each other. It is also cut very deep. In the upper register we have the eagle of Lagash with his claws directed on one side toward a prostrate bull, on whose body a vulture is feeding, and on the other toward



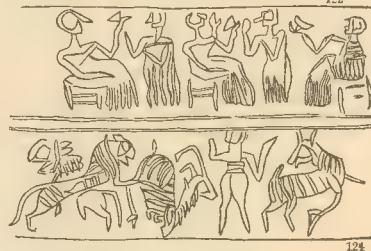
a lion which attacks a reversed ibex. In the lower register the hunter is in the midst of a number of lions and antelopes. The vacant spaces in the design we observe carefully filled with a scorpion and a star. The representation of the vulture feeding on a dead body is one that is found in the earlier sculptures from Tello.

Another yet more unusual, but unfortunately ill-preserved, cylinder is shown in fig. 119. The drawing is decidedly archaic and the registers, as in the last case, are not separated but encroach on each other. The lower register shows the fighting of men and animals in the usual way. What is remarkable is that the upper register gives us not only a space for an effaced inscription, but also a four-wheeled

chariot drawn by what looks very much like a horse. It is difficult to believe that the horse was known at this time to the people of the lower Euphrates or of Southern Elam. Although I have regarded it as evidence of the early appearance of the



horse in Oriental art,* it is yet not unlikely that this animal is rather an ox. There is, however, a cylinder (fig. 108) which is archaic and of this general style, and which gives us a two-wheeled chariot drawn by an ass. The chariots of a later period are usually two-wheeled (except certain Syrian ones), and this chariot differs from the very early one seen in fig. 127 drawn by a dragon.



Another cylinder of the archaic type is interesting (fig. 120), partly because it is so well preserved, although of shell, and partly because it seems to be one of the earliest examples in which Gilgamesh, Eabani, and the human-headed bull appear, which may be said to rule a somewhat later period. Gilgamesh is holding two serpents, like an Oriental Hercules, while Eabani is fighting a lion and a bull. It is possible that the objects held in the hands of the figures in the upper register are also serpents. Fig. 121 is a very rude, archaic marble cylinder in which Gilgamesh is repeated, lifting in each hand a lion by the tail. In fig. 122 the crossed lions attack antelopes and the profile Gilgamesh carries a very peculiar weapon. Fig. 123 is a lapis-lazuli cylinder, very closely and deeply engraved, with a multitude of figures of contests of Gilgamesh and Eabani with lions and bulls. Another example of fighting with beasts appears in fig. 124, where we see the hunter between two ibexes,

* The Horse in Ancient Babylonia. *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, 1898, pp. 159-162.

one of which is reversed. This well-preserved cylinder is of limestone. The upper register shows archaic, seated deities. A rude archaic cylinder composed entirely of crossed animals and monsters is shown in fig. 125. Here the two crossed bulls have but a single human head with horns.

Very peculiar and unusual is the black serpentine cylinder shown in fig. 126. Here it is an eagle that is attacked by two heroes, while a third holds a staff. We have also a very old and infrequent designation of a deity, the star connected with what, in the worn cylinder, looks like a trident, and the connecting line crossed by two short lines. We see the same in fig. 254. In this design we seem to see a reversal of the usual subjection of two animals to the eagle, for here the eagle is conquered.



In the study of the archaic cylinders we have found that certain types prevail, such as the eagle of Lagash; the seated deities apparently sucking some brewage through a tube from a large vase; and the human-headed boat. Other designs, such as the approaching worshipers and the fighting with wild beasts, continue in the succeeding period. Thus Gilgamesh, Eabani, and the human-headed bull we find already developed, and they continue to be favorite designs. These archaic cylinders can not all be distinctly marked off and separated from some with other designs, and especially from those which give us figures of Gilgamesh and Eabani. Yet in a measure they represent an earlier type and group, not fully developed and differentiated. They show us the beginnings of Chaldean or Elamite art and the early phases of religious worship, as also of writing. When we come to the period of Sargon of Agade and of the rulers of Ur, we shall find art as fully developed as at any subsequent period, and the center of culture in southern Babylonia rather than in Elam. And yet it would appear that the origin was rather in Elam than in Chaldea.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WINGED DRAGON SUBDUED.

It is by a bare conventionality that the name of dragon is applied to the composite creature which, in the early Chaldean art, a god or goddess either rides or drives. Perhaps the most instructive and characteristic example is to be seen in fig. 127, from a shell cylinder of great age and happily quite well preserved. Here we see the "dragon" harnessed to a four-wheeled chariot on which a deity rides, while a nude goddess stands on the dragon's back, between its wings. Before them stands a worshiper presenting an offering for the altar. The dragon has the head and forelegs of a lion, the wings and the hind legs of an eagle, and lifts a broad, feathered tail. He is, then, half lion and half eagle. He differs from the lion-headed "eagle of Lagash" in that he is a quadruped and not a biped. The shape of the chariot, higher in front than behind, strikingly resembles that of the chariot in which a goddess rides in certain Syrian cylinders (figs. 976-983). The dragon holds his head down in a dejected attitude; his tongue is forked, but it looks more as if he were vomiting, though this is hardly the meaning. It is more likely meant to represent the ejection of venom. Nergal is described in a hymn, translated by Pinches



(P. S. B. A., xxviii, p. 214), as "Dragon supreme pouring venom." But in Gudea, Cylinder A, 26; 24, 25, as translated by Thureau-Dangin, "Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften," p. 119, we read, "a monster, a dragon, with tongue hanging out." The god in the chariot brandishes a whip and the nude goddess carries a sheaf of weapons, apparently representing lightnings, in each hand.

A figure in the Berlin Museum (fig. 128) has a similar chariot, but only a single deity. It is again a four-wheeled chariot drawn by the winged dragon, but the god has no weapons, simply holds the reins; and we do not see the usual tongue of the dragon. In both chariots the wheels have no spokes, but seem to be solid blocks. We can not but ask what was the animal which was actually driven with such a wagon, whether the ass or the ox.

The British Museum has one of a different type, but equally giving us the dragon (fig. 129), of green serpentine. Here the god rides on the back of the monster, while a worshiper stands behind him. In front is a bull which Gilgamesh (profile) is stabbing with a dirk. Above stands a goddess with extended arms, from which

there fall streams of water to the ground. Behind Gilgamesh a vase in the sky pours out water which falls to the ground. With this very important cylinder should be compared those discussed later in Chapter xxxvii on the Spouting Vase.

The St. Petersburg Hermitage possesses an unusual cylinder of this type, shown in fig. 129a. The same god and goddess stand on their respective dragons. Her head is turned back toward him. He raises his right hand, and each holds a



rod in the left hand. A second scene shows us a god in a high hat, perhaps Gilgamesh in profile, on one knee, who grasps a walking bull by the horn and presses its head down. In the field above are four other dragons, which seem each to be walking downward. No one of the six dragons shows the stream from the mouth.

A very peculiar and much worn cylinder is shown in fig. 130. It is of marble and appears to be very archaic. Two dragons, like those already shown, carry each a deity between its wings. The front deity is probably the nude goddess, and



the one on the following dragon appears to be a god holding some weapon or whip. In front of the god, and above the wing, is a small human figure, apparently a worshiper, not facing the god before whom he stands, but with his hand raised in the direction of the goddess in front. Between the two dragons stands a larger human figure, with both hands raised and spread apart, as if in surprise. Before the goddess on the dragon stands another human figure with one hand raised to his head, as if shading his eyes, facing the goddess. The remaining portion of this design is very peculiar. We have a winged deity standing over a small crouched human figure, which might be a crushed foe. His hands reach down and perhaps

grasp by the hair two human figures, one of which is naked and kneeling, while both have their hands raised above their heads as if in supplication to the deity above them. Such a winged deity with a human body, frequent enough in the later Assyrian art, is almost, if not quite, unknown in the primitive Babylonian art, and I have been a little inclined to suspect that in this cylinder the wings of this god are not original. But we must compare the next figure.

In fig. 131 we have a very rude cylinder, excellently preserved, of mottled green serpentine. Here the dragons seem to have the head of a lion, but no two-parted tongue. The two hind legs have claws pointed backward as well as forward,



like an eagle's, and the tail and wings are those of a bird. But the general form of the dragon is that of a crocodile, apart from the tail, and the legs are distributed evenly along the length of the body in a most unnatural way. Between the wings of the front dragon stands a god with a weapon in one hand and a whip in the other. Between the wings of the other dragon stands apparently a goddess with both hands raised and with three horizontal lines on each side from her head, as if in place of the usual horns. Facing the first dragon is a winged human figure, naked, with no arms, with one leg, and a wide projection in front of the body, which may be the stump of another leg. There is a star between the two deities. I should have been strongly inclined to doubt the genuineness of this cylinder if it were not



that it appears from the accompanying label to have been in the possession of the Museum for about a century, and yet strangely enough it has never been published, not even by Lajard or Ménant. Forgeries are only of a comparatively late period.

Yet one other of this general type may be cited in fig. 133. M. Heuzey does not mention in which collection it is, and I did not see it in the Louvre. The two dragons carry their heads to the ground; and, as figured by Heuzey, instead of having a forked tongue, a stream of three lines is vomited from their mouths. The god is on the front creature and lifts his bare leg, like Shamash, on the wing of the dragon. He carries a serpent rod. The nude goddess on the second dragon holds what appear to be thunderbolts in each hand. Between the two dragons is a standing figure carrying a weapon which is a boomerang, or better a serpent rod. A short inscription finishes the design.

In fig. 132 we have the god alone standing on a dragon, and holding the thunderbolt in his hand. The remaining design is discussed in Chapter XXVIII.

In these cases we have seen the fuller form of the myth represented, these cylinders being of the earlier period. But there is another class of cylinders of a somewhat later period, which will be treated subsequently and in which the dragon becomes a subordinate accessory of the goddess Ishtar. Such a case is fig. 134, where the goddess sits on the dragon. This is probably a goddess, although she is in profile and holds the triple thunderbolt, which became the emblem of Adad. Another case is seen in fig. 135, where the goddess, with her characteristic Babylonian caduceus, stands on two dragons, although usually she is represented as standing with one foot on a lion, often very much crouched; but for this, see designs in the chapter on Ishtar. We have a similar cylinder shown in fig. 135*a*, which we know only from its impression on a tablet of the Gudea period. Here, again, we have the flounced goddess standing on a dragon, while before her we see a worshiper and a crescent, and behind her another animal, perhaps a dragon, and three lines of filiiary inscription. Occasionally the dragon appears unrelated to the other



figures on the design, as in fig. 135*b*, where Gilgamesh is repeated, fighting a lion and a buffalo. The cylinder bears the inscription: "Urdumu, patesi of Ud-nunki" (Adab, modern Bismya)—Price.

We now must raise the question, who are the deities represented in connection with the walking dragon? We best know the dragon from its relation to the story of Bel Marduk and Tiamat. We can hardly doubt that the later representations, from the Assyrian period of the fight between a god and a composite creature of this same type, represent the contest between Bel Marduk and Tiamat, even although in the most elaborate of these designs (fig. 564) the dragon is distinctly masculine. But these designs that we are considering are of a period anterior to the rise of Babylon and the supremacy of Marduk, the tutelar god of Babylon, in the pantheon. We must look to the older forms of the myth. In the earliest form of the story, as Mr. King has shown, it was Ea who was the champion of the gods. When the primacy passed from Eridu, or Erech, to Nippur its tutelar god Enlil became the hero demiurge that overthrew the dragon; and later the primacy passed, as we have said, to Marduk at Babylon, and to him was assigned the victory over the elements of chaos personified now in Tiamat, wife of Apsu, who was slain and her body divided to make the firmament of heaven. It is not clear that in the earlier form of the cosmogonic myth it was Tiamat who was the representative of chaos; it was more probably Apsu, the representative of the watery deep of chaos. As these designs on the cylinders are of a period long anterior to the supremacy of Babylon under Hammurabi, it is clear that the gods represented are not Marduk

and Zirbanit, his wife, but that they have to do with the earlier deities of a different name but a similar rôle, either the elder Enlil of Nippur and his wife Belit, who, however, is confused with both Ishtar and Zirbanit, or even Ea and his wife Damkina. The representations of the deities with their arms do not very well harmonize with the usual description of Ea and Damkina, but we may recall that Damkina was also identified or confused with Belit, and that it was the rise of Nippur and Babylon that consigned Ea back to the watery domain; and that originally he was a fighting deity, the warrior of the gods. Some of these cylinders may go back to the time of the supremacy of Ea, and yet we must admit that, excluding Marduk as too late, the attributions better agree with those allowed to Enlil than those allowed to Ea. It is more likely to be Ea who rides on a sea monster in fig. 106, which may represent the earliest form of the myth.

The dragon itself is very peculiar. He, or she, is not fighting or fleeing, but is evidently subdued. His whole attitude is that of an unwilling victim of superior might. The head hangs low and the tongue protrudes, unless he is represented as vomiting. M. Heuzey suggests ("Catalogue des Antiq. Chald.," p. 404) that the dragon is belching flames. I am not certain that such is the case. The dragon is referred to in the texts as spitting poison (Böllenrucher, "Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal," p. 19); and on Gudea's cylinder with his "tongue hanging out." We seem to have here a version of the myth varying from that which has come down to us in the literary sources, one in which the dragon, male or female, Apsu or Tiamat, or Tiamat and Kingu, was not slain, but was subdued and driven in triumph. The attitude of the dragon forbids us to suppose that the god is riding to conflict, before his victory. As to the question that arises in reference to the chariot in figs. 127, 128, and the animal which might draw a chariot at this early time, before the horse would appear to have been known in southern Babylonia, the reader is referred to figs. 108, 119. The Assyrian cylinders which show the conflict of Bel and the Dragon (Chapter xxxvi) show a smaller dragon as companion, which might be thought of as Kingu. But these older cylinders give two of equal size, and one, indeed, fig. 129a, offers us six dragons, as if the god and goddess had conquered a host of enemies. It was a myth of later times in the East that dragons drew the chariot of the sun. (See "Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila," "Anecdota Oxoniensia," also M. R. James in London *Guardian*, March 15, 1899.)

I have reserved the later Assyrian representations of the fight between Bel Marduk and the dragon for consideration in Chapter xxxvi. With the dragon as thus represented in the earliest and the later times, should also be compared the figures of a dragon fighting and apparently conquering a man, as seen in Chapter xxix.

For the earlier discussions of this design the reader is referred to Proc. Am. Or. Soc., 1889; Am. Journal of Archaeology, 1890, p. 291; *ibid.*, 1898, p. 160; Hebraica, xiv, 2; Am. Journal Semitic Studies, January, 1898.

It may be noted that in the study of the dragon we must not be confused by the Omoroka of the Greek writers. Prof. J. H. Wright has shown in *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.*, x, pp. 71-74, that *OMOPOKA* is simply *o mopadoka*, i.e., Marduk.

In *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, October, 1904, p. 133, Thureau-Dangin says that Lakhamu is an early name for the dragon.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GOD ATTACKING AN ENEMY.

We shall have occasion to study in Chapter xxiii the design which shows us a god attacking a goddess under a bent tree, and which must be interpreted as probably representing Nergal conquering and then wedding Allatu, goddess of the underground cave in which dwell the spirits of the dead. We have to consider another design which, although not frequent, is yet less rare, and which shows us a similar god attacking a male enemy. Such a scene is shown us in fig. 136. We shall consider this cylinder in the chapter on Agricultural Deities (fig. 382), and it must here be examined for its second design. A god in a high headdress, holding a long-handled war-club, or mace, in one hand, seizes with his other hand the head of an enemy prostrate against a mountain, and steps on his body. The conquered enemy appears to be nude, except for the headdress. It is not positive from this design that the enemy is a god, inasmuch as on the cylinders of this early period men are represented as also wearing this kind of turban, and, indeed, the dress of the deities had to be copied from the dress of men and women of high rank. In this very cylinder we see the worshiper who is led to the seated goddess with such a turban.



The de Clercq collection is rich in cylinders of this design. One of these is shown in fig. 136a. Here we have three scenes depicted in which probably the same god attacks the same victim. In the first scene, to the right, the god, in a short garment, seizes by the head and arm his naked enemy who is armed with a war-club. In the next scene the enemy has dropped his club and is pushed forward



in an attitude of submission. In the last scene the god, now illumined with rays, representing that he is a Sun-god, crowds his victim against a mountain.

A similar conflict is shown in fig. 136b. Here are two scenes. In one of them the god attacks with an ax, or hammer, his conquered foe, and in the other the foe is pushed against the mountain. In this second scene the god, with rays, is duplicated simply for the sake of symmetry. If the drawing, copied from Ohnefalsch-

Richter, is correct, we have here one distinct feature not elsewhere clear, if I remember, in that the god wears a breechcloth attached to his girdle.

Yet another is shown in fig. 136c. Here we have but a single scene with a worshiper bearing a goat for offering. This case differs from the others in that the god has on a long garment, of the style worn by the standing Shamash, and his whole body is encompassed with forking rays, a feature not elsewhere duplicated. He seizes his foe by the beard and the arm and pushes him against the mountain. The seizing by the beard gives a peculiar look to the victim's head, and some of these fig-



136c



136d

ures were at first supposed to be bird-headed. Exactly what is the meaning of the kneeling figure behind the mountains is not clear. Possibly he seizes the victim by the long hair.

There are two scenes in fig. 136d, only one of which belongs to our subject. This is a worn and broken cylinder. The god, with rays from his body, pushes his foe against the mountain. The other scene gives us a seated, flounced goddess and a short-skirted worshiper with a goat conducted to her by another flounced figure, probably feminine.



137



137a



137b

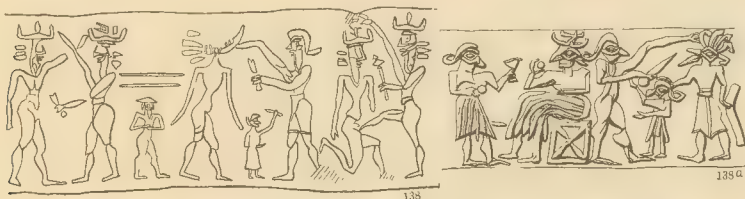
It seems to be certainly the standing Shamash in his long garment and with his foot on a mountain, whom we see in fig. 137, for it is precisely his attitude and attributes, the same dress, position, and notched sword. In this case, however, the god is not in conflict with his foe, who is already in submission, kneeling before the mountain and with his head turned back so that his beard stands out horizontally as in fig. 136c. The remainder of this design shows us two worshipers, the second with a goat.

In fig. 137*a* we again have two scenes. Here the god, bearing the war-club, wears the short skirt and in one scene forces the enemy on his knees and in the other pushes him against the mountain.

Another cylinder of peculiar interest is seen in fig. 137*b*. Here we seem to see the god in three several conflicts. In one the god, in his usual short garment, seizes his enemy by the beard. The enemy holds in his hand a weapon such as Heuzey calls a boomerang. Between the two is a small figure of a worshiper with hand lifted high, facing the god. In the second scene the god with a poniard stabs a monster with the upper body of a man and the lower body of a bull, like Eabani, with whom Gilgamesh occasionally engaged in fight. The third scene is very remarkable and unusual. Here the god, with a weapon or whip in his hand, rides on a bull and tramples on a subdued foe who lifts his hand in supplication. It is clear that we have here a feature from the time when the horse was unknown, or not used for war purposes.



In fig. 137*c* we have a simpler variation of the design, where it is passing into its later conventional form of the Middle Empire. The short-skirted god raises his hand to smite his already conquered and deprecating foe, and steps on his leg. In the later period the foe is generally of a smaller size than the god. These will be seen in Chapter XXVIII.



In fig. 138 we have again three scenes. I have not seen this cylinder and I suspect some errors in the drawing of it, as it appears to be considerably worn, judging from the disappearance of the head of the mace in two instances and the imperfect condition of the victim's head where he is seized by the beard. Probably it is the same god in each of the scenes who attacks the same single foe.

A very archaic cylinder with what may be a partly parallel design to that which we are considering is seen in fig. 138*a*, although it may be a case of ordinary fight between soldiers. One scene gives a seated deity receiving a worshiper. A

personage with a long-pointed beard and wearing a feather headdress, with one hand on the head of a smaller figure and with the other holding what may be a shield or a rude club, is attacked with a dagger by a nude combatant. This cylinder appears to belong to the very oldest period of Chaldean art.

A triple scene is shown in fig. 138*b*. The figures are all nude, except for the girdle and perhaps a short garment worn by the victorious god, who, in one of the scenes, seizes his foe by the beard and pushes his head backward, stabbing him with a poniard. The space where we might expect a mountain is taken up by the inscription. A cylinder better preserved is seen in fig. 138*c*. Here we have two distinct scenes. In one a worshiper stands before the Sun-god Shamash. The god



138c

has his foot lifted on a mountain and holds in one hand his usual notched weapon, and in the other a war-club, which second weapon is unusual. Behind him is an altar with two flames. The other scene, which here concerns us, shows the god, duplicated for symmetry, clothed in a long garment such as Shamash wears, evidently of sheep skin, attacking his kneeling victim, while a vulture is ready to pounce on the slain body. There is a gazelle in the field before the god.

We see a triple scene in fig. 138*d*. In the first scene, to the left, the god attacks with a club his enemy who crouches with bent knees and whose club is bent as if broken. This may suggest that in some other case what looks like a boomerang may be a broken club. In the next scene the enemy, turned as if to flee, but with



138d



139

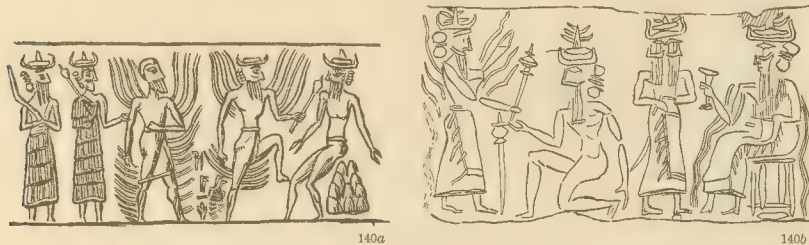
his two hands and his face turned in supplication to the god, is seized by the god. In the third scene the enemy is on his knee, and the god with a club seizes him by the headdress. In fig. 139 we have a single scene of the conflict, the god with his foot on the enemy who has sunk to the ground. On one side the god appears again with his club, while before him is a club and a beast with a long erect tail, such as later accompanies Marduk, which seems to accompany and aid the god; and on the other side is a figure with hands extended, perhaps in worship, although it appears as if the prostrate victim were appealing to him. A simpler case is also fig. 139*a*, where the god with a club seizes his enemy by the arm. It is curious that a serpent should stand each side of the god. A second design shows the goddess Bau with a worshiper, as seen in Chapter XII.

The design shown in fig. 139*a* connects itself closely with those in Chapter XII, with the seated goddess. In fig. 139*b* the god with his usual club pushes his enemy backward and puts his foot on him. A second scene shows us, as in fig. 137*b*, a monster like Eabani attacked by a god with rays from his body. There is also a crescent over the sign for Shamash. Like it, in part, is another archaic cylinder (fig. 139*c*), where a god, holding up a square object in one hand, steps on the foe whom



he has pushed backward. Another scene shows a prisoner with his hands tied behind his back, who is threatened behind by a figure with an ax, while another before him shoots him with an arrow. Between them is a bison on a mountain together with a short inscription.

There are now several cylinders to be considered of whose genuineness I confess I am not convinced, but which have passed as genuine into the cabinets and some of them have been published. Let it be premised that forgeries are often very skilfully made, and it is all the more difficult to detect them, when so made, from the fact that genuine cylinders, badly worn, have been taken and recut, following in good part the original lines, but deepening them and adding false features.



In the case of the older cylinders, long in museums, we have little to fear; the industry has arisen, so as to be dangerous and sometimes deceive experts, only within the last twenty years, owing to an increased competition to secure these objects, and travelers and even dealers in antiquities are easily deceived. One of these, for which I would not venture to vouch, is seen in fig. 140. I find it difficult to believe that the rays about the body of the god and his victim, enveloping even the legs, are genuine. Unfortunately, the cylinder came into the possession of the

Berlin Museum from a source not above suspicion. Another such is shown in fig. 140a, with its superabundant rays, and where we see even the flounced goddess carrying a war-club. The same doubt attaches to several other cylinders published in connection with it and apparently obtained from the same source. But if the superabundant rays about the legs of the god are suspicious, we must equally suspect Berlin VA 686, and for other reasons perhaps VA 560, with its crowded inscription.

It has been customary to interpret these cylinders as depicting a human sacrifice. I can not so understand them. It is clear to me, not only from the headdress of the attacking figure, but also from the rays that sometimes surround him, that he is a god. Indeed, when the design was conventionalized at a later period, and we see in Chapter XXVIII the foot of the god resting on the body of the diminutive victim, there can be no doubt what is meant. I can not therefore agree with Ménant,

Sayce, and a number of other scholars, but must interpret this as representing the victory of some Sun-god over an enemy on the mountains. This enemy seems to be the cloud or mist that covers the mountains in the morning and is driven away as the sun rises above them. I then identify the god with Nergal and not with Shamash. Nergal was not only a secondary god of the lower world, Allatu being its primary deity, but was especially the god of the noonday summer heat. As such he was regarded as a terrible



warrior and destroyer, and it is suitable that he should be represented as on the one hand capturing Allatu in the cave of the underworld, and on the other as fighting the cloud giants that obscure the mountains. In fig. 140b the god with rays holds out his mace toward his kneeling foe, or suppliant god, whose own mace has perhaps dropt from his hand. The figures look much like Nergal and Allatu, but the standing figure seems to be bearded. Another scene shows the bifrons before the seated god Shamash with streams. It is very surprising to see the bifrons not leading in any worshiper with a goat for offering. We seem to have a relief which gives us the figure of this god in fig. 140c, or of a similar Elamite god. This drawing is taken from a squeeze of the rock, and looks somewhat untrue. The god has his foot on his enemy, but he carries the scimitar of Marduk, although he has not Marduk's long garment.

Shamash and Nergal were both Sun-gods and might easily have been confused; and, indeed, either might engage in the same scene. We need not then be surprised to find the god attacking an enemy, usually wearing the short garment which properly belongs to Nergal, but sometimes wearing the long garment of Shamash. Of course, the latter god also drives away the mists and clouds of sunrise.

CHAPTER X.

GILGAMESH, EABANI, AND THE DIVINE BULL.

Among the very earliest designs found on the cylinders of Chaldea, of a period perhaps 4000 B. C., are those which represent the hero or demigod Gilgamesh and the half-man, half-bull, Eabani, fighting wild beasts. At least this is the interpretation given to these figures ever since George Smith first made the identification in his "Chaldean Genesis." These two figures we have already seen in figs. 111, 120, 121, 123, where we have met them with others in the discussion of the archaic cylinders. It is not necessary for us to follow George Smith in supposing that Gilgamesh is the Nimrod of the Bible, although this is quite possible and both Nimrod and Gilgamesh were "mighty hunters."

Gilgamesh is frequently represented *en face*, though by no means always so; and the same is true of Eabani. Both forms appear simultaneously, of the most archaic type, as we have seen, so that we can not differentiate the forms as from separate regions or races.



Following the examples shown in Chapter VII, another very archaic example occurs in a shell cylinder (fig. 141) of perhaps 4000 B. C., of the type of the figures of Eannadu, King of Lagash. Gilgamesh appears absolutely nude, not even with the girdle cord which is usual in the fine cylinders of about the time of Sargon I. He has two curls each side of his head, instead of the later three, and attacks a stag rampant with branching horns, another feature unusual in the next period. The stag is attacked from behind by another naked man in profile, who stabs it with a dirk. Two bulls (bisons), back to back, one with head in front view and the other in profile, are attacked each by a man in profile, with long hair falling behind, clad only in a short skirt consisting of two flounces. There is a line of inscription in very archaic characters. The bird-like heads of the profile men indicate their extreme antiquity. This cylinder shows that at this very early period the artist was able to draw both the human head and the head of the bull either front view or in profile; and so far it negatives the supposition that the front view indicates one local origin of deities thus represented and the profile another. I am inclined to think that this front-face bull is the origin of a figure frequent in later representations, called by Smith and his followers the divine bull sent by Ishtar to punish Gilgamesh for rejecting her advances. Yet it may be that here the divine bull was

intended. In this very early seal we also observe the requirement of symmetry in the arrangement of figures. We are not to suppose that all these figures represent different mythological beings. Very likely the two nude figures attacking the stag may both represent Gilgamesh, and the two other clothed figures may represent a single personage, and that one possibly also Gilgamesh. Apparently it was the same Gilgamesh and Eabani that we saw in fig. 111, and there it was Gilgamesh that wore the skirt.



141b



141d

Another cylinder of lapis-lazuli, of not much later date if we can judge from its art, belongs to the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 141a). It represents a nude Gilgamesh attacking a rampant lion from behind. In one hand he holds what may be a bow or a shield, while with the other he stabs the lion in the neck with a dirk. Another nude profile hero attacks two rampant animals, one a stag and the other an oryx, or ibex, the latter also attacked by a lion. The hero in profile has the bird-like face made up mostly of an eye, characteristic of the archaic art, which also appears in the two curls of Gilgamesh, the peculiar drawing of his hair, and in the straight lines with which the lion's mane is drawn. There are two lines of archaic inscription. The inscription is not easy to read, but seems to contain the name of a king of Erech. (See fig. 29.)



141c

Of a similar style and of the same primitive period are figs. 141b, 141d, 142, all of lapis-lazuli and all belonging to the rich collection of M. de Clercq, a large portion of which he obtained directly from his agent in Baghdad. No. 141b, which bears the name of an early patesi, shows the more usual three curls each side of Gilgamesh's head and the broad face both of the hero and of the lions, as also of the two smaller mythological creatures; and we have the straight, scraggly mane of the lions. We have here an early form of the human-headed bull, which very possibly had its origin in a badly drawn bull's head of an earlier period. Various considerations suggest that the development as well as the persistence of myths depends much on representations in art. What looks like a human-headed scorpion standing on the human-headed bull is said by Heuzey (*"Les Armoires Chaldéennes de Sipoura,"* p. 14) to be really meant for a human-headed eagle. This is not fully clear, as we would expect rather the lion's head, as in the emblem of Lagash on the vase of Entemena (fig. 56) and on the cylinders shown in that chapter. The human-headed scorpion is familiar on the later seals, and we have already seen the human-headed serpent,

very possibly as Apsu or the man-fish Oannes, in figs. 102-109. To prove that this is rather an eagle than a scorpion M. Heuzey compares a design on a bit of shell of an archaic period (fig. 141c), where such an "eagle" with distinct feathers is in the same position on a human-headed bull.

In figs. 141d, 142, from the de Clercq collection, both also of lapis-lazuli, we have two other cylinders of the primitive period, as appears in the general drawing, and especially in the great eyes and feathered heads of the figures seen in profile.



142

Another well-preserved cylinder of an extreme archaic character is from the valuable collection of Lord Southesk; it is of pink marble. This cylinder (fig. 143) gives us two lions symmetrically crossed and attacking a bull and a deer, while the bull is attacked by Gilgamesh in front view. There is a smaller lion crossed with a bull under a very archaic inscription which reads "Lugal zidaku," "King faithful," or "King legitimate."



143



144

Another fine cylinder, which may be of a slightly later date, is seen in fig. 144. The inscription is more developed and the heads of the heroes and animals are less exaggerated, but the eagle of Lagash, later dropt and forgotten, is here retained, although in a reduced form. The large aragonite cylinder shown in fig. 145 appears to be of extreme antiquity if we can judge from the inscription. The hero with face in profile, whom we may call Gilgamesh, in one case lifts the reversed lions and again attacks bulls with a javelin or spear. Another archaic cylinder of marble is shown in fig. 146, where a nude profile Gilgamesh attacks an ibex, while another



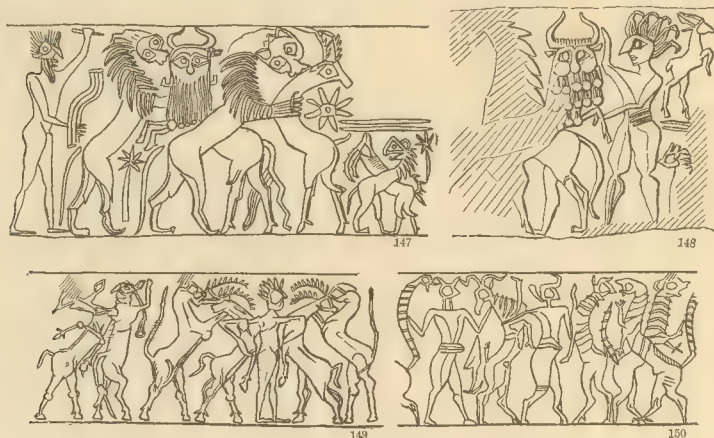
145



146

ibex is attacked by Eabani, who, in turn, is attacked by a lion. Very archaic is the feathered hat worn by Gilgamesh, from which depends a long tassel to the ground. An interesting and early shell cylinder is shown in fig. 147, in which the hero appears to carry a shield (or a boomerang); and we particularly observe the two stars surmounting a vertical line, which seem to be the precursors of a later form which may stand for the Sun-god. Quite as old appears to be the lapis-lazuli cylinder shown in fig. 149.

In fig. 148 we have a portion of a large marble cylinder of great antiquity, notable for the peculiar and distinctive headdress worn by the hero, who attacks a human-headed bull. One should observe the weapon in the field of fig. 150, in



which we have an early representation of both Gilgamesh and Eabani. The same weapon, if such it is and not a hieroglyphic character, is seen in fig. 151. It has a lance-head point, with a short shaft and a crescent handle. (See fig. 191.) In fig.

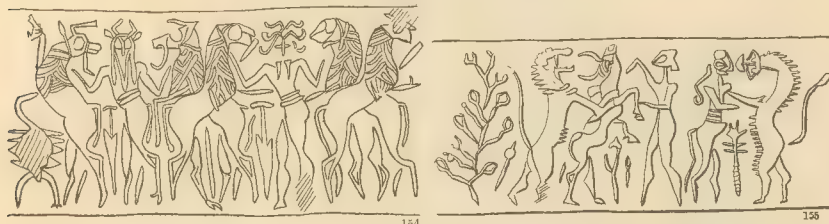


152 we see the same weapon in the hand of the hero, while it is also figured in the field. Another interesting example of this period we see in fig. 151, in which a lion attacking a deer is in turn attacked by two heroes (or rather one duplicated) and a bull is attacked by another hero. A lizard, or crocodile, extends its length in the field. A peculiar cylinder of this period is seen in fig. 153, where a lion jumps on the back of a bull. In fig. 155, representing a wooded country, we have a club in the field, and we observe, as in some other cases of the oldest seals, the long queue of Eabani.



The cylinders above described and figured give us representations of Gilgamesh and Eabani of a period which appears to be hardly later than those of what we called the archaic types of Chapter VII. They present us with the earlier forms of the mythological personages whom we identify, following George Smith, with Gilgamesh and Eabani. Gilgamesh appears from the first drawn either in profile

or *en face*, although the latter type became predominant later. The animals with whom Gilgamesh and Eabani are in conflict are the lion, the bull (or rather bison), the deer, the oryx or ibex, and occasionally the leopard. It is to be remembered that in the earlier period the buffalo of the swamp district of lower Babylonia does not appear. Eabani wears the horns of the bison and not of the buffalo, and we have the human-headed bull with bull's horns. This seems to show that the art and its mythology had their origin not in southern Babylonia, but probably in Elam. Later, in the time of Sargon, the buffalo often takes the place of the bison, as a more dangerous animal and an even greater prize for the hunter, or, perhaps, as the only one known in the river country. The bull-bison is the *Bison bonasus* and the water-buffalo is *Bos bubalus*. They are described in Chapter LXX on the zoology of the cylinders. The buffalo is the strongest beast of burden after the elephant, black and hairless, and doubtless was indigenous in the swamps of Babylonia, as also in all southern Asia. It is still wild in India and Formosa. The *Bison bonasus* is still wild in the Caucasus and is preserved in Lithuania.



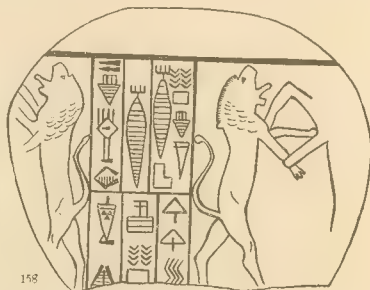
Gilgamesh is said to have been a king of Erech, and a wall of Erech was attributed to him. It is quite possible that he was an actual ruler afterwards deified. He was a mighty warrior, and the goddess Aruru created the half-man, half-bull Eabani to resist and overcome him. The seals sometimes represent them in conflict. Eabani was clothed with hair, and ate and drank with the beasts of the field. Gilgamesh, "the huntsman," failed to capture Eabani, until one of the courtesans of the temple of Ishtar enticed him to live with men, and become the ally instead of the enemy of Gilgamesh. Together they fought against the tyrant Khumbaba, who lived in the forests of Elam, an apparent indication that they represent a Semitic race and myth, although Genesis 10: 23 makes Elam the eldest son of Shem. But very little confidence can be placed in this conclusion, inasmuch as the form in which we have the epic of Gilgamesh is of a comparatively late recension, and the earlier Sumerian version may have undergone various changes—just as the myth of the fight of Marduk and Tiamat is a modification, belonging to the time of Hammurabi, of a story which first represented the conflict as between Ea and Apsu, and next of Enlil and Tiamat. After the victory of the allied heroes over Khumbaba, Gilgamesh rejected the proposal of Ishtar that he be her husband, and in revenge for his scorn Ishtar persuaded her father Anu to fashion a monstrous bull to ravage his country; but with the help of Eabani the beast was slain. In anger Ishtar cursed both the heroes with sickness, of which Eabani died, while Gilgamesh undertakes a long and perilous journey to Adrahasis, the Chaldean Noah, who had achieved immortality, in search of the same boon. Adrahasis, or Xisuthros, tells Gilgamesh the story of the deluge and how he achieved immortality, and he

informs his visitor how he can gain the same blessing. He is first cured of his disease by bathing in the healing waters; but when, after a long journey, he had found and plucked the plant which gives immortality, it was stolen from him by a serpent.

While there can be little doubt that George Smith was right when, in his "Chaldean Genesis," he found Gilgamesh, Eabani, and the monstrous bull figured on the olden seals, it may be a question whether the monstrous bull belonged to the earlier form of the myth. He may have had his origin, as above suggested, in the rude drawing of the bull with which the huntsman contended, the head in front view and with such a semi-human face as the unskilled artist could not avoid making.



For the time of Sargon I., who ruled at Agade, the modern mound of Anbar (Ward, "Sippara," Hebraica, January, 1886), we can find the type of Gilgamesh, as his features were finally developed, by the magnificent cylinder (fig. 156) in the de Clercq collection, of which it is the prime treasure, as it is of all the monuments of the early Babylonian art. To be sure, it may be questioned whether this certainly represents Gilgamesh, and this subject will come under discussion when we consider the spouting vase (Chapter xxxvii); nevertheless the drawing is precisely that of the hero as he appears on other seals. Here he is on his knees and holds a vase



from which issue two streams that provide drink for a buffalo. The whole cylinder is magnificently cut in a hard siliceous stone and is a piece of art worthy of an early Greek period. It suggests what might have been the development of Chaldean art if it had not fallen under the deadening influence of utter conventionalism, which began with exaggerated bilateral symmetry and ended with mechanical figures of gods which never changed. Here we have the face in front view, which became the standard type, and the three curls and the full curled beard, such as is repeated over and over again to the time of the later Assyrian kings.

This cylinder is of prime importance not solely for its art, but because it fixes the time of the culmination of the art of gem engraving at the period of Sargon I.,

which was, according to the calculation of Nabonidus, about 3750 B. C., although we may have to reduce by five or ten centuries the chronology accepted by the last of the Babylonian kings. But this is not the only evidence we have that this was the flourishing period of glyptic art. On a tablet belonging to the Louvre is the impression of another fine royal cylinder which also bears the name of Sargon I. (fig. 157), for the knowledge of which we are indebted to M. Heuzey. Here we have the hero Gilgamesh himself, in his favorite occupation or sport, grasping a bull or lion by the head and breaking its back over his knee. The type of the hero and the vigor of the art are maintained in the time of Sargon's son Naram-Sin, as appears from the impression of a cylinder on another tablet, also published by Heuzey (fig. 158), in which Gilgamesh seizes the rampant lion by the fore legs (see also figs. 48, 49).

A choice example of this type is seen in fig. 159, taken from one of the chief treasures of the collection in the British Museum, of red and white jasper, in which the hero is lifting the lion on his shoulder. It was certainly an artist of the first rank who designed and engraved this seal. We here have Gilgamesh in his



159

distinctive representation, with head in front view, the hair parted in the middle, the beard long and curled at the ends, the body naked with only a narrow girdle about the waist, from which an end hangs down by his side, and not even having on a breechcloth. In the case of no other god except Gilgamesh is the phallus drawn; for the early Chaldean art was usually most modest, as were the Assyrian and Persian—in contrast, as Greek authors observed, with the freedom of personal exposure among the Greeks. The story of Noah's drunkenness in his tent illustrates what was the similar feeling among the ancient Hebrews. Where in a number of passages in the Hebrew Scriptures, as I Samuel 25: 22, general slaughter is threatened, including every one "*mingentem ad parietem*," the coarse expression does not refer to all males, but to the humblest unclad slaves unencumbered by long garments. And equally in a Babylonian sacrificial scene, if we see a naked figure it is always that of a slave. It is, however, true that one of the Babylonian goddesses who typifies fertility is represented as nude.

When represented apart from his companion Eabani, on the cylinders of the centuries following the time of Sargon, Gilgamesh fights a lion, or swings one over his head, or rides on its back, but perhaps more frequently fights a water-buffalo with long rugose horns that lie down on its neck, or occasionally he fights a bison,

as on the earlier cylinders. We have now passed the period when the bison of Elam was the familiar animal, and the Chaldean artists now affect the buffalo of their own region. When associated, however, with Eabani, the latter fights the lion, while Gilgamesh fights the buffalo or bison, as if its conquest were the greater feat. Eabani always retains the horns of the bison, which he wears in the more



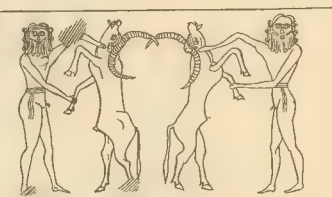
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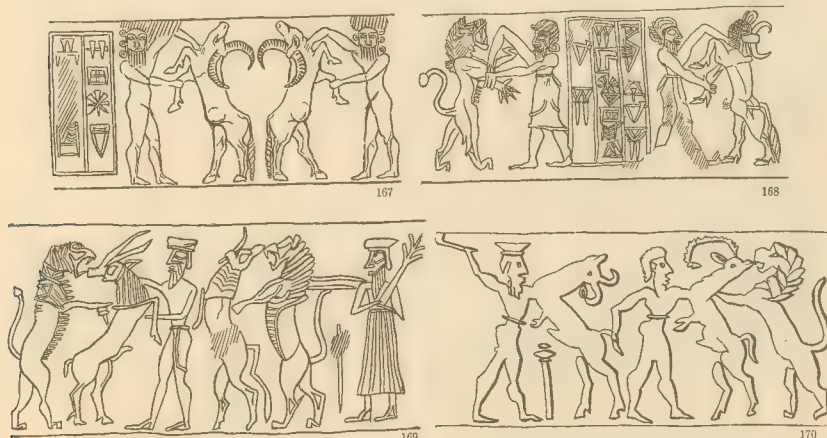
166

archaic cylinders, and never has those of the buffalo. Equally the human-headed bull has always the horns of the bison and never of the buffalo. Thus the memory seems to be preserved that the origin of these forms, as of Gilgamesh also, was not in the low swamps of Babylon, but in a land of hills and forests.

Both Gilgamesh and Eabani continue to be represented with the face in profile as well as in front view, although later the front view becomes predominant and finally exclusive. There can be no doubt that the two forms represent the same, a single Gilgamesh and a single Eabani, for they appear in precisely the same attitudes and combinations; and it is therefore useless to try to distinguish them

in any way. While neither convention was fixed, different artists indulged their own preference, or took the form more familiar in their own town. We must therefore consider them together.

An example of Gilgamesh alone is shown in fig. 160, where, beside the two symmetrical figures of Gilgamesh mounting on a lion's back, a third Gilgamesh is seen between the two lions grasping each by a paw. It was past the skill of the artist to represent the legs of the third Gilgamesh in symmetrical position. Very much like it is fig. 161, where again Gilgamesh appears once on the back of a lion and once on the back of a buffalo. Another is seen in fig. 162, where we have also a graphic suggestion of the swamp reeds which were the haunt of the lion. In fig. 163 we have Gilgamesh in his waist-cord, fighting buffaloes, but a bull is tethered near by, an evidence of the early period at which it was domesticated. In fig. 164 Gilgamesh lays his foot on the neck of the reversed lion. In fig. 165 Gilgamesh lifts a lion quite over his head. But here the hero is more clothed, in accordance

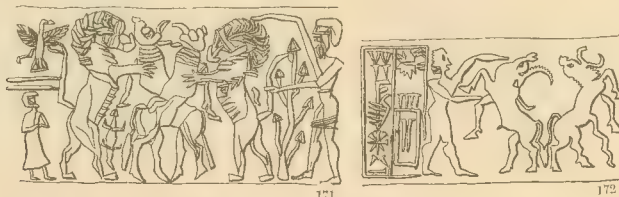


with later conventionality, and the material, a bluish chalcedony, suggests also a later period. In fig. 166 Gilgamesh actually rides on the back of the lion. We have another example of Gilgamesh fighting a buffalo in fig. 167, a finely cut red jasper cylinder.*

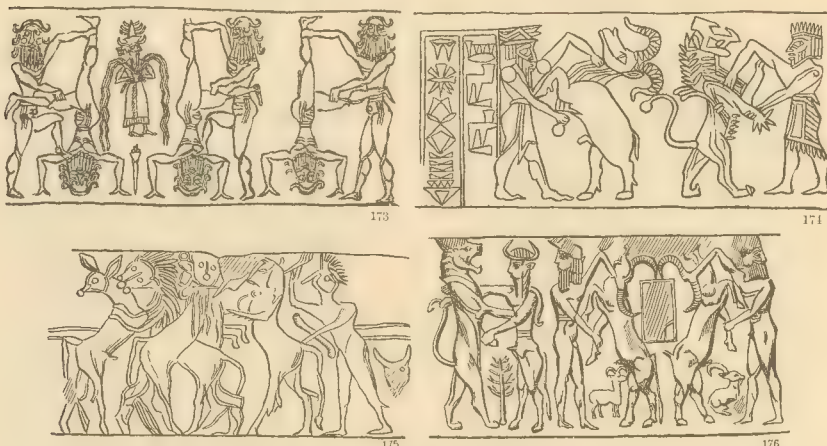
Among the cylinders which show us Gilgamesh alone with his face in profile, fighting wild beasts, is one of the somewhat unusual material, syenite (fig. 169), in which we see the hero standing between an ibex and a bull, each of which is attacked by a lion. One recalls the feat of David, who killed a lion attacking a sheep, and at another time a bear. In this seal a second clothed figure appears carrying a branch. On another cylinder (fig. 168) Gilgamesh is repeated, once fighting a lion and once a bull. Gilgamesh is also repeated in fig. 170, fighting

* This cylinder I have retained in my own possession, from among those collected by me and which have been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum and Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. It was obtained many years ago from a French consul in the East by the famous French Orientalist, de Saulcy, and was presented by him to M. J. Ménéant on his birthday when the latter was a young man. It was thus the beginning of M. Ménéant's invaluable work in gathering and studying the cylinders. On his death I obtained the cylinder from Mme. Ménéant. See Ménéant, "Pierres Gravées," I, p. 77.

once what seems to be a sort of wild goat, and once an ibex attacked by a lion. In the field we observe the club or mace. In fig. 171 two crossed bulls are attacked on each side by a lion, while the profile Gilgamesh, in a short garment, attacks one of the lions. There is a branching tree between Gilgamesh and the lion; also the heraldic eagle over a small worshiper. In fig. 172 Gilgamesh appears with two bulls. In fig. 175, a very archaic shell cylinder, Gilgamesh attacks a lion, which



in turn attacks a bull whose body crosses that of a lion attacking a second bull. In this case the crossed animals do not show the complete symmetry. In most cases the two crossed lions attack two bulls. In fig. 174 Gilgamesh is repeated, attacking an ibex and a lion. Occasionally Gilgamesh is repeated in a grotesque position, as in fig. 173. The club will be observed. The small figure with streams will be considered in the next chapter.



Gilgamesh and Eabani are very frequently represented together, whether in front view or in profile. A case in which both are in profile is seen in fig. 176, where, as usual, Gilgamesh attacks the buffalo and Eabani the lion. This cylinder is noticeable for the pains which the artist has taken to fill all the blank spaces, giving the short effaced inscription its regular position below the horns of the buffaloes. There are also an ibex, an oryx, and a cypress tree.

One of the two companions may be in front view and the other in profile, as in fig. 177, where it is Eabani that is in profile. Here the cypress is represented as growing on a mountain. This by no means indicates that the buffalo with which

Gilgamesh fights a beast of the mountains, but it preserves a convention. Both Gilgamesh and Eabani are in front view in fig. 178, fighting the bull and lion, and the spaces between them are filled with the eagle of Lagash (with eagle-head), a scorpion, and an upright serpent. This serpent is more frequently seen in the later seals. In fig. 179 we find a cylinder of a much earlier period, in which the unusual leopard will represent a closer relation to the Sumerian and Elamite mountain



origin. Here the entire cutting is of an archaic type. Gilgamesh stands between two bisons, one of which is attacked by a lion and the other by a leopard, while Eabani attacks one of the lions from behind.

Several examples may be given of the better period, about that of the Elder Sargon, on which we have representations of both Gilgamesh and Eabani in their characteristic attitudes. One of these, giving the simplest combination, is seen in



fig. 180; another is seen in fig. 183, where we have, under the archaic inscription, of the Sargon type, an ibex. This inscription reads, "Bingani-Sharali, son of the king, Izilum, scribe, thy servant." Bingani-Sharali was king of Agade and son of Naram-Sin, and it is remarkable that General di Cesnola obtained this cylinder from Cyprus. Another similar cylinder, also from Cyprus, is shown in fig. 181. The reeds are to be compared with those in fig. 162. (Thureau-Dangin, *Rev. d'Ass.*, iv, p. 76.) Another larger, admirably engraved cylinder has a recumbent ibex under the erased inscription, as will be seen in fig. 182. This is of green serpentine.

A cylinder of the frequent black serpentine (fig. 184) gives the ibex with the usual design. Once more we have in fig. 185 Eabani duplicated, fighting a lion, and in the field, under the erased inscription, a bird and also a small lion over the eagle of



182



183



184

Lagash. Fig. 186 gives us, besides the usual Eabani fighting the lion, one unusual figure of Gilgamesh in a short garment and wearing shoes tipped up at the toes, as in the Hittite manner. The pose of the bull is also unusual, as observed by



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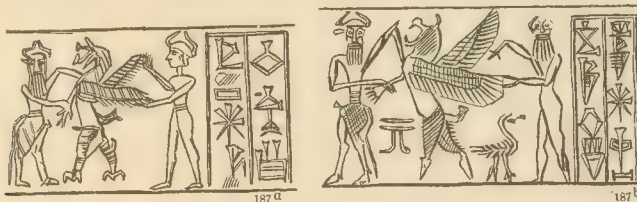


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Ménant, "Pierres Gravées," I, p. 90. These same tipped-up boots should have been drawn in fig. 187, where Gilgamesh appears repeated fighting buffaloes, one of which is drawn in a less upright position than is usual while the other appears to be urinating.

Very rarely we find Gilgamesh alone, or Gilgamesh and Eabani together, fighting the winged dragon. An indubitable case of this is seen in fig. 563, taken from the impression of a cylinder on a tablet of the period of Gudea. We have the same in figs. 187*a* and 187*b*. As no cylinder had ever been published in which this scene is figured, I was, when I first saw one, inclined to suspect it to be an excellent forgery, but the impression on the tablet in my possession (fig. 563) is conclusive, and now two or three cylinders are known with this design. The conclusion is that Gilgamesh and Eabani were conceived as overcoming not only the wild beasts, but also the mythologic monsters which caused terror to mortals, such as we see in Chapter xxix. The inscription on this cylinder reads: "Lugula-ilu-mu, servant of Ludugga."—Price.

Eabani, the companion of Gilgamesh, the mightier satyr of Babylonian mythology, half man and half bull, follows the artistic conventions of his superior. His head, shoulders, and arms are human, except that he carries a pair of bison's—not buffalo's—horns, and, when in profile and occasionally in front view, the ears of a bull; and the rest of his body is that of a bull. We may therefore fairly gather that the conception of Eabani had its rise not in the hot river valley, where the



buffalo was the mightier and more terrible animal, but in the hills or forests of the highlands. The body of the bull, or bison, is hairy, unlike that of the buffalo, but like that of the American bison, and the sex is very strongly indicated. From the very earliest period Eabani may be drawn in profile, and either Gilgamesh or Eabani may also have the face in profile, while his companion may, on the same cylinder, be in front view.

With Gilgamesh and Eabani must be mentioned the divine bull sent to avenge the insult of Gilgamesh to the love of Ishtar. He differs from Eabani especially in being more animal than human. Only his face, always in front view, is human, though with horns, while instead of having arms, like Eabani, with which he can fight, he has the bull's fore legs. He is always attacked by Gilgamesh, and never by Eabani. By a peculiar convention the head of the divine bull is drawn on one side of the body, so as to conceal his neck, almost as if dis severed from it and always in front view. There is, perhaps, no good reason to doubt that this figure is meant to represent the bull sent by Eabani at the request of Ishtar to punish Gilgamesh, but some early representations of Eabani seem to suggest that he may have been differentiated from an early form of Eabani and, as already suggested, the divine bull may in its origin have been merely a misdrawn bull, afterwards supposed to have a human face. Once, in the fine and very archaic cylinder (fig. 141*b*) in the de Clercq collection (plate v, fig. 41), the divine bull appears standing on his four feet, accompanied by the human-headed scorpion or eagle. But such a figure of a human-headed bull *couchant* is also shown in figs. 320, 321, 323.

An extraordinarily large and fine example of the divine bull is shown in fig. 188 from the de Sarzec collection in the Louvre. On one side of the inscription, which contains simply the name of the goddess Ninni, we see a lion and a bull crossed, by a frequent convention (usually two lions crossed attacking two bulls, or two bulls crossed attacked by two lions). Gilgamesh, in front view, clad only in his girdle and tassel, seizes the bull by the neck and one front leg, while another figure, quite differently clad in a short garment scarcely reaching the knee and with a high feathered headdress, seizes the lion in the same way. It is not clear whom



188



189

this figure represents, hardly Gilgamesh; he takes the usual place of Eabani. On the other side of the inscription we see two representations of the human-headed bull, one of which is attacked by Gilgamesh. Between the backs of the two human-headed bulls is the lion-headed eagle, the symbol of Lagash, stretching his talons out toward the great monsters as in the vase of Entemena (fig. 56). Besides this small eagle there is a tree and also a small figure of the Sun-god Shamash rising above the mountains, as explained in Chapter XIII.



190



191

So closely related to this that it might have come from the same atelier is the lapis-lazuli cylinder shown in fig. 189. On the one side of the two human-headed bulls is Gilgamesh in his usual representation, with bare head and curled hair, while on the other side is a similar figure, but with a square headdress and wearing a short fringed garment. Also a lion attacks a bull, and, under a short inscription of two lines which shows it belonged to a dupshar or scribe, a small figure, probably of a god, clothed in a long garment and with rays from his head, stands holding a long spear. Another example of this design is shown in fig. 192, where Gilgamesh attacks the lion which has attacked the human-headed bull. This design is repeated, reversed.

Another representation is shown in fig. 191, in which Eabani, in profile, attacks a stag which is in turn attacked by a lion, and we see the human-headed bull attacked on one side by Gilgamesh and on the other by a lion. Here also we observe the

dagger in the field. A beautifully engraved carnelian cylinder, but smaller, as the material required, is shown in fig. 190, where Gilgamesh, in profile, attacks a bull, while a double representation appears of Gilgamesh in front view attacking the human-headed bull. The two differ, however, in this, that in one case the hero grasps the fore leg of the monster, while in the other he thrusts a dagger into its bowels. This is one of the cases that prove that it is a death struggle that is represented, and no mere sport. Between the tails of the monsters is engraved a small

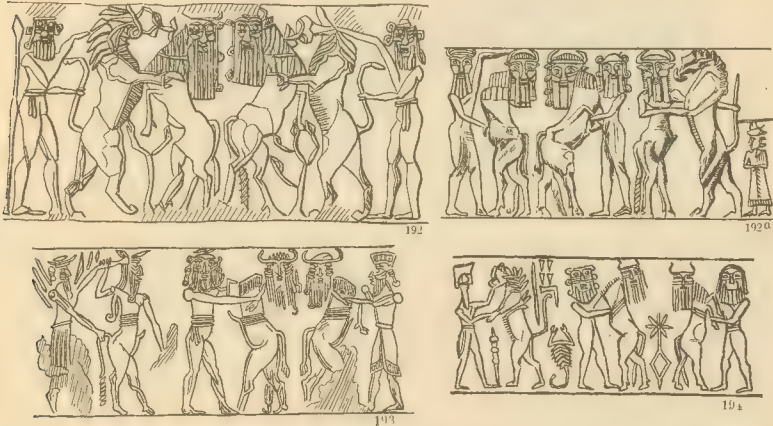
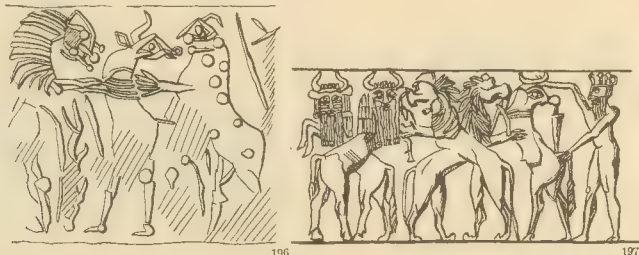


figure with arms folded, perhaps a worshiper, or the owner of the seal. In 192a Gilgamesh is duplicated fighting the divine bull, while Eabani fights a lion; and there is a small god or, perhaps, worshiper. In fig. 193 we see the two representations of the human-headed bull attacked by Gilgamesh, if it be Gilgamesh in both cases; for here, as in fig. 188, one of the heroes is in profile and wears a short skirt. Besides these we have another scene in which a god with rays from his shoulders, therefore some form of Shamash or Nergal, attacks Eabani. In fig. 194, besides



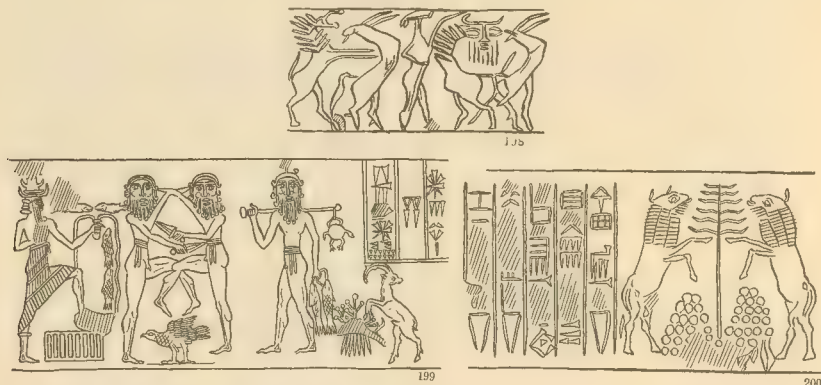
the double representation of the front view Gilgamesh with the bull monster, we have the profile Gilgamesh attacking a lion; also in the field a club, a scorpion, and the peculiar emblem of a star connected with a rhomb, an early form of the symbol of the Sun-god. We have in fig. 195 probably a somewhat later representation of the two bull monsters crossed, behind one of which is a lion attacked by Eabani; another scene gives us a gazelle attacked by a leopard. The cases in which a leopard is represented are so few that it may be well to give here a fragment of a cylinder of this type and early period in which the human or semi-human figures

have been lost (fig. 196), where we see a bull attacked on one side by a lion and on the other by a leopard. There is an intimation in the Epic of Gilgamesh (see Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," pp. 492, 514) that Gilgamesh overcame a "panther," but it was probably a leopard. We have no pictures of what are likely to be "panthers." An excellent example of the crossing of animal forms so much affected at this early period is seen in fig. 197, in which two human-headed



bulls are crossed and two lions. One of the lions attacks one of the bull-monsters, while the other attacks a bull which is attacked on the other side by Gilgamesh seen in profile. In fig. 198 we have a very archaic example in which only a single bull-monster appears, with Gilgamesh and other animals.

There is a small number of cases in which, by a sort of a degradation of the myth or a fantastic disregard of it as we know it, Gilgamesh appears to be represented as contending with his friend Eabani, although this is more likely to appear at a somewhat later period, as in fig. 459. Equally fantastic is it when Gilgamesh



is decoratively represented as fighting against his double, as in fig. 199, where, while wrestling, each Gilgamesh is stabbing the other. The third Gilgamesh defies explanation. In *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vi, p. 57, Heuzey gives a similar figure on a bas-relief carrying fish in each hand. The god with the spouting vase is discussed in Chapter xxxvii.

There is a considerable number of cylinders of this period, not usually those of the better art, which represent animals alone, usually in conflict, with no human figure, or the human figure not at all distinctive. An unusually fine one which

may be included under this head appears in fig. 200, in which we have a cypress rising between two hills, and on each side of the two hills a rampant bison. The tree, the hills, and the bisons all indicate a mountainous and forest region as the source of the art. There is also an unusual, archaic, linear inscription in five lines, which may contain a royal name.



Another of this class is fig. 201, in which, besides the lions and bulls, there are two lions' heads and a scorpion. Another example is seen in fig. 202, in which two crossed lions attack two ibexes, and in the field are seen a small scorpion, a crescent, a star, and a second crescent, and a star connected with a triangular sign. For Gilgamesh grasping a serpent in each hand, after the fashion of the infant Hercules, see an archaic bas-relief (Heuzey, "*Découvertes*," plate 39, 7).

In a considerable number of cylinders Gilgamesh or Eabani is seen as an attendant on other gods, or Gilgamesh is shown with streams from a spouting vase, but these will be considered later.

CHAPTER XI.

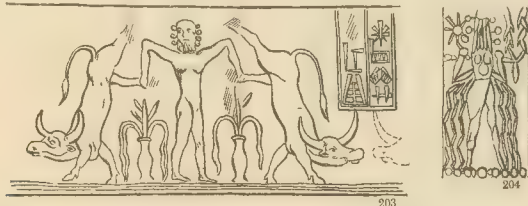
GILGAMESH WITH STREAMS.

We have seen in fig. 26, the famous seal of the Elder Sargon, the extraordinary design in which a figure like Gilgamesh, fallen on his knee, holds up a vase, out of which spout two streams of water, while a buffalo raises his head to drink from the stream. One can hardly fail here to recognize the purpose of the artist to represent the importance of water and the fact that it is the gift of the gods. The same thought is expressed in fig. 129, where a vase in the sky is pouring out its stream to the earth. The same impression is given by the frequent representations of the solar disk, with its alternate rays and streams, as in the Abuhabba bas-relief (fig. 310), and even more, if possible, in the very frequent representations of a vase in the upper portion of the designs on the seals. That Gilgamesh is the personage represented on the Sargon cylinder is by no means settled. To be sure it is his face, in front view, with his curls; but just as the bearded and seated god may represent several different gods and kings, owing to the paucity of design and the inability to draw a portrait, so this conventional form of Gilgamesh may represent other beings than he. We know, in the somewhat full story of Gilgamesh, no incident or attribute which suggests his giving of water to the world as Prometheus gave fire. But, while we shall find other representations of a deity, such as the seated Shamash who holds a vase with streams, and while it will be necessary in a later chapter to discuss the spouting vase, the number of cases in which Gilgamesh, or a god resembling him, is the giver of water is so great that it is necessary here to bring them into separate notice.

Gilgamesh with streams, if we may call him Gilgamesh, does not occur prominently in the most archaic art. He appears not much before the time of Sargon I., which, although early, is not actually archaic. He is represented, as in the Sargon cylinder, as a principal figure in the design, but quite as frequently as a subsidiary figure, and of reduced size to fill up a space otherwise vacant. He would hardly seem to represent a primary god, but rather an attendant or assistant god, whose service is directed by a chief deity. We get the same idea from the service which he and Eabani, or a figure like Eabani, render in standing by a god and holding a sort of mace before him; and the fact of his nudity suggests service rather than any principal rôle, inasmuch as naked male figures are generally servants, bearing offerings.

Thus in fig. 648 we see Gilgamesh, for we will call him so, but with reserve, standing in attendance before a principal god in a shrine of waters, whom, in a luminous paper, M. Heuzey identifies with Ea. But that Gilgamesh himself is identified with the gift of water is at least suggested by fig. 203. Here it is evidently Gilgamesh who lifts two buffaloes by the hind leg, but on each side of him the streams of a spouting vase fall to the ground. This is one of the few cases, like that of the Sargon seal, in which the cylinder connecting Gilgamesh with the gift of water is of an early period. Most of the cases are later, from the time of Gudea downward.

One such we have in fig. 204, a very late cylinder, where Gilgamesh holds a vase to his breast and the streams fall to the ground. On one side of his head is the star of Ishtar, and on the other the thunderbolt of Ramman. This cylinder is peculiar in that the sole figure of Gilgamesh runs around the seal, instead of being engraved in the direction of its length. This trick of engraving Gilgamesh transversely, instead of vertically, on the cylinder is, perhaps, peculiar to this hero. I recall two other such cases (but without streams). One of these is given in fig. 205. This seems quite archaic and the hero holds the two standards to be treated



later, whether oars, as Ball ("Light from the East") calls them, or doorposts, as Heuzey suggests. Above is the lion, which seems to show that the Gilgamesh with the standards is the same hero, as he also fights wild beasts; but, if so, he is likely to be the same as the Gilgamesh with streams, because he holds the standards in fig. 648. Another case in which the figure of Gilgamesh runs transversely around the cylinder is seen in fig. 206, where it is enveloped in names of gods.

Another case of Gilgamesh with streams, somewhat earlier, is shown in fig. 207. Here are four figures. Gilgamesh, holding his vase, stands by himself, unrelated to the others. The remaining three form a group, of which Ramman-Martu is the



center. Behind him is his wife Shala, and before him a bearded god not identifiable, possibly Ea or Marduk. In the field are a column, a crook, and a tortoise (or porcupine).

In fig. 208 Gilgamesh holds the vase, with streams, and there are two standing female deities, one nude, in whom we are accustomed to recognize Zirbanit, and the other of uncertain identity, holding a sort of crutch. Before the latter stand a worshiper and a servant with a vase and pail. There is a star and a vase, Aquarius, looking more like an anchor, over the uncertain object which usually accompanies it and which for convenience may be provisionally called "Libra."

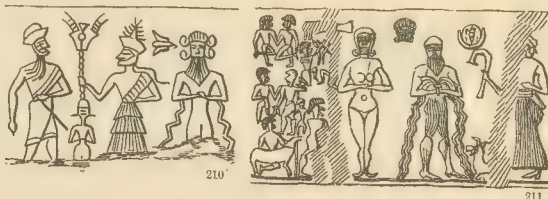
Gilgamesh with streams is also a principal personage in fig. 209. With him is the standing Sun-god, Shamash, holding his notched sword, with a worshiper and another attendant, who may be Aa, his wife, although she has but one hand

raised. His head has been purposely defaced. The style of the engraving shows a northern source and it was purchased at Mardin. Very much like it in its style of cutting is fig. 210. The lower part of the seal is broken off, but it is easy to recognize Ramman-Martu and the goddess, apparently Ishtar, who lifts up the Babylonian caduceus of two serpents, under which is a small figure of Zirbanit.



Another excellent example, apparently from the later Babylonian period, is seen in fig. 211. On one side of the head of Gilgamesh is the sun in the crescent, and on the other a head like that of Gilgamesh. On one side of him stands Zirbanit, and the careful marking of the navel shows the late period. On the other side is a deity, partly defaced, with the foot on a goat, perhaps, or a gazelle, and holding a crook, the meaning of which is not clear. The remaining space is filled with three registers, the upper one of which gives us two small, nude figures, each lifting one foot across the other knee. The other figures in this and the other registers are partly defaced, but show small figures and a quadruped.

An interesting cylinder is shown in fig. 345, where Gilgamesh and another standing god each are the source of streams which fall into a single vase on the ground. Above the vase held in the other god's hand is the goat-fish. This seems to identify this god as Ea and to indicate that Gilgamesh is his attendant and servant.

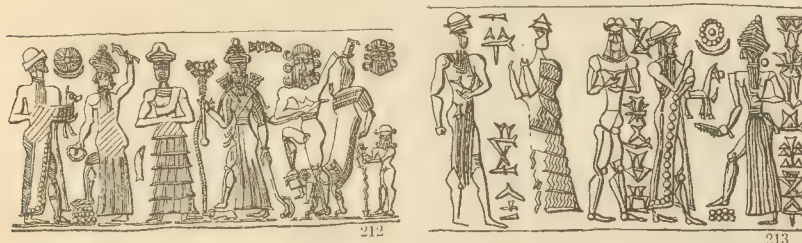


In the Hittite seals Gilgamesh was a frequent figure. Such a case is shown in fig. 837, where we see two figures of the kneeling Gilgamesh, each holding a vase.

But quite as frequently we see Gilgamesh with streams represented as a subordinate figure, reduced in size. We have an excellent example in fig. 212. Here it would seem to be indicated that the god we are considering is not Gilgamesh, for in his diminutive stature and holding in his hand his vase, whose stream falls into a second vase, he stands close to the full-sized Gilgamesh who plants his foot on the head of a reversed lion. A worshiper with a goat stands before Shamash, whose foot rests on a conventional mountain, and there are two female deities, one Ishtar with the caduceus holding a lion by a leash with one hand and with the other holding the scimitar of Marduk; the other an uncertain goddess, *de face*, whose representation is not frequent.

In fig. 314, an apparently royal cylinder (although the inscription has been defaced) of about the Gudea period, we have, beside the full-length seated god, worshiper, and Aa, two small figures of Gilgamesh, one standing without streams and the other kneeling with streams.

Occasionally the Gilgamesh-like figure is to be seen holding the vase to his breast, but without the streams spouting from it, as in fig. 213. The other figures are the standing Shamash with Aa, and Ramman with a worshiper, and a filiar inscription. We observe the unusual style of drawing the sun in the crescent, in a circle of dots. The cylinder is probably rather late.



It is extremely difficult to settle the question whether the Gilgamesh who provides the world with water is the same Gilgamesh that conquers wild beasts and who fights also with Eabani and even with himself. We have seen indications both for and against the identification. It is against it that in fig. 199 Gilgamesh accompanies the water-god; and the same is true in fig. 212, but he does not himself have streams. One is inclined to imagine that in the other world, as a sort of demi-gods, Gilgamesh and Eabani were the attendants of the chief water-god Ea, or of other gods, but no such text is known. For further discussion of this matter see the chapter on the spouting vase. In Gudea's great text (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1904, p. 134) as translated by Thureau-Dangin, one of the objects of his temple was an *E-nad-da*, said to be "like the vase which in the totality of countries the pure hero of the abyss holds," very likely the Gilgamesh, says Thureau-Dangin, as often represented.

CHAPTER XII.

BAU-GULA.

The identity of Bau, or Gula (for the two goddesses, originally separate, were found to be identical), is settled by her representation in the kudurru found at Susa by M. de Morgan, where we find her name, Gula, by the side of the figure of a seated goddess (fig. 1270; see "*Délégation en Perse, Recherches Archéologiques*," p. 168). From several kudurrus which give figures of the goddess we may select fig. 1274, where she is seated and wears the complicated, high-folded turban, a flounced garment, long hair, holds up both hands, and is accompanied by her dog, or it may be a lion. There appear to be two principal forms of the seated goddess, one being the Ishtar with weapons rising from her shoulders and with face in front view, though she is usually standing, shown in figs. 407-421; the other the seated goddess with face usually in profile and with no particular emblem to distinguish her, whom we recognize as Bau or Gula. Yet we must remember that Bau and Gula were originally distinct, and on de Morgan's named kudurru, the imperfect name by the walking bird seems to be Bau, while that of Gula is by the seated goddess. On the bas-relief, fig. 1264a, which represents a goddess in the lap of a god, Heuzey reads the name Bau on the epigraph.



We have had examples in the chapters on archaic cylinders of seated deities; but in those cases, where all are beardless, it is impossible to distinguish the male from the female deities. Very likely the most of them were goddesses, but of that we could not be certain. In the following period it is usually easy, if the cylinder is well preserved, to recognize the goddesses by the beardless face and to some extent by the dressing of the hair. Often the hair of the goddess hangs down on her back or on her shoulder, which is not to be expected in the case of a god. The large loop behind, with a band about the loop, is also generally, but not solely, feminine.

An example of the goddess whom we recognize as Gula, or Bau, is seen in fig. 214. The goddess wears the flounced dress and holds a flower, or more likely a bunch of dates, in one hand, and the other is raised in token of the acceptance of the offering of the worshiper. Her hair is worn in a long tress behind, and on her head is the high-horned, or folded, turban. A worshiper brings a goat; his wife, or maid, brings an offering in a pail, and another female attendant serves the two

vases. Above is a star of unusual form, also a small circle in a crescent, and we have the name of the owner of the seal.

We have in fig. 215 another example of the same goddess. We observe the same long tress hanging down her back, and again the male worshiper brings a goat and also pours a drink-offering on an altar, while two female attendants present other offerings. We have also the same star and crescent and a slender tree or reed. The goddess carries here a club or scepter as her badge of authority. Another example in which the same goddess, duplicated for symmetry, appears with her hair hanging down her back is seen in fig. 216, where the consort of the goddess, perhaps, Ningirsu, stands behind her on one side and the worshiper and female attendant on the other.



Here, perhaps, we may include an extraordinarily well-cut cylinder belonging to an early period, shown in fig. 217. It can hardly be later than Gudea and is probably somewhat earlier, as shown by the cypress tree. The goddess wears a sort of crown, and her hair is apparently in two long tresses down her back. The female worshiper appears to be spinning thread. Her hair is looped, showing how the two forms of feminine coiffure were in use simultaneously. This cylinder belonged to a woman.

We have already observed (fig. 127) the altar with a step, or shelf, of a different form from the more usual, and very likely later, altar which is slenderer and of a shape approaching that of an hourglass. Such an altar stands before the two-



horned goddess in fig. 218. On the altar is a cup apparently with burning oil, and two worshipers approach, apparently a man and his wife. The man's hair is shorter and curls up a little behind; but, although the cylinder is worn, we can see that the hair of the goddess, as well as of the female worshiper, is long and tied up with a loop.

The looped hair is the usual coiffure for the goddess and her female worshipers in the early period. Sometimes a procession of women approaches her. Such we see in fig. 219. We have here the more frequent form of the altar, on which appears to be laid a cloth, and cakes ("shew-bread") are laid upon it. Above the altar is a star, probably here the sun, over the crescent. This cylinder is credited to the Museum of The Hague by Lajard, but is not in Ménant's catalogue of that collection. Another similar procession of women approaching the goddess is shown

in fig. 220, where we have the star, probably here the sun and not Ishtar. Another example of a procession is seen in fig. 221, on which we have, beside the seated goddess, a female worshiper and her husband, and then perhaps the same couple or another couple separated by an irregular tree. But it is noticeable that the woman is the leader of the two. In fig. 222 two of the women in the procession stand before the goddess and two behind her. All have the hair looped, as does the goddess. The tree is a date-palm, notwithstanding the distance between the



branches. In fig. 223 one female worshiper presents the offering to the goddess, who accepts the cup, while a second carries the pail and a third stands behind the goddess with a fan. The fan is rare in Babylonian art, but frequent in corresponding Assyrian scenes; although the fan is here small, but with a long handle. In place of the altar is a table; and the other objects are a crescent, the slender tree, and the star-sign of the sun. In fig. 224 we have both the goddess and her consort, but here the god is the principal figure and the male worshiper stands



before him; while another, or the same one repeated, stands behind the god; and a woman, it may be the wife of the owner of the seal, stands behind the goddess, each with looped hair. The hair of the male figure is the same as in fig. 218.

In quite a number of these designs the worshiper is led by the hand to the goddess, and this form of the scene is more frequent in a period somewhat later, but yet early. A good example is seen in fig. 225, where we have a cylinder dated in the reign of Gudea, with the inscription, "Gudea, patesi of Lagash; Abba, scribe, thy servant."—Price. Here a female divine attendant on the goddess leads to her the owner of the seal, whose hair is dressed in the same masculine manner as in the last case, while the female figures have the hair looped. With this compare fig. 226,

where the inscription, partly filiiary and in two columns, is unfortunately defaced, but appears to read, "Dada of Nippur." Another example appears in fig. 227, of an earlier period, where we have a maid with a pail for an offering. Noticeable are the unusual duplication of the crescent and the dagger-like object under the star, probably the emblem of a god (figs. 150, 151).

The variety of this design which gives us the worshiper led by a flounced divine attendant to the goddess was a favorite one in the time of Gudea, as shown by the number of cases in which it appears impressed on case tablets of his period. One of these is shown in fig. 228. Here we have, what might be expected from this place and time, the so-called "eagle of Lagash" before the goddess.

We have precisely the same design in fig. 229, except that there is a lion figured on the seat of the goddess, as perhaps on the kudurru in fig. 1274. But it may be that the lion on the seat of the goddess indicates that the deity represented is not Bau but Ishtar, who is peculiarly connected with the lion. Indeed another cylinder of the same type impressed on a tablet in the Louvre (fig. 421) has the goddess (misdrawn by the artist as a god) with two lions on her seat and two lions (or serpents) rising from her shoulders.



Much more frequent than either the lion or the eagle of Lagash, as accompanying the goddess Bau, is the long-necked bird which appears to be a swan or perhaps a goose. We see it in fig. 230, where we have both the eagle of Lagash and the bird, and a crutch-like object behind the goddess. But a much more decisive case, in which this is made the peculiar bird of Bau, as the peacock was of Juno, is shown in fig. 231, drawn from the impression of the seal on a tablet of the Gudea period or a little earlier. Under the seat and feet of the goddess are two swans, apparently, just as we see two lions under the feet of Ishtar. We have in the field the star in a crescent and two scorpions. In order to illustrate the relation of this bird to the goddess, three other cases are herewith drawn (figs. 232, 233, 234). Fig. 233 is noticeable for what appears to be a vase on a pole. Other such examples are seen, however, though less rarely, in which the swan (or goose, if such it be, or even heron) is found without the goddess to whom she specially belongs. Such cases we see in figs. 306, 309. In such cases we may regard the bird as the simple

emblem of the goddess, as a vase or a thunderbolt may be the emblem of the deity. A curious case is seen in fig. 235, where three figures approach the goddess, behind whom is a cypress tree, with two birds, hardly swans, looking up to it. Fig. 236 is again of the period of Gudea, and the goddess carries her club, and the three usual figures approach. We have the small kneeling Gilgamesh and another small figure. This cylinder is peculiar in that the ends are enlarged to imitate a metal setting. We occasionally see the impression of such an enlargement on the tablets. For a unique case in which the goddess seems to be borne with a swan in an animal-boat, see fig. 110.



It may be well to add a perhaps later case of this goddess seen in fig. 237, where the worshiper is led, as frequently, and we have the vase before the goddess and its accompanying "libra." But what is remarkable is the serpent caduceus with two heraldic antelopes.



In connection with these cylinders which seem clearly to represent Bau, or Gula, may be placed fig. 238, a decidedly archaic cylinder, in which, although all the figures are beardless, the seated deity appears to be a goddess. It is quite unusual to have a goddess represented with streams and fish, like the god Shamash (figs. 288, 289). Behind the illegible inscription is a figure, presumably male, with a staff, and in somewhat the attitude of the porter of a gate, and behind him is the object which Heuzey regards as the post of a gate. Other examples in which the same goddess appears are shown in figs. 240, 241, 242.

In fig. 239 we have two registers, with a seated bearded god in the upper register and a seated goddess in the lower. In the upper the worshiper, following the guide, is led by the hand, and in the lower the worshiper follows the guide and carries a basket. There is a slender tree, like a poplar, in the upper and a palm in the lower. One would suspect that the god was Ningirsu and the goddess Bau.

I have regarded this goddess, seated, with long hair, but usually holding no special emblem in her hands, as Bau-Gula. We shall also consider her as probably the mother-goddess holding the king or worshiper on her knees in the discussion of the figs. 401-406. Another name is Gasigdug, apparently, although also differentiated; and Gudea speaks of her, under the latter name, as his "mother who produced him" (Jastrow, "Religion," p. 60). She was an ancient goddess, whose



name was an element in that of King Ur-Bau as early as 3000 B. C., and she was constantly invoked and honored by Gudea. Indeed she seems to have been, in the view of Lagash, the chief of all the deities, and it was she that was honored with special marriage gifts on the New Year's Day. Her husband Ningirsu, or Ninib, seems to have been regarded as hardly equal to her, if we can judge from the representations of the two in early art. She gives birth to mankind, is the source of all fertility, of plants as well as men; she fills Gudea with speech; a quarter of the city of Lagash was given to her. She was the daughter of Anu, and so the head of the female pantheon, and was the mother of Ea, the second in the Chaldean trinity. As the mother of Ea, she may have had, as Jastrow suggests, relations with the upper waters of Heaven. She may have had streams of her own, as we see in fig. 238; and it must be considered whether it is Bau even in the case where, in connection with the dragon, the goddess is accompanied with floods or streams (fig. 129). We shall also know her as the Bau-bab, Bau of the Gate, in the discussion of figs. 349-361; and she may have been the goddess with wheat (figs. 381-383), although that is quite as likely to have been Nisab. If we may accept Hrozný ("Mythen von Ninrag," pp. 115, 116), Bau was not only the goddess of plants, but also of the rainbow, and thus the Oriental Iris.



The figure of Bau and with her that of her consort Ningirsu are determined not only by her name on the kudurru, seen in fig. 1275, which bears the name Gula, but also by a bas-relief seen in fig. 243. (De Sarzec, "Découvertes," plate 25, fig. 5; Heuzey, "Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes," p. 143; "Découvertes," plate 25, 5, not plate 22 as in text of both works.) Here all that can be read of the illegible inscription is "To the goddess Bau, his sovereign" (so Heuzey, "Découvertes," p. 215), but fortunately this is enough. We have the statement that the goddess sitting on the knees of the god is Bau, and the god is therefore Ningirsu. The goddess on his knees is parallel to the cylinders in which the goddess holds on her knees a small human figure, as in figs. 401-406. We recognize in the goddess the

long ranges of folds of the elaborate turban, the long hair as on the cylinders, the flounced garment, and the necklaces and the front view. She seems in this case to be quite as important as the god.

A date for these figures of Bau is fixed by the impression of a seal on a tablet in the Louvre shown in fig. 45 and described by Heuzey in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv, p. 5. The inscription gives the date and name of the Elder Sargon. It is a very large cylinder. It has the usual scene of a single worshiper before the goddess as the space is taken with four inscriptions. Her hair is looped behind and her hands are folded. The female attendant behind her has her hair in a long tress and carries perhaps a load from the staff on her shoulder. There is also the cypress tree frequent in the earlier art, but never appearing in the cylinders of the late Middle Babylonian period.

The goddess Bau, or Gula, seems to have been chiefly honored in the early period. But the period of the kudurrus, of the date of the Kassite dynasty, shows that the goddess had not lost her value in the second millennium B. C. Still even on the kudurrus she was not a usual accompaniment. No other goddess had any equal chance of persistent honor except Ishtar. It is sometimes said that the Babylonian and Assyrian worship tended toward monotheism; it certainly tended to a single goddess, whether Bau or Ishtar.

CHAPTER XIII.

SHAMASH, THE RISING SUN.

No class of cylinders better illustrates the poetic imagination of a primitive people than those which give us the representation of the Sun-god Shamash emerging from the gates of morning and rising over the Eastern mountains. They are those in which George Smith fancied that he saw the building of the Tower of Babel, and which Ménant supposed to represent the gates of the underworld opening to receive the dead. Of these cylinders there are twenty or more in the collections, and those of importance are here figured.

This scene was first fully explained and discussed, with figures of all the then known examples, by me in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. III, 1887, pp. 50-56, "The Rising Sun on Babylonian Cylinders." But antecedently, in a paper not then known to me, M. Heuzey, to whose quick intelligence we owe more by way of interpreting the scenes in the ancient art than to all other scholars since Ménant, had recognized (in a paper, "Le Stèle des Vautours," in the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1884, pp. 198, 200, and reprinted in his "Origines," pp. 760-778) that the same had been generally misconceived, and that it had a "caractère sidéral," and that the gates had to do with "the morning and evening, the summer and winter, the east and the west." In his "Mythes Chaldéennes," 1895, Heuzey developed this explanation.

We shall see, in fig. 291, a standing god of this general type receiving the captured bird-man brought to him for judgment and punishment, and shall there recognize him as identical with the seated Shamash who usually thus acts as "judge of gods and men." In this chapter we recognize him by his foot usually raised on a mountain, or on the conventional symbol for a mountain. He wears a divine tiara, with horns, two or more, and a long garment open in front, from which his bare leg protrudes as he lifts it upon the mountain. As characteristic an example as any is seen in fig. 244. Here we see the two gates, each with a porter, the Sun-god with rays from his shoulders, his foot lifted high on the mountain, and his usual notched sword in his hand. The gates are of the early style, with door-posts resting in sockets, like the many stone sockets preserved and inscribed with names of the early kings. There are perhaps two leaves to the gate, opening outward and swinging on a vertical post which is set in the lower socket and is held in a ring or in some other way at the top. Above the gate, in this case, is an ornament in the form of a lion. These lions remind us of the two lions over the Hittite portal at Marash. The apparent curvature of the sides of the gates is due to the concave surface of the cylinder. The gates are conceived of as of wood, with cross-bars of bronze, as in the gates of Balawat. In these cylinders there are usually two gates and two porters. It is not at all clear that they represent, as suggested, two leaves of one portal; and still less is it probable that they represent two different gates, one of the morning and one of the evening. It is quite as likely that they are doubled simply for the sake of symmetry and represent but a single gate and a

single porter. At the same time we may presume that Tammuz and Ningishzida are the two guardians of the gates of heaven.

The Sun-god is surrounded by rays from his shoulders, as we have seen in the representations of Nergal (Chapter IX), the god of the midday and midsummer heat. His weapon is peculiar, carried by no other god, and deserves special study. It has a sort of handle, is curved, and the whole edge of it is sharply notched. We are not to think of this as a branch, or palm (Heuzey, "Origines," p. 299), nor as a weapon of metal, but as a relic of the stone age. It is, as explained by me in my article cited above, a wooden weapon, the edge of which is thick-set with flint, giving it a saw-edge. This is a style of weapon for which we have examples in primitive conditions of life and warfare. Thus Petrie gives (*Nature*, December 5, 1889) an account of a wooden scimeter with flint chips from a town of the twelfth dynasty. The Mexicans also made use of such a weapon, called maquahuitl; and indeed to the present day Eastern threshing-machines are set with flint. One of the Hittite hieroglyphs suggests a similar weapon.

We observe besides this notched weapon another in the field, which is the war-club so often seen on the early cylinders, the top or knob of which is often so cut as to suggest that it is of stone, but which was probably made usually of the bitumen of the country, such a weapon as the shepherds of the region so frequently carry to-day.



The mountains here are represented in a usual way by imbricated curves. But we shall see that the mountains were represented in other ways, and nearly as frequently by superposed horizontal lines. In this case the god puts his foot on the mountain in front of him. On other cylinders we shall see him standing between two mountains, with his notched weapon in one hand, or lifting himself up between the mountains by resting his two hands on two mountains, in which case, of course, his hands are so occupied that he can not carry his weapon.

In this cylinder we see a fourth figure with hands together and in a garment and headdress like those of the other figures. This may represent a worshiper, perhaps, going back to a time when no distinction was made between the dress of gods and men.

There remain to be considered the symbols before and behind the god. That in front of him can hardly be anything else than the early form of the character which represents Shamash, the sun, or Utu. We may take it as the designation of the god who is figured, and it stands properly before him. The other sign is less clear. It is translated in Ball's "Light from the East," p. 151, as "God of the Mountain," which would make it an additional designation, or by-name, of Shamash; or it would seem to designate the porter. But more likely, as Prof. Ira M. Price tells me, it is the designation of Ningirsu. The star above indicates that it is a divine being. These are very archaic characters, and it is to be observed that few of these more ancient cylinders have any other inscription.

Another very interesting cylinder is seen in fig. 245. Here we have the two porters and the god with his foot on a mountain. The gates are represented as on the tops of the mountains; and we observe that the god carries the war-club instead of the usual notched weapon. A special peculiarity is the second representation, perhaps of the god in his boat as we saw him in fig. 109, it may be in his night journey through the underworld.



Another example appears in fig. 246, where the god rests his hand on the mountain behind him, while his lifted foot rests on the mountain before him. And we have also a star and a scorpion. In the same way one hand rests on a mountain in fig. 247, a broken cylinder of which enough remains to show the full design. Fig. 248 has a variation in adding a cypress-tree. Fig. 249 is from a much worn cylinder, but one of shell, and presumably of a very early period. It shows a worshiper under a crescent; and the mountains are engraved in a peculiar way. In fig. 250 the god carries both his weapons, the flint scimitar and the club; and a space for an inscription, either erased or never engraved, takes the place of one of the porters.



Sometimes but a single gate appears, as in fig. 251. Here we have, besides the god and the porter, a worshiper standing before the god, and a second bearded and flounced figure with hands lifted. This is decidedly unusual, and I have no suggestion to make as to who is represented by it. In fig. 251a the god with rays steps on one of the two mountains and seems to hold a club rather than a notched



sword in his hand. A worshiper presents a goat. Another case of a single gate occurs in fig. 252. Here the god holds in one hand his notched weapon and in the other a club. We have observed in figs. 245, 249 the club alone held by him. The mountain is made in another conventional way, as if with steps; and an attendant god, or priest, leads the worshiper to the god. A similar case appears in fig. 253, where the god bears both his notched weapon and his club, and his name is in the character behind him.

Sometimes the god, instead of stepping up over the mountains, lifts himself by his hands, resting one or both on the mountains between which he stands. Such a case we see in fig. 254. Here the mountains are rudely represented by parallel horizontal lines. We particularly notice the early character between the backs of the two porters. It is not easy to say what it means, perhaps a variant of the



symbol or character for Shamash, the sun, which we saw in fig. 244. Another, of similar design, is shown in fig. 255, where a cypress-tree is again introduced. Fig. 256 is peculiar in that, since the god's two hands are occupied in lifting himself, an attendant carries his notched weapon for him until he shall escape the mountains between which he rises. In fig. 257 the god has only one hand on the mountain, while the other carries his characteristic weapon, and we see his name in the character under the crescent.



Sometimes the god simply stands between the two mountains and appears to rise without visible effort, as in fig. 258 or in fig. 259, an unfinished cylinder. In the splendid cylinder shown in fig. 188 a narrow space is filled with a reduced representation of the Sun-god with his hands resting on mountains. This may suggest the beginning of a tendency toward a conventionalizing of the representation of the god; but it took another form.

Like nearly all the early vigorous designs representing the gods, this degenerated, in the Middle Babylonian period, into a conventional form, the meaning of which could not be discovered except from the earlier more pictorial representation. The transition appears in fig. 38, where the god's foot is lifted high and some attempt is made to preserve the suggestion of the mountain, but the space belonging to the gates and porters is given to an inscription and the procession of figures approaching the god. This inscription is peculiarly important, as it gives the date of the cylinder, about 2400 B. C. It reads: "Gudea, Patesi of Lagash, . . . his servant." It was at the time of Gudea that the older types had fairly passed into the more conventional types of the smaller hematite cylinders. In fig. 260 the worshiper with a goat, or antelope, is brought before the Sun-god, who has rays and carries his notched weapon, and lifts his foot high. The peculiar thing about this cylinder is the form of the object before the Sun-god, not easily recognized. Other illustrations of this type are seen in figs. 261, 268, where the god carries a



258



259



260



261



263



264



262

war-club or ax, and the usual procession approaches. The final and usual form, fully conventionalized, is seen in figs. 263, 264, where the mountain has been reduced to a mere footstool, and where we find the frequent inscription with the names of the god Shamash and his wife Aa, both of whom appear, with the worshiper, on the cylinder.

We have a multitude of cylinders in which Shamash is thus represented, often with Aa. It is unusual, however, that the standing Shamash has his foot, as in fig. 265, on a human-headed bull, although we see, in figs. 320, 322, 323, the seated Shamash thus figured. We have also a god, like Nergal, with up-lifted weapons, and his foot on a prostrate foe, as shown in Chapter xxviii. This cylinder probably is not from Babylonia proper, but from a more northern region.

Occasionally a god whom we must identify with Shamash carries an entirely different weapon in his hand. In fig. 266 Shamash has his foot on an elevation, but instead of a notched sword he carries what perhaps we may regard not as a floral branch, but as a club with five knobs, or perhaps as a degraded form of the Egyptian emblem of stability. But it appears in a bas-relief of the time of Gudea

as an important but unidentified emblem. See Heuzey, "*Une des sept stèles de Goudéa*," plate II, fig. 1. This closely crowded cylinder has another god holding an object like a crutch, which may represent the crescent moon on a standard, and so be meant for Sin. It is hardly likely that the crescent is a reduced caduceus. Before each of the two gods is one large and one diminutive worshiper, besides the vase and "libra," a serpent and a tortoise.

Occasionally also the Sun-god, with foot on a stool, carries a weapon with crossbars, somewhat like the Egyptian emblem of stability. Such a case we have in the comparatively late cylinder, wrought with the wheel, which we see in fig. 267. There is a second god with his foot on an animal and holding a thunderbolt, evidently Adad, and a worshiper is before each god.



For yet another representation of the Sun-god between gates we turn to an unexpected region. In the opening of a mound near Urumia, in Persia, a few years ago there was found in a chamber a little cylindrical pyx of alabaster described by me in vol. VI of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, pp. 286-291. The design on the surface of the pyx is given in fig. 269. It shows us the Sun-god between the two gates, each held by a porter. The god holds a club in his hand. His foot is but slightly lifted on an elevation, but the whole lower portion is drawn to represent mountains. On one side the usual procession approaches the god, and on the other



we see the figure of Eabani holding a standard, while behind him is a second standard with a monkey on the top of it. The drawing is heavy and doubtfully Babylonian, but the design is wholly controlled by early Babylonian thought. It is very interesting to find this design and this object, which must be of the earlier, but not the earliest, period, at so distant a point as the shores of the Lake Urumia. It may be that fig. 268 also belongs to one of the outlying countries, and not to Babylonia, although the Babylonian influence is scarcely lost. This cylinder is of black schist. The god has rays from his shoulders and his foot is lifted high on a mountain, although there are no gates with porters. The ordinary scene appears of the worshiper led into the god's presence. What is unusual is the weapon carried by the god,

not the notched sword, but a battle-ax, such as is more frequently found in the art of the countries north and west of Assyria, although very rarely in ancient Babylonia.

The meaning of this scene has already been anticipated. Indeed it is strange that it should have been so misconceived by George Smith who, followed by many others, saw in it the construction of a tower, like that of Babel ("Chaldean Account of Genesis," p. 158). Ménant came nearer to the true idea when he called the gates those of the lower world, and the scene one in the abode of the dead, where Ishtar passed through seven gates ("Pierres Gravées," I, pp. 125, 126); and he saw in the Sun-god a deity of the lower world receiving the spirit of the dead. But it was Heuzey who, as stated above, first recognized the meaning of the gates and suggested that the scene had a "caractère sidéral."

The thought of the sun as a god traveling through the heavens was central to all Eastern worship of the heavenly bodies. The Egyptians saw in the sun the god Ra, sailing in his boat through the sky and the underworld, and they provided the underworld with twelve great pylons guarded by serpents, through one of which the sun must pass every hour. The Hebrew Scriptures show evidence of a similar notion. In Ps. 19: 4-6, the sun issuing from his chamber-doors is thus described:

In them [the heavens] hath he set a tabernacle for the Sun [Hebrew Shemesh],
Who is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber,
And rejoiceth as a strong man to run his course.
His going forth is from the end of the heavens,
And his circuit unto the ends of it:
And there is nothing hid from his heat.

In the Song of Deborah, we read, Judges 5: 31, "Let them that love him be as the Sun when he goeth forth in his might." It was something more than a figure of speech when, in the fragment of an old song, Joshua is represented as commanding the sun to stand still that he might slay his Amorite enemies (Joshua 10: 12):

Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon,

as written in the Book of Jashar. That the sun and moon were both conceived as carrying weapons is implied in Ps. 121: 6,

The Sun shall not smite thee by day,
Nor the Moon by night.

In Ps. 24 we have in the opening verses a brief cosmogony:

The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof,
The world, and they that dwell therein.
For he hath founded it upon the sea,
And established it upon the floods,

which is in accordance with the ancient idea that the earth rests like an island on an ocean; and the psalm concludes with an address to the gates through which the sun, or here Jehovah, enters:

Lift up your heads, O ye gates,
And be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors,
And the King of glory shall come in.

Who is the King of glory?
Jehovah, strong and mighty,
Jehovah, mighty in battle.

The gates of Hades are mentioned in Job 38: 17, and Matt. 16: 18, and doors with bars to the sea in Job 38: 10.

Babylonian religious literature makes frequent mention of these same gates. These are not simply the seven gates of the lower world through which Ishtar passed, to be stripped of her ornaments and garments, but also the gates of the morning and evening. They are mentioned in the "Seven Tablets of Creation" (King, I, p. 78, lines 9-11);

He [Marduk] opened great gates on both sides;
He made strong the bolt on the left and on the right.
Between them he fixed the zenith.

Here, in this Babylonian form of the Chaldean story, it is Marduk who is the creator, but who replaces other gods, Bel or Ea, who were, very likely, successively the earlier creators. What was the exact meaning of these gates is indicated (*ib.*, p. 127, lines 8-14):

When Anu, Bel, and Ea,
The great gods, through their sure counsel
Fixed the bounds of heaven and earth,
And to the hands of the great gods entrusted
The creation of the day and the renewal of the months which they might behold,
And mankind beheld the Sun-god in the gate of his going forth,
In the midst of heaven and earth they created him.

In this syncretic version, in which the three great gods, Anu, Bel, and Ea, are represented as the creators of all things, the gates of the heavens are particularly described as those through which the sun passes. A hymn to Shamash thus begins (Jastrow, "Religion," p. 301):

O Shamash, out of the horizon of heaven thou issuest forth.
The bolt of the bright heavens thou openest,
The door of heaven thou dost open.
O Shamash, over the world dost thou raise thy head;
O Shamash, with the glory of heaven thou coverest the world.

That there was a gate also at the setting of the sun appears in another hymn (*ib.*, p. 303):

O Sun-god, in the horizon of heaven at thy setting,
May the enclosure of the pure heavens greet thee,
May the gate of heaven approach thee,
May the directing god, the messenger who loves thee, direct thy way.

Other passages of the same tenor might be quoted, but it is sufficient to quote one more in which the mountains out of which the sun rises are mentioned (thus translated by Jastrow, in note to my article mentioned above):

O Sun, in thy rising out of the great mountain,
In thy rising out of the great mountain, the mountain of fate,
In thy rising out of the mountain, the place of destinies.

Such passages as these, I venture to think, quite justify the interpretation of this favorite poetic scene now generally accepted. We see, on these cylinders, which are all of an early period, antedating Gudea, the Sun-god Shamash, at his rising out of the mountains of the East, in Elam, the Mountains of Nizir. He has passed through the Gates of the Morning, and the porter, the "directing god," perhaps, the "Misaru," has opened the gates to him. This "directing god," however, may be the additional figure, garbed like a god, whom we see in figs. 244, or 251; or, perhaps, he may be quite otherwise represented, as in the famous bas-relief from

Abu-habba, where we see two small figures above, guiding the disk of the sun as it rests on the platform before the seated god (fig. 310), and where we also appear to see him in his night journey passing through the waters of the ocean that underlies the earth. It may be that the two porters represent Tammuz and Ningishzida, who were represented as guardians of the gate of heaven (Sayce, "Religion," p. 460, Jastrow, "Religion," p. 546), as told in the Adapa legend. Yet it is not clear that the gate of heaven could be identified with the gate of the morning, and every gate needs its own porters. After passing through the gates of the morning he makes his appearance on the mountains. Sometimes he was conceived as resting his hands on the two mountains between which he stands, and pushing himself up with his arms; but more frequently as with his foot high lifted and stepping stoutly up over the mountains. This gave him opportunity to carry his peculiar and mighty weapon, the sword, or scimitar, set thick with flakes of flint, and sometimes also the less distinctive war-club. He rose like a mighty man, ready for battle against the enemies of the day. All this represents a very primitive and poetical product of an imaginative Sumerian race, who, in an animistic stage of culture, saw life to be placated or worshiped, in the movements of all inanimate things, and found nothing so well worth worship as the sun, or so full of vigor and life.

The relation of Shamash to the Persian Mithra, who later became identical with the sun, is suggested by such a passage in the Yasts as we see in "Sacred Books of the East, Zend-Avesta," II, p. 122.

Who first of the heavenly gods reaches over Mount Alborz, before the undying swift-horsed sun; who foremost in a golden array takes hold of the beautiful summits, and from thence looks over the abode of the Aryans with a beneficial eye.

This is the precise picture of Shamash with his two hands on the mountains. The serrated weapon of Shamash is suggested again in the description of the weapon of Mithra, *ib.*, pp. 146, 156:

Swinging in his hand a club with a hundred knots, a hundred edges, that rushes forward and fells men down, etc.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SEATED SHAMASH: WITH RAYS OR STREAMS.

We have seen in Chapter XIII the standing Shamash issuing from the gates of the morning and climbing the mountains of the East. We shall also study the scene in the next chapter, where he is represented as a seated god judging the bird-man. We now have to consider one of the more usual scenes in which human beings approach the same or a similar god in worship or for judgment. But first, in this chapter, we recognize the god by his rays or streams.

The Sun-god mounting the hills and starting on his day's journey through the heavens was represented in the last chapter as a god of battles armed with weapons of war. He was also distinguished by the rays from his shoulders. When represented as seated in judgment on the bird-man he usually has the streams alone. Both of these attributes, the rays and the streams, we shall find in the cylinders we now must study. When we come to consider the emblems of the gods we shall find that the usual emblem of the Sun-god was a disk with alternate rays and streams, as so definitely shown in the bas-relief of Abu-habba (fig. 310).



It is not at all usual to have both rays and streams represented; the artist was satisfied with a single one of the attributes. We have an example of the two in fig. 270. Indeed, I know of only one other, also in the Metropolitan Museum, in which the two are found together. The cylinder fig. 270 is of pink marble and does not give us the usual procession. Before the seated god is a crescent and behind him is the character which on the earlier seals designates the sun. The remaining space is taken up with the conquest of a lion by two figures which may well represent Gilgamesh, one of which seizes the reversed lion behind while the other attacks it in front with an ax. The other, fig. 270a, is rude and shows a worshiper led to the god, also a simple tree, a scorpion, and two stars.

The cases in which the god is represented with rays from his shoulders, if not as numerous as those with streams alone, are not rare. A beautiful small cylinder of lapis-lazuli (fig. 271) is particularly instructive, as it shows us the god seated on a mountain instead of on his usual throne or, rather, stool. Before him are two emblems which will be considered later (Chapter LXIX, No. 31), the upper a vase representing the waters of the heavens, while the other is of an unusual form and of a less certain significance.

A large and interesting cylinder is shown in fig. 272. The shoulders of the seated god are surrounded by rays, and it is to be noticed that while no streams are shown yet two fishes are drawn. In his hand he carries his notched sword, which is so distinctly drawn that it shows the guard, proving that it is not a branch or palm. Seven figures approach, identical in form, except that the first lifts his hand which holds a wand, or staff, and that the seventh is reduced in size, on account of the crowded space. What these seven figures mean is not clear to us, possibly divisions of the day. There is here no indication of any scene of judgment.



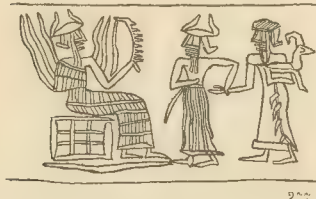
A cylinder which is even more important for the identification of the seated god with rays is shown in fig. 273. Here we have not only the horned god with rays and notched sword, but also the porter with the gate, which distinctly belongs to Shamash. There is a club before and behind the god, and also behind him a tree.

Most frequently two or more figures approach the god. The first appears to be a subordinate or attendant deity, although usually called a priest, who leads



the worshiper by the hand into the divine presence. This worshiper, who seems to represent the owner of the seal, often brings an offering, it may be a goat or it may be a branch, and he may be followed by a servant with a basket or pail which would contain further offerings. Very frequently we may expect the character representing Shamash, or the sun, in its old form to accompany the design. Thus in fig. 274 we have this sign which we have met in the seals representing the standing Shamash with gates, and the worshiper carries a branch. A similar branch is carried by the led worshiper in fig. 275. It will be noticed that in cylinders of this period the form of headdress is not distinctive of beings regarded as gods or demi-

gods, but is also worn by men. Still the worshiper may approach bareheaded, as a sign of humility in the presence of the god, as we see in figs. 276, 277, 289, in two of which cases the worshiper bears a goat in his arms. In fig. 278 the led



277

worshiper with the goat is followed by two servants who appear to be feminine, one of whom carries the object with a handle which we have called uncertainly a basket or a pail, but the shape of which here seems to indicate that it is of metal. In fig. 276 we observe the archaic inscription, also the star and the club. Fig. 277 is an unusually simple one, and the animal borne

for an offering appears to be not a goat but a gazelle.

But not always does the worshiper carry any offering. In fig. 279 the worshiper, again bareheaded, simply presents himself. In front of the god is the rare



278



279



280



281

ax, and the character for Shamash is of the largest size. The two attendants on the god, or "priests," each carry a wand. We observe that in figs. 280, 282 the god no longer carries his notched weapon, although in fig. 280 clubs, as well as the name of the god, are in the field. In fig. 281 we have the notched weapon and four approaching figures, but in fig. 282 the rays from the god's shoulders and the approaching figures are sufficient indication to identify the deity.

In the two first of the cylinders figured in this chapter we saw a god designated as Shamash by both the rays and the streams. In the succeeding figures only the rays have appeared, although there were other means of identification, the mountain on which the god sat, the fishes, the gate and porter, and the character which gives his name. We have also seen the seated god with streams in fig. 140b. We now have to consider those cylinders in which the characteristic mark of the god is the streams by which he is surrounded.



282

An example of this class is seen in fig. 283. Here we have the seated god, the streams and fish, the hieroglyphic character for Shamash, a club, and three approaching figures. In fig. 284 a new and very important feature is added, that of the two attendants on the god, each of whom carries a peculiar, tall pole, or standard with a semicircle near the top. We have seen this in fig. 268, the pyx from Urumia, and it will require further study. Here the figures are in profile, but they are often in full view, like the figures of Gilgamesh, and at other times they have both the face and composite figure of Eabani.



Fig. 285 has been figured by Heuzey ("Sceau de Goudéa," p. 6), who has carefully discussed the figures before and behind the god, and particularly the object like a spear held in their hands, which we consider in Chapter LXIX. About the god and the streams are fish, and there is a single worshiper. The position of the star under the crescent is quite peculiar, as are the spears also. I observe that on examining the cylinder I noted a doubt whether it were wholly genuine. But there is no question as to fig. 286. Here the god holds the vase, not as usual in his lap, but in his hand, and a bifrons figure brings the goddess and a worshiper. Behind



the god is the figure like Gilgamesh with a double-pointed spear with a handle. An even more interesting seal is seen in fig. 287, in which the bifrons leads two figures, the first of whom carries a bunch of dates hanging from a staff on his shoulder, and the second brings as his offering a prisoner, the bird-man, to be considered in the next chapter, slung by the foot from the club on his shoulder. Fig. 288 gives us the same seated god with streams and fish and two approaching figures. Behind the god is the figure like Gilgamesh, with the mace. Very much the same is fig. 289; but here a bearded figure stands before the god, while a goddess ("priestess")

approaches from behind with the worshiper and his offering, and the attendant with the mace looks back to see them. The scene in fig. 290 is peculiar in that opposite the seated god with streams sits the goddess Ishtar with clubs from her shoulders, a very rare figure, to be discussed in the chapter "Ishtar." The two attendant figures, one with a pail, both pay their respects to the goddess.

We have two undoubted figures of the seated Sun-god Shamash, both from Sippara, and they may therefore be said to represent certainly the Sun-god of Sippara. Whether the sun-god of Larsa was a seated or a standing Shamash is not yet certain. Perhaps both forms were familiar all over Chaldea and Babylonia. The Shamash of Hammurabi's law code (fig. 1271) agrees completely with the Shamash with rays of the cylinders we have been considering. He sits on a throne, and wears a horned turban, or tiara, a special emblem of a god and one often seen on the kudurrus or "boundary stones" representing Anu, Bel, and Ea. From his shoulders on each side arise solar rays, very different in character from the diverging lines that rise from the shoulders of Ishtar, and which are weapons. The god wears a four-horned turban and a long flounced garment and has a long beard. His feet rest on a series of imbrications, such as are usually made to represent mountains. In his hand are the rod and ring, apparently separated, the mean-



ing of which it is not easy to divine, and which are carried by Ishtar as well as by Shamash. In front of the god stands the king, not "receiving the law," as it has generally been described, in memory of the way Moses received the tablets of the law from Jehovah on Mount Sinai, but in the ordinary attitude of worship. He wears a long simple garment, not flounced, and on his head is the close cap with a broad thick band, familiar in the Gudea sculptures, which we here see was still in use in the time of Hammurabi, perhaps five or six centuries later. Here the special attributes of the Sun-god are the rays, the rod and ring, and the hills under his feet.

The other unquestionable figure of the seated Shamash is that in the famous stele of Nabu-abal-iddin, found at Abu-habba, the old Sippara of Shamash (fig. 310). The god, in his five-horned turban, his long beard, and his waving, rather than full-flounced, garment, sits on his throne which is ornamented with two figures of Eabani, such as frequently carry a large mace. Here their hands are lifted in a position to hold a mace or to operate the gates of the sun, which are possibly represented. The god holds in one hand his rod and ring, evidently separate. He sits under a canopy formed by the body of a serpent, whose head rests on the top of a column consisting of the trunk of a palm-tree, the fronded volutes of which indicate the origin of the Ionic capital, and similar fronds grow, as is usual with date-palms, from the bottom of the column. The emblem of the sun, with unmistakable streams alternating with rays, stands on the table before the god, and is held, or moved, by cords guided by two figures above. When this

bas-relief was found by the Arab diggers they ran to Mr. Rassam, shouting that they had found Noah with his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet. In honor of the discovery Mr. Rassam killed an ox and made them a great feast. The accompanying inscription says: "Image of the god Shamash, the great lord, dwelling in E-Barra, within Sippara." In this case the rays about the god are absent and there is no indication of mountains. The only special attribute of the seated god is the rod and ring, but the god's identity is assured by the accompanying inscription, as well as by the god's disk on the table before him.

We can have no doubt of the identity of the god with rays from his shoulders in the case of the cylinders figured in this chapter. That is sufficiently proved by the Shamash worshipped by Hammurabi, as well as indicated by his notched weapon and the gate associated with him. He is the same god who sits in judgment over the bird-man. The procession of figures which approaches him usually represents worshipers with offerings, although the presence of his consort Aa, or Malkat, as the last of the procession, so frequent in the cylinders of the next period, and whom we see on the Sippara stele of the Sun-god, might at first suggest that this was the scene of the judgment of the soul in the future world. The presence of the sign for Shamash in the oldest form on several of these cylinders is further almost conclusive evidence of the identity.

But the question as to the identity of the seated god with streams will hardly admit a less assured answer, and it is beyond question Shamash. He carries the notched weapon of Shamash. We have seen, in figs. 270, 270a, that both rays and streams belong to the god. We shall observe that the standing Shamash receiving the bird-man (fig. 291) is surrounded by streams. The seated Shamash in judgment on the bird-man we shall also see to be regularly surrounded by streams and fish, and in one case also in a boat (fig. 293). If that is Shamash, then there can be little doubt that this is also Shamash. This seated god with streams is also accompanied by the sign for Shamash (figs. 270, 279, 280, 282, 283). Further, the general composition of the scenes on these cylinders with streams is the same as we see in those in which the god has only rays, with the same processions. At the same time too much weight must not be given to this fact. The argument against this being Shamash is presented by Heuzey, who connects these cylinders, also those in which the god holds in his hand a spouting vase, with Ea, the god of the waters ("Sceau de Goudéa"). But for the discussion of this subject see the chapter on "The Spouting Vase." My own conclusion is that, whether with or without rays, the seated god with streams is usually Shamash, although we shall find occasion later, in Chapter XVI, to observe that the seated god without rays or streams, a very generalized form, may be Ea or Sin.

The approaching figures I take to be the worshiper, with or without a goat as offering and with or without a servant carrying further offerings in a pail, accompanied not by priests but by divine attendants, and especially by the goddess Aa, or Malkat, the wife of Shamash. The identity of Aa will be considered in Chapter XXXI. It is as reasonable, as much in consonance with the religious notions of the Babylonians, that the wife and attendants on the god should be considered as present with the god, as that he should himself be considered not as an image, but as a real and living god. The worshiper comes before the god and not merely into his temple before an idol.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SUN-GOD AND THE BIRD-MAN.

The Chaldean art differs from that of Egypt in that while the latter often shows us human bodies with the head of animals or birds, this is very exceptional in Chaldean art. Here, on the contrary, we see the human head and arms, with the lower body of a beast, a serpent, or a bird. We have had illustrations of this fact in Eabani, and shall see it in the serpent-bodied god (Chapter XVIII). We are now to consider those cylinders in which a human body is combined with the lower body, tail, and legs of a bird.

We will first consider a very large cylinder (fig. 291), unfortunately much worn, belonging to the Metropolitan Museum. Three officers of the divine court have arrested the bird-man and are conducting him to a standing god. The god is nearly nude, is bearded, and is surrounded by streams of water by the side of which are fishes. The streams seem to burst from vases above the god's shoulders. His foot is lifted on an elevation, which, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, represents the mountain from which the Sun-god rises. As we have seen that streams of water are also characteristic of the Sun-god, it seems certain that the god is Shamash.



Immediately in front of the god, leading the procession, is the chief of the officers, who holds two javelins, or clubs, over his shoulders. He is a bifrons, a peculiar convention acutely explained by Ménant (but questioned by Heuzey, "*Origines Orientales de l'Art*," p. 77), who recognized that it was not intended to represent the personage as really having two faces, but as directing his attention both to the god whom he approached and also to the prisoner whom he was conducting to the god. In Eduard Meyer's "*Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*," p. 55, a bifrons is figured from a bas-relief. We shall see this simple convention shown in a number of other cylinders, even down to the time of the Hittite art. It had a very early origin and passed over to the Roman Janus. What was first a mere artistic convention came to be, we know not how early, a creature with two faces, a new god begotten by a *naïve* drawing. Just so the unicorn had its origin in a bull drawn in profile with one horn showing; and the divine bull conquered by Gilgamesh may have had a similar artistic origin. We have numerous cases in which the attendant god, instead of courteously facing the chief seated god,

turns his head back toward the worshiper introduced. The next figure marches forward holding in one hand a long spear, apparently, and a smaller club or javelin over his shoulder. Then follows the bird-man pushed forward by the fourth figure, who holds him by the head and the body.

One other cylinder (fig. 292) gives a similar scene of a bird-man brought before the standing Shamash. Here his foot is not raised so high, but he is enveloped in streams and wears his two-horned cap. The bird-man is pushed forward by the second of the two officers, but the first is not a bifrons. Last of all is a worshiper with the goat as an offering. This is an old cylinder, but somewhat later than the preceding.



These are the only two cases I know of in which we see the bird-man led to a standing god; in all other cases he is seated. But we must conclude that the seated god is the same Shamash, as we shall have abundant evidence to prove when we come to study the seated god in the next chapter.

Another cylinder (fig. 293) from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum gives us an example of the most common form of this scene, that with the seated god; but it is unusual in that it represents the god as being seated within a boat, which we must imagine as sailing through the heavens. This was a simpler and more natural way of conceiving the quiet passage of the sun along the sky than the Greek notion of a chariot drawn by horses. But also the literary sources tell us that the sun was conceived as sailing in a boat. In the epic of Gilgamesh the hero desires to cross the ocean to find his deceased friend Eabani. At the shore of the sea he finds the maiden Sabitu, who forbids his passage. He pleads with her to allow him to pass and find his friend Eabani, "who has become dust." She tells him:



O Gilgamesh, there has never been a ferry,
And no one has ever crossed the ocean.
Shamash, the hero, has crossed it; but except Shamash who can cross it?
Difficult is the passage, very difficult the path.
Impassable the waters of death guarded by a bolt.

Jastrow, "Religions," p. 491.

Whether it was the passage of the sun by night as he sinks into the western ocean, or by day also through the heavens, that was in the mind of the Chaldean poet may not be clear, but at least the Sun-god made his passage in a boat.

There will be a temptation to connect the conception of the sun thus riding in a boat as having a common ethnic origin with the well-known and much developed Egyptian conception of the sun as thus borne by a boat. The Egyptians gave the sun two boats, one in which Ra was borne by day and another in which he was borne by night. We have pictures of the boat, and of Ra's companions, and of the oars at the stern of the boat, and of the rope with which it was drawn, reminding us of the rope which moved the disk of the sun in the remarkable bas-relief of Abu-habba, where the sun's daily journey through the heavens is not by a boat. But in a country of canals like Egypt and Babylonia, where nearly all carriage was by water, it would be as natural to think of the sun as thus borne as it would

be in Greece to think of him as drawn by horses in a chariot. The code of Hammurabi has much to say of the building of boats and nothing of the building of wagons.

The bearded god in this seal wears a long, flounced garment and streams arise from his shoulders, along which appear several fish, that no one may mistake the significance of the streams. Before the god is a star within a crescent. Two bearded figures approach, conducting between them a bird-man. The first of the two officers has a short weapon in one hand, while the other seems to have seized the long queue of the bird-man. The latter has a long beard, the head, arms, and chest of a man, and the lower body, legs, and feet of a bird of prey. It is evident that he is conducted by force and against his will.

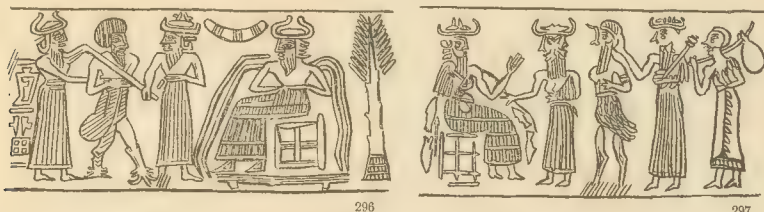


An example of the more usual form is seen in fig. 294. The flounced, bearded, seated god has streams from his shoulders, and a shallow crescent (in the older art the crescent is usually shallow) is over his head. A bifrons figure leads to him the bird-man, grasping him by the arm. The same figure is pushed forward by a second officer, who holds a club over his shoulder. Behind is a worshiper with a goat and a vertical asp, the head of which is lost through the wear of the stone.

While the crescent is often put in to fill up the vacant space before the head of the god, it is not an essential element intended to indicate the identity of the god. This appears from fig. 295, where we have precisely the same design, except for the star which replaces the moon and the branch in the hand of the first approaching figure, who is not a bifrons. In fig. 293 we had both the crescent and the star.

In fig. 296 we have the same general design, with the addition of a cypress-tree, which is not usually seen except on the cylinders of this early period. In fig. 297 again we have the same design, except that the following worshiper, with a shaved head, carries his offering to the god in a bag over his shoulder, hanging from a staff. It is somewhat surprising that a cylinder in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 725, seems to have exactly the same design as this credited to the Museum

in St. Petersburg by Lajard and said to be of white agate. Such identity is not to be expected. Besides, the cylinder in the Bibliothèque Nationale is the only one known to be made of a "composition of resin and sulphur," according to Chambouillet's Catalogue, and it is apparently of some such material and the hole is nearly filled with the composition, showing that it had never been worn. Further the design appears to be cut reversed from that in the St. Petersburg cylinder, as if it had been engraved from an impression on wax. These facts make me question its genuineness. It may be after the style of the casts made by Tassie, "Catalogue of Gems."



In fig. 298 again the worshiper at the rear of the procession carries a goat as offering. And here again we see the streams and the fish of the seated god and the war-club of the second of the two officers. The streams proceed from the vase held in the god's left hand. The scene in fig. 299 differs mainly in the shape of the stream in front of the god. We observe the star and the two weapons in the field.



It is well to observe the cylinder shown in fig. 300 on account of a very curious little personage represented in the upper field behind the god. Here there are no streams about the god, but the little seated figure behind him appears to hold a vase, from the bottom of which there seems to flow a stream of water, while from the top there seems to rise a branch, or more likely a flame, toward which the seated figure holds his hand, as in fig. 399. Unfortunately this cylinder is very badly

worn, so that it is not possible to make out the construction of the object under this little figure's seat, or to interpret with accuracy what was intended to be represented.

There is an extremely interesting variation of this design in fig. 287. In fig. 297 one of the approaching figures carried on his shoulder a bag suspended from a stick. But in the former case the two approaching figures each carry such a stick over his shoulder, and from the first one hangs a bunch of dates and from the second the bird-man himself hangs suspended by his foot. These are preceded by the bifrons figure. It will be observed that while it is a plain stick from which the dates hang, the bird-man is suspended from a club. The seated god is surrounded with streams. This excellent cylinder is of black serpentine.

A case in which the seated god has no streams is shown in fig. 300*b*. We have the Janus-faced god with his club, and two attendants following the prisoner. The sun as a star, over the crescent, has been shown in fig. 293. A head and a turtle are given, and dots, which may possibly represent the numbers ten, twenty, and thirty, and the corresponding deities. But a more unusual case is that seen in fig. 300*a*, like the last from the Hermitage Museum of St. Petersburg, where the god has rays instead of streams, and his seat is made to represent a mountain. The god who introduces the culprit also has rays and is thus also a sun-god. But more peculiar and unique is the culprit, who is now not a bird-man, but has the head of a lion.



It has been usual to imagine that the bird-man, evidently a hostile being, is the Zu-bird, chiefly because the Zu-bird is represented as in conflict with the gods. The Elder Bel, or Enlil, held possession of the tablets of fate. Zu desired to have possession of them, and seized them from Enlil, snatching them from his hand while he was pouring out the brilliant waters. The vase with the streams of water will be considered in Chapter xxxvii. Suffice it to say here that Enlil was not usually considered the special god of the waters, but this function belonged to various deities. Possessed thus of supreme power Zu fled to the mountains. The gods were in consternation. Anu called first on Ramman, the Storm-god, to recover the tablets, but he was afraid. Other gods—the broken text fails to tell us who—in turn declined the task, but at last one of them accepted it and recovered them. Who it was is not clear from the fragmentary state of the text, possibly Shamash, but more likely, Jastrow thinks, Marduk. There is, so far as the legend is preserved, no intimation that the Zu-bird was captured and brought to a god for judgment and punishment.

We should naturally expect the seated god who pronounces judgment to be Shamash. He is the "Judge of Gods and Men." That is his characteristic title. The streams about the god, and in one case the rays, suggest Shamash. And yet we have no myth or story preserved in which we find the god performing this office. It is with the story of Etana and the Eagle, and of the serpent and the eagle, if the

two belong to the same legend as Jastrow supposes, that Shamash is connected. The myth of Etana and the eagle is treated at length in Chapter XXII. First Etana prays to Shamash for the plant of birth which will allow his wife to bring forth her child. The extremely imperfect state of the tablets allows us here to learn simply that Shamash directed Etana to the mountain where the plant would be found. Etana's companion, the eagle, seems to have assisted him in finding the plant. It appears to be in a subsequent portion of the story that the eagle tempts Etana to mount upon his back and be carried to the heaven of Anu, Bel, and Ea. Then they ascend higher to the realm of Ishtar. But this displeases the gods, or perhaps Ishtar, and before reaching her abode they are hurled downward. What becomes of them is not told in the fragments preserved; but the eagle does not seem to have been killed, for we find his fate described in another fragment, that which tells of the feud between the eagle and the serpent. Here the eagle seems to have lost the favor of the gods, which is given to the serpent. The eagle, having for some reason a spite against the serpent, consumes its brood. Thereupon the serpent appeals to Shamash and begs the Sun-god to catch the eagle in his all-embracing net. Shamash bids the serpent hide himself in the body of a wild ox, and when the eagle should come to feed on its flesh the serpent was to seize him. The story tells how this was accomplished and the eagle seized. The eagle begged for mercy, which is refused. His wings and feathers are torn off and he is left to die, at least presumably so, inasmuch as that is what Shamash directed the serpent to do.

This story shows evident signs of having been edited and changed from its original form by the priests who arranged it in the recension which has come down to us. It is clear that while it is the revenge of the serpent which has accomplished the will of the god, it is yet the "net" of Shamash which captured and would seem to have slain the eagle. The close connection here between Shamash and the eagle—and in one fragment we learn that Shamash spoke to the eagle—makes it appear quite likely that it was the eagle of Etana which was brought before Shamash, rather than the Zu-bird, whose relations were not at all with Shamash. For I think there is no doubt that the seated god with streams and fish is Shamash. He is the same god whom we saw standing in fig. 291 and clothed with all the specific attributes of the rising sun, the god whose special office it was to judge offenders, whether gods or men. We may have here another type of the legend from that which is given in the texts as published by George Smith, E. T. Harper, and Jastrow, one in which the eagle was not slain immediately, but was disarmed and brought for judgment to the Sun-god, usually led by two captors, but in one case swung by his foot from the club of his captor. We must not forget, however, that in fig. 300a it is a lion-headed culprit that is led for judgment to Shamash.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SEATED GOD WITH APPROACHING FIGURES.

We have seen in Chapter xv the seated Shamash with the bird-man led to him for judgment. We have also seen the seated Shamash with rays or streams, or both, in Chapter xiv; and also the seated Shamash on the Abu-habba bas-relief (fig. 310), as also on the Hammurabi stele (fig. 1271). We now come to consider another series of representations of a seated god, usually not to be distinguished by any accessories or emblems from the Shamash of the Abu-habba figure, but, like that, without streams or rays. That this design, which appears in the older art, and continues through the Middle Empire, always represented Shamash is not at all clear. Indeed, there is reason to regard him as sometimes Sin, or sometimes Ningirsu, or some other important divinity of the male sex. The reason is clear. The Babylonian art was extremely limited in its types of the human figure. The figure of the seated male god was always the same. It was a dignified figure, in a long garment, usually flounced, with a horned turban, either two-horned or many-

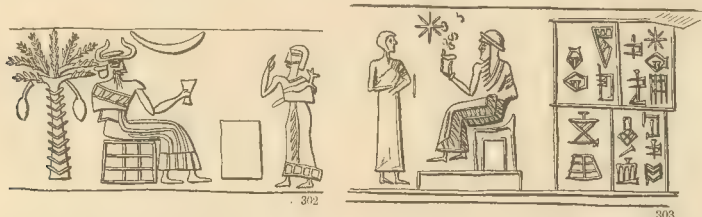


301

horned (braided), and with a long beard and one hand lifted, perhaps holding a vase, or a rod and ring. The varieties of attitude in the standing god were more, but still very restricted. We can by no means be sure when we see a seated god that it is Shamash, although the presumption is strong that it is this god favored more than any other in worship.

Further, the approach of one or more worshipers to a god is the most natural and frequent of designs. Usually there is more than one approaching figure. Such is the case in fig. 301, a cylinder included here as showing a transition form. There are no streams about the god, but there are two fishes in front of him. The naked worshiper carries a goat, while the female servant with the pail is clothed. Usually this condition of clothing is reversed. The simplest form of this design is seen when the single worshiper stands before the god, either with or without a goat carried in his arms as a sacrifice. An example of this is seen in fig. 302. This is an early, black serpentine cylinder, concave, and shows us a bearded god in a flounced garment, in a two-horned cap, holding a beaker in his hand. Between him and the worshiper is a perfectly plain altar, and behind the worshiper is a palm-tree

with fruit. The worshiper holds one hand lifted in worship, and on the other arm he carries a goat. The crescent is of the flat style more frequent in the early art. In later cylinders the crescent is nearer a half-circle. Another case of a single figure before the god is shown in fig. 303. This is a royal cylinder, although the date of Ankisari, King of Ganhar, is not known. The style of the cylinder would indicate that it is as old as Gudea.



But more usually there are two, three, or four figures approaching the god. Very frequently the worshiper, commonly the second of them, is led to the god by the hand held by a female figure, while a similar female figure may follow, and, perhaps, immediately behind the worshiper will be a servant, often nude, carrying a pail or basket for an offering. The nudity characterizes the slave condition. This explains the biblical language where it is said (I Kings 21: 21) that the Lord would cut off from the house of Ahab every one that urinates against the wall, meaning slaves. Saul, as a man of rank, "covered his feet" in the cave, I Sam. 24: 3. These have been called by Ménant the cylinders of the School of Ur, because some of them bear the name of a king of Ur. A remarkable cylinder of this class is shown



in fig. 303a, already included as that of Ur-Engur among the royal cylinders in Chapter III. This cylinder shows the high-water mark of its period. Its genuineness has been questioned without good reason, but has been abundantly proved. The ox's leg of the god's seat and also the back of the seat are unusual, but not unique. We observe also that the god's headdress is of the style worn by kings in the Gudea period, a very plain and low turban. The shape of the crescent is also that which prevailed at a later period. The god, who holds no vase, extends his hand with a gesture which must indicate kindly reception of the worshiper. The worshiper, between the two female figures, is shaven and beardless, as in the Tello sculptures, a condition which may indicate a ritual purpose. We know that among the ancient

Jews the head was shaved in case of vows. He holds up one hand in token of worship, while the other is held by the female figure who also holds up one hand while grasping with the other the wrist of the worshiper. Her garment is flounced and on her head is the high and pointed turban or crown worn by the gods. The last figure in the group wears the same headdress, but a simple garment, and holds up both hands in the attitude of worship.

If Winckler is right in the interpretation of his translation of the accompanying inscription the seated figure may not be a god at all, but the King Ur-Engur; yet it is more likely to be a god. He thus translates ("Keilinsch. Bib.," II, p. 81) "(To thee, O) Ur-Engur, Mighty hero, King of Ur, Hashhamir (has dedicated this), patesi of (the city) Ishkun-Sin, thy servant." The shape of the headdress worn by the seated figure seems to suggest a king rather than a god, and yet we must remember that the richest kind of headdress known would be worn by both kings and gods: The dress of the gods was patterned after that of the early kings. I can not doubt that this is a god. It is to be observed that about this time the fashion began to shave the head and beard, doubtless for cleanliness, to avoid infestation of lice, just as ointment was also used in Palestine where shaving was



forbidden. This may have coincided with the introduction of bronze knives in place of stone. It is to be observed that the gods were never shaven, perhaps because they could not be imagined to need such protection.

Similar is fig. 52a from an impression on a tablet in the Louvre. It is remarkable for the lion on the seat and the lion holding a standard behind the god. The lion properly belongs to the goddess Ishtar, or possibly Bau. We may consider this as perhaps representing the king Gimil-Sin, whose name we find preceded on cylinders by the sign of divinity, showing that even in his lifetime a king of Ur was regarded as a god, like some of the Roman Emperors. This will explain the fact that the seated god wears the royal headdress, and not the horned headdress which belongs to a god. We may question whether the artist in his difficult task of copying from the impression on the tablet has properly inclosed Venus instead of the sun within the crescent of the moon.

That this style was in favor at Ur about this time is seen in fig. 304, another royal seal, of Gimil-Sin, King of Ur. Here we have the same seated god, the same shaven worshiper led by the hand by the same flounced female figure. A noticeable point, apart from the inscription, is the shape of the very graceful two-handled vase which the god holds in his hand. The inscription reads, according to Winckler, "Gimil-Sin, mighty hero, king of Ur, king of the four regions; Gal-Anna- . . . the scribe, son of Hi . . . , thy servant."

The cases in which a personage is led by the hand to the seated god are not as frequent as those in which the chief or only worshiper is not led, and yet they are not rare. They appear, in the best examples, to be of the Gudea period, although we have them earlier and later. There are seldom more than these two figures before the god. It is also to be observed that the cases are quite rare in which the worshiper carries a goat as offering; usually he simply lifts one hand while led by the other. Such a case we have in fig. 305. Here the god, whose beard seems lost in the abrasion of the head, carries the rod, or long, slender wedge, with the ring. Before him is the crouched figure like a monkey (lion?), and behind, under the inscription "Shamash, Aa," is a lion or dog.



305



306

One of the more unusual cases in which there are other approaching figures following the worshiper led by the hand, and also in which a goat is being carried to a bearded god, is seen in fig. 307. This is a large, black serpentine cylinder of a period earlier than Gudea. Here the god is distinguished from his worshiper only by the flounced garment. His two-horned headdress is the same as that of the two first approaching figures. Behind them are two other figures, the first of which carries the sacrificial goat. He is bareheaded and lifts up a hand in reverence. He would seem to be a servant attending on the led figure, who probably represents the owner of the seal. The last figure in the procession may be feminine,



307

and corresponds to what appears to be the usually flounced goddess Aa, often seen with Shamash; but here her hands are not raised but held to her breast. Noticeable on this cylinder are the two weapons, one a dagger before the god, the other a battle-axe behind the led figure. The crescent is not unusual on the older cylinders and here it is seen in the older, very flat form, before the head of the god.

A very neat little cylinder of the more usual type, that of the Gudea period, is shown in fig. 306. Here the goddess, like Aa, wife of Shamash, leads in the worshiper, who is shaved in the style frequent at that period. In the field above is the sun in the crescent, and below a bird, perhaps a goose, a bird much honored in Egypt and often seen on the cylinders, but in early Chaldean art more usually with the goddess Bau-Gula.

Probably hardly older than Gudea is the cylinder shown in fig. 308. It is of gray serpentine and excellently engraved. The bearded god and the approaching goddess have a flounced garment and a high headdress. The led figure is shaven and shorn. Under the inscription, which tells us the cylinder belonged to a merchant named Ur-Nusku, is a bull *couchant*.



For another illustration of the led worshiper compare fig. 309, where we have an unusual collection of creatures, a lion, a crane (in fig. 231 it looked, as often, like a goose), a rampant, winged monster, and the eagle of Lagash, as also a seated, naked figure. The eagle of Lagash is seen on a pole on the cylinder of Urlama, patesi of Tello, seen in fig. 39a, where we also see the figure of a goddess rising, as it were, with the stream out of a spouting vase.

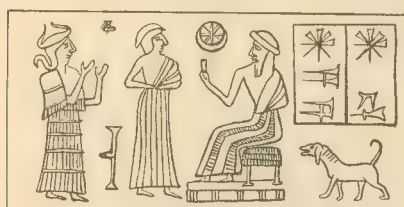


It is easily seen that the design in these cylinders is precisely the same as in the two remarkable cases in which the seated Shamash is figured in bas-reliefs, the stele of Sippara (Abu-habba) (fig. 310), and that of Hammurabi on which he inscribed his civil code (fig. 1271), also from Sippara, where the Sun-god had a famous temple. In these cases the accompanying inscription leaves no doubt of the identity of the god.

More usually the worshiping figure is not led, but approaches, often following a guide, usually a female figure, like Aa. Occasionally, as in fig. 311, we have only the seated god and the worshiper. More usually the



worshiper stands before the god; and behind him, as in fig. 312, stands the figure referred to the goddess Aa, wife of Shamash. In the case of this cylinder, which much resembles fig. 305, as very frequently with this type, there is the simple inscription "Shamash, Aa." The accessories are the dog under the inscription, the sun in the crescent, and the vase of Aquarius over the object which usually accompanies it, and which may provisionally be called the balance, or libra, although it is very doubtful if such it is. Much like this is fig. 313, except that a squatting figure and a sitting dog or lion take the place of the dog. A similar scene appears with different accessories in fig. 314, where the bearded god holds a vase, and we have two small figures of a personage like Gilgamesh, in front view, one of which is kneeling and has the streams from his shoulders. But this figure has been discussed in Chapter XI.



312



313



314



315

We have given above (fig. 304) what is evidently a royal cylinder of a period quite as early as Gudea, in which the worshiper is led by the hand to the bearded god. In that case the inscription was illegible. In fig. 315 we have one of a similar age, a royal cylinder of which the inscription is fortunately preserved, but here the worshiper simply stands before the god, followed by the flounced goddess whom we call Aa. The inscription reads:

Bur-Sin, mighty King, King of Sumer and Akkad;
Amel-Bel, the scribe, son of Shar . . . his servant.

Bur-Sin belonged to the second dynasty of Ur, and his date has been set at about 2700 or 2800 B. C. This cylinder is cut with great nicety in a red jasper with black streaks and is concave on the face. The god in a garment not flounced, and wearing the close cap with a band, as in the Gudea sculptures, sits on a stool covered with a fringed cloth and holds a vase in his hands. The worshiper has his hands on his breast and is followed by the goddess with uplifted hands, whose headdress is high and horned.

There are much older cylinders of this type. Such a one is shown in fig. 316, a shell cylinder in fair preservation. This is one of those whose thickness, as usual

in the oldest cylinders, will allow of a number of figures. The seated god and the four other figures are all flounced and all wear the two-horned hat. Each of the three before the god lifts his hand in worship, while the attendant of the god standing behind him holds his hands on his breast. Another old and unfortunately much worn cylinder of green serpentine, and concave on the face, is shown in fig. 317. In this case two figures approach the god; a third, nude except for the girdle, apparently like Gilgamesh and holding the staff with a semicircle described in Chapter LXIX, stands behind the god as his attendant. A cypress-tree is in the

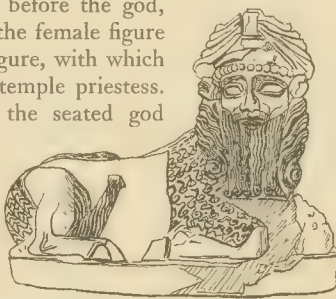


field, but what is most noticeable is the bull apparently leaping into the god's lap. We have a similar case of the bull before the god in fig. 318. He appears to be leaping into the god's lap, as in the last case. The other figures are a serpent, an eagle (or vulture), and a lion in the midst of a swamp of reeds.

An extremely interesting and quite unique variation of this scene appears in fig. 319. It is an elaborate scene and the cylinder is extremely well engraved in the best style of the Gudea period. Here the bearded god, in his flounced dress and his high hat, holds in his hand what is doubtless meant to represent the notched weapon carried usually by the standing Shamash. The approaching worshiper offers a goat. His garment is not flounced and his headdress is the close cap with a thick band familiar in the statuary of the Gudea period. Behind him is the goddess with hands lifted. Before the god is the crescent, a full half-circle, and before the goddess are the three large dots that seem to designate the number thirty, the number of the Moon-god. The two other figures form a second scene, to be separated

from the first. We seem to see the same worshiper and the same goddess embracing each other with one arm while the worshiper, or owner of the seal, holds out his other hand in token of petition. Behind the head of the seated god is a bare-shaven head, such as the Gudea sculptures show. This cylinder is of especial value, inasmuch as it can hardly be doubtful that the two figures in the second scene are the same as the two in the first scene standing before the god, and their attitude of both affection and worship, the female figure protecting the male, indicates that the female figure, with which we are so familiar, is a goddess and not a mere temple priestess.

We have observed that in the last scene the seated god carries the notched sword of Shamash. This is unmistakable in fig. 320. The god sits on a seat with a high back, which is quite an unusual thing (but see fig. 303*a*), and the seat itself is so made as to suggest the conventional way of representing mountains. He has a flounced garment, a high headdress, holds in his hand the notched sword of Shamash, and has his feet on the back of a human-headed bull, which seems to be precisely the same as that in both stone and incrustated bronze figured in Heuzey's "Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes, pp. 269, 287 (see fig. 322). Before the god stands the worshiper in the close turban with the thick band carrying a goat, and behind him is the goddess Aa. Before the god is the circle of the sun inclosed in the crescent, and behind him, over a dog, unless it be a lion, is the inscription which gives the names of the two deities, "Shamash, Aa." Here, again, not only the inscription but still more the notched sword indicates that the god is Shamash.



322

In fig. 321, a standing god, we can not be certain who, has his feet on two of these human-headed bulls, while a worshiper offers a goat. A seated deity rests his feet on an animal whose appearance suggests that this is Marduk, while a flounced goddess stands before him. The spaces are crowded with three other small figures of gods, of whom we recognize the naked Zirbanit. There is also the symbol of Adad. The scattered inscription seems to read:

D. P. Gishtin	(God) Gishtin
A duni	My lord
Mar	son of
D. P. Shamash	(God) Shamash
Arad Rammani,	Servant of Ramman (Adad).

The name Gishtin stands next to the standing god on two human-headed bulls, and the name Shamash next to the seated god; but this gives nothing more than a suggestion that the standing god is Gishtin and the seated god is Shamash. The owner professes himself servant of Adad, whose symbol appears on the seal. In fig. 323 we once more have the human-headed bull as a foot-rest for a god whose dress and attitude are those of Shamash and who holds the rod and ring often carried by Shamash. A worshiper pours a libation from one cup to another, and the goddess Aa stands behind.

So far as we know, the notched weapon is peculiar to Shamash, unless we are mistaken in supposing the seated god to be Shamash in the two last designs. Another emblem which we know belongs to Shamash (although it also belongs

to a goddess) is the rod and circle; for this is what Shamash holds in his hand in the famous stele of Abu-habba (fig. 310). The seated god on the cylinders is also sometimes represented as bearing this emblem. In fig. 324 the god, again in the high-horned hat, sits on a peculiar seat, the dots in the lower part of which suggest mountains, while the middle is a composite animal, to be discussed in Chapter XXVII, on Marduk, to whom it properly belongs. There are the two usual approaching figures, the sun in the crescent, a small female figure, apparently a goddess, a club, and a curious bowlegged figure holding over his head what may be possibly a monkey. It may be that this last is a later, but not modern addition. In another cylinder (fig. 325) we see perhaps the same animal under the feet of the god, and the goat-fish before him, while behind him is the occasional scene of two naked figures



wrestling. The goat-fish is the emblem of Ea. The animal under the feet of the god may indicate that he is either Marduk or Nebo. Another seal, which shows the seated god holding in his hand the same rod and circle, is seen in fig. 326. The god and the worshiper are precisely the same as in the last case, but the god's seat is different, and the other accessories are missing, except the crescent. Yet another case of the rod and circle held by the god is seen in fig. 327. This is one of a very small number of cylinders in which the texture of the flounced garments is represented as in tufts. The god sits with a bull under his feet, and another above his hand, while behind him is a third bull. The other figures, apart from the procession, do not need to be here discussed. Another cylinder in which the bull is an accessory is seen in fig. 328, where it is put under the filiiary inscription.

Another example of this perhaps most frequent of all the designs on the cylinders of the Middle Empire is seen in fig. 329, where, besides the three usual figures and the sun within the crescent, we have also the vertical serpent. In fig. 330 we have more accessories, the three large dots behind the god, the vase over the "balance,"

the sun in the crescent, what appears to be a lion, or goat, as if climbing into the god's lap, and a figure, which would seem to be Gilgamesh in profile, fighting a gazelle-like animal, more likely meant for the oryx, but a later owner has here effaced an original inscription, replacing it with this conflict. In both the latter cases the god wears not the high-pointed hat but the low-banded turban. Both the three dots and the small animal which in the last case looked like a lion, but which in other cases looks more like a jackal or a monkey, appear in fig. 331, in connection with the seated god in the low-banded turban. Fig. 332 again gives



us the same animal before the seated god, and also the bird between the goddess and the led worshiper. The five lines of inscription, which have historical value, read: "Hu-uku-ili, patesi of Mash, Governor of Madka, since he crushed UNU, the servant of ZINI."—Price.

The animal appears alone, again without the three dots of fig. 330, in figs. 333 and 334. We see the three dots again in fig. 335, and also the scorpion and the rod surmounted by the vase and the two serpents, which we know as the Babylonian caduceus. In fig. 336 the three large dots appear not only behind the god's seat,



but also between the worshiper and the following goddess. The vase, in its older form, over the "balance" will be observed. Here the god mentioned in the inscription is Ninib. Another cylinder (fig. 337) has but two dots behind the god's chair, which may indicate the number twenty, for Shamash, as three dots may represent the number thirty for Sin. Here, however, the god does not seem to wear the usual high turban of Shamash, but the low turban with a band or roll of rope to hold it. There is the single worshiper, the goddess like Aa, the vase and "balance," and a rampant goat. In fig. 338 we have before the god a jackal or monkey-like animal on a stand, and a god like Adad leads a bull. Of the time of Gudea, this is an early example of Adad with the bull.

A cylinder of this general type, but of the particular style of a period antedating Gudea, or even Sargon I., is shown in fig. 339. This is of serpentine, and is important, as it not only shows the earlier form of the crescent, but because it bears the name of the god Shamash, such as we have seen it on the cylinders showing Shamash rising over the Eastern mountains. Another, not quite so old, but yet apparently as old as the earlier dynasties of Ur, appears in fig. 340. Fig. 341 is decidedly



archaic. Here the god appears to be shut in a pavilion, the door to which is being opened by an attendant, so that the approaching deity with rays can lead the worshiper following to his presence. Another archaic cylinder (fig. 342) shows us the seated, flounced god and four identical, approaching figures, each with the hand lifted and carrying a wand, and all, like the god, in a two-horned hat. Fig. 343 is another very archaic cylinder. The seated god holds a club or scepter and another deity leads the worshiper, who carries a goat and is followed by a slave with a pail. An altar appears to be before the god.

A cylinder of unusual significance is shown in fig. 344. Here the goat-fish, or Capricorn, is placed under the seat of the god. Now we know, as will appear later, that the goat-fish is the symbol of Ea; and we may conclude with confidence that in this case the seated god represents Ea.



Attention has been called in the case of fig. 327 to the tufted garment worn by the personages. In fig. 345 we have a similar style of drawing the garments. Here the seated god carries not exactly the rod and ring, but what must correspond to it, and looks more like a slender wedge, while the ring appears solid, like a ball. But this seal is interesting for another reason. It is unusually full of figures. Behind the seated god is a goddess, in front view, and with heavy ear-rings; Gilgamesh stands also in front view, and nude. But, more important, is the figure of the standing, bearded god holding a vase, the streams from which fall into a vase on the ground, while before him is the goat-fish. As will be shown in the chapter on the spouting vase, this suggests Ea, god of the waters. If it be Ea, the seated god

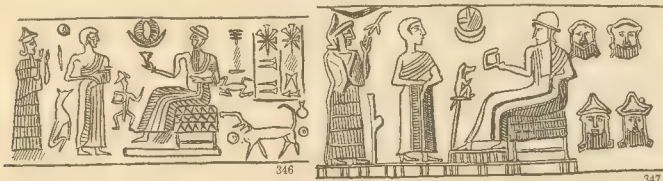
can hardly be Ea in this cylinder, although we have found Ea indicated by the goat-fish with the seated god in figs. 325, 344. Yet the spouting vase seems to be brought into some kind of connection with the seated god in several cylinders. Such a case we have seen in fig. 314.

It may be mentioned here that a small squat, or dancing, figure now and then appears before the god, as in figs. 324, 336 and also in fig. 346. In this case we also have the dog (or lion) under the frequent inscription "Shamash, Aa."



The presence of heads without the body is not frequent, though occasional. We have an interesting cylinder of this type in fig. 347, where, beside the approaching figure followed by the goddess, we are shown four heads in front view, with the horns which would seem to indicate that they represent deities or demigods like Gilgamesh. The importance of the monkey-like figure is indicated by the mounting of it on a standard before the seated god.

With these illustrations before us, which give a pretty complete idea of the designs and accessories of the seated god with approaching or led figures, we are ready to consider the difficult question who the god is, thus represented. We must remember that these are not simply archaic cylinders, but they represent a type which maintained itself with great frequency in the Gudea period and much later.



It has become thoroughly conventionalized. We must also remember how few are the types of gods, and that the seated god may represent, possibly, any one of half a dozen or more deities. It is only when some emblem or attribute is designated that we can be at all positive which god is intended. Indeed any king on his throne would be represented, and is represented, in the same way, down into the Assyrian period.

The following considerations will help us to decide what god is represented:

1. We are already informed that the seated god often is Shamash. Such we have him expressly designated on the bas-relief of Abu-habba and by the figure over the code of Hammurabi, and such we have found him to be when provided with rays or streams, or both. The first presumption is that the god is Shamash.

2. In fig. 339 we have the archaic designation of Shamash on the cylinder.

3. This conclusion is confirmed when, as in figs. 319, 320, the god carries in his hand the peculiarly shaped notched weapon of Shamash. There can then be no further doubt, as no other god carries this weapon.

4. The rare case in which, as in fig. 301, fish without streams are placed by the god is in all probability to be assigned to Shamash.

5. The frequency of the cases in which the inscription "Shamash, Aa" occurs is a presumptive indication that the seated god usually is Shamash. It is true that other gods' names are occasionally found, even without the name of the owner of the seal and with no indication that the owner is a worshiper of a particular god. There may be nothing else but the name of one or two gods, taking the place of the usual filial inscription, but this is hardly any evidence that the god so named is the same as is figured. It is only the *prevalence* of a god's name that suggests that he is also figured.

6. We know that in the Abu-habba stele the rod and ring carried in the hand are the symbol of Shamash. When, therefore, we see these objects in the hand of the seated god on the cylinders, the presumption is that the god is Shamash. Inasmuch, however, as a goddess also sometimes carries the same objects we can not regard this as a certain indication.

7. Where the goat-fish, which appears to be a particular symbol of Ea, is figured under the god's seat (fig. 344) or in front of his body (fig. 325), there is reason to believe that the god is Ea.

8. That the seated god may be Sin is proved by the cylinder shown in fig. 1272, where we actually see the name of Sin engraved by his figure, as well as the names of two other gods also figured.

9. In the case of a royal cylinder from Ur there is a strong presumption that the god is Sin and the presence of the crescent before the god's head is a support to the presumption. Yet too much must not be made of this, as the crescent may be meant to be the suggestion of a different god from the one figured, an additional protector, just as where both the sun and moon are drawn realistically, and perhaps the star of Ishtar also.

10. The presence of three large dots in connection with the seated god can not but suggest that it is the god Thirty or Sin that is figured.

11. For a similar reason Ningirsu is to be expected in the seated god of the period when Lagash (Shirpurla) was flourishing. It is beyond reasonable question Ningirsu that is represented on a bas-relief (fig. 348). Except that the god's face is in front view this is only a larger form of the seated god on the cylinders. Heuzey compares with this bas-relief of Ningirsu an impression from a cylinder (fig. 421), which, however, I suspect is not correctly drawn by the artist, and where the seated deity may be really a goddess; certainly the beard on the standing deity is a mistake.

12. In two of the cylinders figured (figs. 324, 325) a slender-necked, grotesque animal lies under the bull or under the seat of the god. This must bear some relation to the god and would seem to be one of his emblems. He bears the rod and ring, which is also an emblem of Shamash, though not exclusively his. We have no other evidence that this animal is emblematic of Shamash, and, indeed, it resembles the animal which in the kudurrus we find under the seat or spear-head of Marduk. But I should hesitate to assign these gods to Marduk, especially as they seem to be older than the popular cult of Marduk. Before the god, in fig. 325, is the goat-fish that belongs to Ea, and this may be Ea, although we have only this evidence that the long-necked animal can be emblematic of Ea. It may belong to Marduk's predecessor, Enlil.

13. In the case of two cylinders (figs. 317, 318) we have seen the bull apparently leaping into the lap of the god; in another case (fig. 327) we have the bull under the god's feet, and in yet others (figs. 320, 323) it is a bull with a human face on which the god's feet rest. The bull is the regular accompaniment of Ramman, but that god is represented as standing, and leading a bull by a cord through his nose, as we shall see in Chapter xxx. The Moon-god Sin, or Nannar, is called the powerful bull of "Anu" (Jastrow, "Religion," p. 89), doubtless in reference to his horns (ib., p. 76). In a hymn to Sin (Nannar) the moon is called "Strong bull, great of horns, perfect in form, with long flowing beard, bright as lapis-lazuli" (Jastrow, "Religion," p. 303). It is not at all unlikely that, as often suggested, the seated god with the two horns on his turban, and the crescent before him, may be Sin at times, and is likely to be so when the bull is represented in close connection with him. It must not be forgotten, however, that Marduk is the Taurus of the zodiac. Yet the cylinders in which we see the bull leaping into the god's lap, as also those in which the crescent is before the bearded god, are far older than Hammurabi, in whose reign Marduk emerged from local obscurity as a minor god and took the place of Bel. It might be, however, that the Marduk-Taurus of the Zodiac is a substitution for the earlier Enlil-Taurus, or Sin-Taurus. It would be helpful if we could assign to Sin the representations in which the seated god has the low, two-horned turban, and assign to Shamash those in which the higher pointed turban is given; but this is not at all clear. The case of fig. 320 is hardly to be counted with those in which the bull indicates another god than Shamash. Here the bull, at the god's footstool, is human-headed; the god holds the notched weapon of Shamash in his hand; he sits on what looks like a mountain made into a chair; and behind him is the inscription "Shamash, Aa." We must then presume that here the god, in a high turban, not the more usual moon-like, two-horned turban, is really Shamash.



14. A similar problem is raised by fig. 327. Here a bull is the god's footstool and a second crouched bull is in front of his head. But he carries the rod and circle which we know are carried by Shamash, and which seem to represent peculiar authority, like the tablets of the fates; his turban is of the high several-horned style; and behind him, under the sun in the crescent, is an animal, apparently a gazelle. In this case the indication, notwithstanding the bull under the god's feet, would point to Shamash rather than Sin or any other god.

15. The number of cases are too many to be passed without notice in which before the seated god there is a crouched vertical or rampant slender animal not easy to identify, but looking like a short-tailed monkey or a jackal. The attitude is the same as that of the gazelle in the cylinder last considered, but it is without horns. We see examples in figs. 305, 330, 331, 347. In fig. 331 there are also the three large dots that seem to indicate Sin, so that we might be inclined to suppose that this animal is an adjunct of Sin, but this is by no means sure. In fig. 330 the head of the animal looks more like that of a lion, but it is impossible, at present,

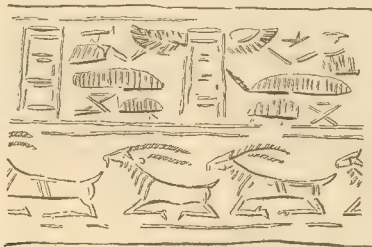
to identify the animal or to tell what god it belongs to, if any. But in fig. 332 it is evidently a goat.

The general conclusion from the study of the cylinders which give us one or more figures approaching a god without rays or streams, whether led by the hand or not, is that generally the god is Shamash, who was the most popular, the most worshiped, of all the gods of the Babylonian pantheon. His worship was not local, but general. It was his image that Hammurabi himself, devoted as he was to Marduk, put at the top of the stele which he set up at Sippara and on which he inscribed his laws, and before whom he approaches in the attitude of worship usual on these cylinders. It is probable, however, that other gods were also represented as seated and receiving worship, and particularly that Sin is so represented when accompanied by his special emblems, and Ea when accompanied by his emblem of the goat-fish.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE GODDESS WITH WINGED GATE AND BULL.

We have already seen, in Chapter v, that in the most primitive period of Chaldean art a gate is sometimes represented, together with figures of seated deities. We have also seen one case (fig. 80) repeated here (fig. 349), in which the gate has wings. We now have to collect and consider the cases in which the winged gate becomes the central object in the composition, with a seated deity on one side, and on the other either a second seated deity or a kneeling worshiper, while in front of the gate or under the gate is a bull crouched on its bent knees. Of these cylinders,



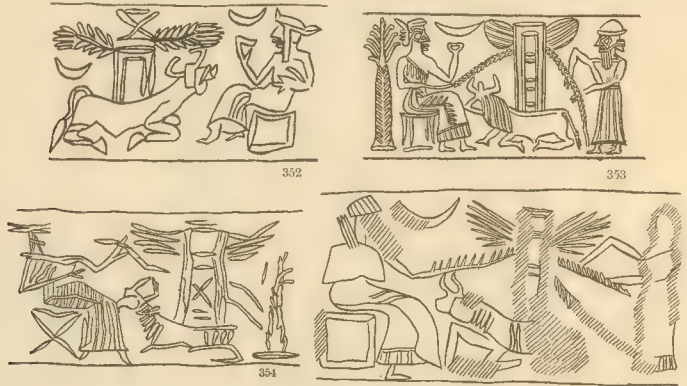
which are quite rare, a typical example is shown in fig. 350. Here the seated deity in a long robe is beardless, apparently a goddess. One hand, under a star, reaches out and touches the bull's horn. The gate in the center of the composition has two cross-bars and two very simple wings, made of five horizontal lines each, and so less realistic than the wings in fig. 349. The gate rests on a bull lying down, with its legs bent under it, except one fore leg which is extended as if the bull wished to rise. From under each wing there issues a stream, or cord perhaps, one stream



directed out nearly horizontally until it reaches the deity's shoulder, while the other is grasped by the two hands of a naked bearded figure kneeling on one knee, the other foot resting on the back of the bull. The stream bends and falls gracefully and the end rests on the ground under the knee of the worshiper, whose face is turned back as if looking toward the back of the goddess. The goddess appears to have simply a fillet about her hair, which is tied in a loop behind, while the worshiper wears a square cap, possibly of feathers. It is to be observed that the streams, or cords, whichever they are, are drawn with a line with short lines from

it at an acute angle, which might represent the twisting of a cord or the movement of a stream. One will observe also that in this case the line of the gate, on the right side, seems to be produced across the bull's body; but this is not usual.

A similar example is seen in fig. 351. The gate with its streams, the bull, and the seated goddess are the same, but the male worshiper is standing instead of kneeling, and we have a crescent in place of the star. The stream on the side of the seated goddess reaches to her hand. These two cylinders represent the usual design, but of the few cases known most are badly worn and not worth repeating. More usually the worshiper is kneeling; sometimes, however, he is omitted entirely. Such a case occurs in fig. 352, an unusually small example of green serpentine. Here the wings are seen above the gate, as if under a crossed seat, and there are no streams from below the wings. In fig. 353 the streams are drawn with a series of angles, and we have a stiff erect tree. Here, again, the worshiper is standing. But in fig. 354 the streams are reduced to mere lines (two on one side), the top of the tree is truncated, and there is no worshiper. In fig. 355, a shell cylinder,

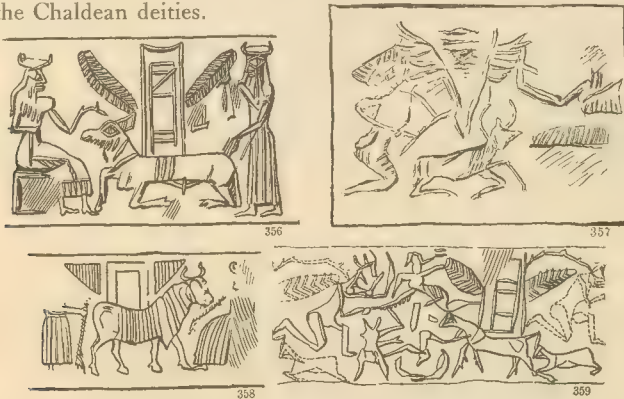


there are again two streams on the side of the standing worshiper. In fig. 356 we note a different drawing of the wings, and there are no streams, a strange omission.

There is one other cylinder that belongs to this type, and yet varies so much from it that it needs special attention. It is quite archaic and of shell, and it is possible that it indicates a more primitive design. In fig. 357 we have the seated god, apparently bearded, the bull and the kneeling worshiper seizing the stream; but the gate is quite transfigured. Two diverging lines rise from the bull's back, and each has a wing; the wider space between the two lines at the top is occupied with horizontal lines. Unfortunately this cylinder, as in so many cases of this material, is very much worn, but the main outlines are unmistakable. The cylinder represented in fig. 358 is also very archaic, of marble, and in part lost. Here the two figures are mostly missing; and the bull is standing, and not, as in other cases, crouched on its knees. Yet one more may be added for completeness, shown in fig. 359. Here we have the winged gate over an animal which does not seem to be a bull, although the cylinder is rudely cut and badly worn. Behind the animal is a smaller one, which may be its young, and before it a man in a boat seems to reach towards it, while another man reaches forward on the other side of the boat.

Above them two figures run rapidly towards each other, apparently in fight. Here is no description of worship, and the cylinder may be unrelated to the others.

Now, how is this scene to be interpreted? Why should the gate have wings? and who is the goddess? for a goddess it appears to be in every case except doubtfully in fig. 357. In King's "Assyrian Deeds and Documents," III, pp. 119, 120, a number of proper names are collected beginning with *Ishtar-bab*, meaning *Ishtar-gate* or *Ishtar of the gate*; and he suggests that *Ishtar-bab* may be a special designation of *Bau*, for whose name we have a by-form, *Babu* or *Gate*. Until other evidence is presented we may presume that we have in this goddess seated before a gate, a representative of *Bau*, who, as we shall see, was regularly represented as a seated deity. This also recalls the fact that the beardless deity whom we have seen seated on the archaic cylinders (Chapter V), at times accompanied by a gate, and in one case by a winged gate (fig. 349), is very likely *Bau*, who is one of the oldest of the Chaldean deities.



But why is the gate winged? As to this only a conjecture can be hazarded. We know that the gate which accompanies the standing *Shamash* represents the approach of morning; it is the gate of the East, which is often referred to in the hymns as well as pictured on the cylinders which give us the standing *Shamash*. Here the gate may have a similar meaning, but connected with *Ishtar of the Gate*, that is, the morning star. In that case the wings may be compared with "the wings of the morning" in Ps. 139: 9, and may represent the spreading of the morning light in the clouds that lie in level lines about the eastern horizon and are colored by the early light.

But what of the bull? *Bau* has the by-name of the "Heifer of *Isin*" (Sayce's "Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia"). The animal before the goddess is a bull, not a heifer. I do not recall that the cow is ever delineated on the Babylonian cylinders unless rarely with a calf. Perhaps the bull might properly accompany the heifer goddess. A bull alone is occasionally seen before a seated deity, perhaps generally a male god, the bull appearing almost to be climbing into the god's lap (figs. 317, 318). Such an extremely archaic shell cylinder is seen in fig. 360, which is considerably decayed, but we distinctly see an unusual and peculiar branch overshadowing the bull. But it is not clear that such a cylinder has any relation to the scene under consideration.

Another very unusual cylinder must be included, although its meaning is far from clear (fig. 361). It is archaic and very complex, and unfortunately the shell is much worn. On a long-legged quadruped there is what may be a winged gate, and over it a second, narrower gate, and above it what appears to be a heraldic eagle with figures each side with hands uplifted. There is a boat among the reeds, a number of men and animals and two processions of men, one above the other. There must be in this a story representing an unknown myth, just as the cylinders show the myth of Etana on the eagle, Chapter XXII.

And what is the meaning of the "streams"? Are they cords? One can not but compare them with the cords, sometimes with tassels at the end, which fall from under the wings of the winged disk representing the supreme deity, Ashur,



in a considerable class of Assyrian seals of a much later period. These also are grasped by the worshiper and seem to represent the connection between the god and his petitioning servant. It is not impossible that the winged gate of sunrise corresponds to the winged disk of the Assyrian supreme god Ashur, which also is identified with the disk of the sun and sometimes in art represents the Sun-god Shamash (fig. 1279). In that case the later Assyrian design of the cords from the wings of the disk would be borrowed from this much earlier design of the cords from the wings of the gate, but they would be connected with a much higher emblem of supreme deity. The difficulty about considering them as streams lies in the fact that in no case is any vase seen from which or into which the water flows, such as might from analogy be expected.

It may be added that in one or two cases the material of which these cylinders are made is of an unusual kind of serpentine, which might suggest a peculiar local origin.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SERPENT GODS.

There is a class of cylinders of the older period, not at all numerous, on which there is represented a seated, bearded deity, whose body consists of a serpent coil. Before him there may be one or more standing worshipers, or he may be faced by a seated goddess, and behind him there may be a gate. Such an example is seen in fig. 362. In this cylinder the serpent god carries a small branch in his hand, the gate is behind him, and the goddess opposite holds a shallow bowl in her hand; above her arm is the crescent, and behind the two is the early form of an emblem which seems to mean the designation of a deity.



Another characteristic example is seen in fig. 365, where an altar, under the moon and star, stands between the god and his worshiper, while behind the worshiper is the gate with its porter. In fig. 364 the gate appears, and the worshiper is led by the hand to the god. Again the gate is seen in fig. 363, where we see the crescent and a single worshiper approaching the deity. In fig. 366 there is no gate, but there are three worshipers and an archaic inscription.

A more than usually interesting example of this type is seen in fig. 367, which shows peculiar variations. The god has rays from his shoulders, such as we see in the case of the seated Shamash (Chapter XIV). Between the god and his seated goddess is an hourglass-shaped altar; and the gate is of an unusual pattern. There prevails, however, an extraordinary sameness about the designs on these cylinders.

Another of the usual pattern is seen in fig. 368. This cylinder, which is of green serpentine and very well preserved, shows no sign of a beard on the serpent-god. Between the two deities is a simple altar, apparently of bricks, from which a flame arises. We see also a star and two crescents, one for each of the deities.

But there is another serpent-god who appears very rarely in early Babylonian art, for our knowledge of whom we are indebted, as for so much of value as to early Babylonian art, to M. Heuzey. (See "Sceau de Goudéa," fig. 6; *Revue d'Assyriologie*

logie, v, p. 135; *ib.*, vi, p. 95.) It was from the impression of the cylinder on a tablet in the Louvre, the inscription on the cylinder reading, "Gudea, patesi of Shirpurla," or Tello, that he recognized the god on it as Ningishzida (fig. 368a). The god sits on his throne, and holds one vase before his breast, from which two streams rise and fall, and a second vase in his other hand. Before him stands his intermediary god, who with one hand supports one vase and with the other leads the worshiper, very probably Gudea himself, with his shaven head. The streams from the vases fall into three vases on the ground, each of which in turn spouts out two more streams, so that there are ten jets in all. There are serpents rising from the shoulders of the intermediary god, who is recognized as Ningishzida (see Chapter LXVIII, *sub voce*). We may with some assurance regard the seated god as Ea, although in the previous figure he was standing. We would, however, have expected Gudea to be worshipping Ningirsu. But we have found in the case of Shamash that



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367



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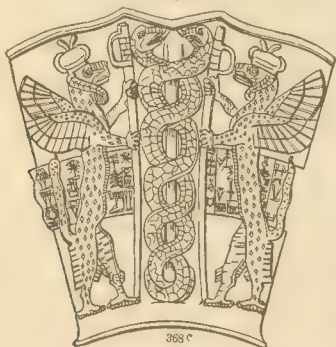


368a

a god might be figured in either way, sitting or standing. For a discussion of this cylinder in its relation to Ea see the description of it in connection with fig. 650. But it is the intermediary god with whom we are now concerned. From each of his shoulders there rises a serpent. He is the god who introduces Gudea to his chief patron deity, Ningirsu or Ea, although Gudea was also greatly devoted to Ningishzida. In his great inscription he says—(Cylinder A, col. xviii, 14–17), describing his approach to his supreme god Ningirsu in his temple: "The god Lugal-Kurdub went before him; the god Gal-alim followed him; Ningishzida, his god, held him by the hand." It is thus that Gudea is here led by the hand, for, as this seal is personally Gudea's, according to the inscription, and not that of a scribe, we may, with Heuzey, properly presume that the worshiper is Gudea himself. Ningishzida is then, as Heuzey shows, the god, more than once called "his god," who introduces him to the principal god, who would naturally be Ningirsu, but who appears, from his attribute of water, to be Ea. It is fitting that the serpent god Ningishzida should be followed by the winged serpent-headed monster.

This design already shown is from its impression on a tablet; but a single cylinder is known, from the great collection of the Metropolitan Museum in New

York, which gives us a representation of Ningishzida, but here not as an intermediary (fig. 368*b*).^{*} The cylinder, which appears to be somewhat later than Gudea, is of hematite. The god stands in the form of an image resting on feet like those of a tripod. The garment is contracted below, like the bronze images. The face is in front view, and there are two protuberant ears. A serpent rises from each shoulder. The hands are folded on the breast. Perhaps the garment might not be regarded as flounced, but as having something wound about it to draw it to the body. On one side of Ningishzida stands the nearly nude Zirbanit, and on the



other a deity, perhaps female, with necklace (or beard?), holding a scimitar. A worshiper approaches carrying in one hand a pail and with the other lifting a crutch-like object, above which is a tortoise. The other emblems are the thunderbolt of Adad, the vase and "libra," a fly and a fish. This cylinder is of interest as showing that the worship of Ningishzida continued probably a thousand years after Gudea. The serpents from the shoulders are perfectly clear. At the same time it is possible to interpret the oblique folds of the god's garment as those of the serpents twined about the god; and in that case what appear to be the feet of a tripod under the god will be the tails of the serpents. We are reminded of the Cretan serpent-god.

The devotion of Gudea to Ningishzida, and at the same time the relation of this god to the serpent, is shown in the vase dedicated by him to Ningishzida, of which the design is shown in fig. 368*c*. Here two serpents twine about a central column, and on each side is the monster seen in fig. 368*a*. It is thus again made clear that the god to whom the vase was dedicated was represented by serpents.

There is one other representation of Ningishzida known in old Babylonian art (see Eduard Meyer, "Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien," plate vii), shown in fig. 368*d*. This is a relief dated by the inscription on the garment of the worshiper led to the god, which reads, "Gudea, patesi of Shirpurla." The fragmentary condition of the monument allows us to see only the streams about the seated god; but the figure of Ningishzida, with the serpents from his shoulders, is admirably preserved.

The idea of the serpents growing from the shoulders of the god has been perpetuated, it would seem, in the Persian myth of the wicked Zohak (fig. 368*e*), who allowed Satan to kiss his shoulders, when a serpent grew out of each, and they had to be fed with human brains, two victims being killed each day.

Such a cylinder as we see in fig. 368*f*, although it belongs to the Hittite period, gives rise to a question as to the meaning of the serpents from the shoulders. Here we see serpents apparently rising from the shoulders of the god, but it is only apparent, for the god grasps the serpents in his hands, which are joined over his breast, while their bodies fall down nearly to the ground. This suggests that it is possible that, just as streams flow from the shoulders of a god, although the thought is that they really flowed from a vase in the god's lap, so it may be that by a sort of convention only the heads of the serpents were drawn, the hands being otherwise occupied in figs. 368*a* and *d*, while in fig. 368*b* the god winds the serpents about him. It is to be added that (Gudea, Cylinder A 5: 19, 20) Ningishzida is described as a solar deity: "The sun which lifted itself up from the earth before thee, is thy god Ningishzida. Like the sun he goes forth from the Earth."

The worship of the serpent is almost universal, whether as a good or an evil power. In Persia we have the serpent as typifying the hostile force which resists the good in Ahuramazda. In India there were the Nagas of Manu and the epic poems, who were identical with the serpent Ahi, etc., of the Rigveda. The Naga chiefs were represented with a canopy of hoods of cobras over their heads. Surya, the Hindu Sun-god, has a similar serpent canopy, and the Napa demigods hold a sun-disk in their hands, showing, apparently, a relation between sun-worship and serpent-worship, such as is indicated by the combination of the serpent body and the rays in fig. 367. In China we have dragon-worship in which the serpent has been developed into a fantastic monster. The Greeks knew a serpent Typhon; and there was a Phenician Esmun-Asklepios (Serpentarius). According to Pherecydes the Phenicians had a serpent-god Ophion, the first ruler of heaven, but cast down to Tartarus by Kronos who prevailed over him in the beginning of things. The serpent is familiar in Egyptian mythology, whether as the god Uræus, which adorned the heads of various gods, or as the evil Apep, the foe of Horus, Ra, and Osiris (Budge, "Gods of the Egyptians," II, p. 376). There was a seven-headed serpent and also a monstrous serpent of sunrise (*ib.*, I, pp. 20, 267). In the Egyptian Fund's "Defeneh," plate 25, is figured a god with a serpent body, holding a serpent in each hand. We shall see in fig. 796 the serpent in Hittite worship; and the

dragon attacked by Bel becomes a serpent in certain varieties of the Assyrian legend, as we shall see in figs. 578, 579.

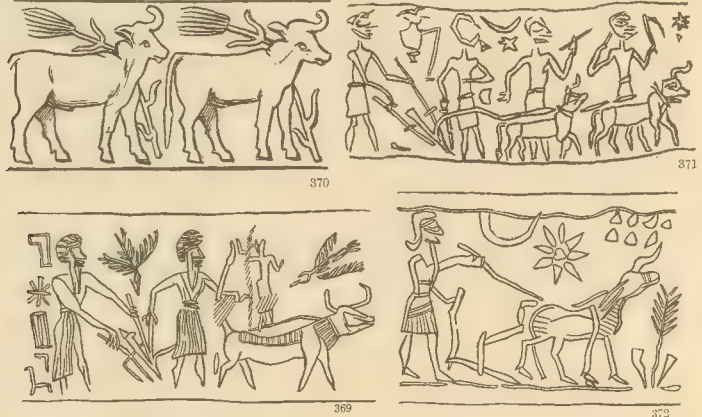
An interesting fragment (paraphrased by Bezold, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ix, p. 116) tells us that the goddess Belit-ili carries a horn, that her breast is filled with milk, that with her left hand she lifts an uncertain creature to her nipple, that the upper part of her body is that of a woman and the lower part that of a serpent. In the same text we are told that Ea has a serpent's head.

It is not easy to identify the early Babylonian seated deity that is represented by the human figure and the coiled serpent-body shown in figs. 362-8. The Babylonians had various serpents, such as we find on the kudurrus, also the seven-headed serpent. Serpents are very frequent on the cylinders, either standing upright on their tails or made into a weapon held by a god, or in the double caduceus (No. 30 of Chapter LXIX). We have seen the two serpents arranged symmetrically on the bronze vase of Gudea (fig. 368c), and the change of the dragon into a serpent has been mentioned. There was a serpent-god Siru, of whom we know simply his name (Jastrow, "Religion," p. 170), who is not likely to be this figured deity inasmuch as he is the serpent of the kudurrus. The identification with Ea may be suggested, although we seem to see him surrounded by streams in figs. 648-650; but that may be because we know so little of the art of Eridu. And yet we may think of the Elamite Kadi, who was the mother of Siru, according to the list of gods in the kudurru of Nazimaruttash. An archaic figure of the Athenian Cecrops (Benjamin Powell, "Erichthonius" in "Cornell Studies," fig. 2; Miss Harrison's "Mythology and the Monuments," fig. 2) deserves comparison. Inasmuch as in the period just following that of this seated serpent-god we have Ningishzida as a god with serpents from his shoulders, he, or his father, Ninazu, is to be considered. The older seated god, with serpent-body, may have been transferred in the time of the higher art of Gudea into an anthropomorphic deity, with serpents simply rising from the shoulders, as the quivers rise from the shoulders of Ishtar.

CHAPTER XIX.

DEITIES OF AGRICULTURE.*

While the agricultural cylinders do not belong to the most primitive periods, they are yet most of them early, going back to the period of the linear inscriptions, although usually they show no inscriptions at all. They are generally of the large thick style of most of those which show the contests of Gilgamesh. Some of them show purely agricultural scenes, with no suggestion of any deity, which is unusual in the art of so religious a people as were the early Chaldeans. These cylinders give us usually a plowing scene or oxen in the cultivated grain; while others show us gods of agriculture decked with grain, to whom is presented a plow. One of the former sort appears in fig. 369. Here three men are plowing with one ox, or a yoke of oxen, of which only one could be drawn by the unskilful artist. It is



an ox, and not a buffalo. One of the three men holds the plow firmly down by the two handles; a second presses down the point of the plow with a stick, while a third drives the ox with a whip. How the beam of the plow is connected with the ox is not clear, whether by a yoke or some attachment to the horns. The men are all clad in simple short garments that will not interfere with their work. Two birds are seen flying about, evidently on the lookout for worms or grubs. The inscription is linear and archaic. Another of probably the same period, and extremely well drawn, is shown in fig. 370, where we see simply two oxen standing in the grain, which is here distinctly not wheat or barley, the two older varieties of the nobler grains, but millet or *durra*, the coarser food of the poorer classes in the East to-day. It is a grain seldom seen in Europe or America, much like our broom-corn.

*For an earlier discussion of these cylinders see Ward, *Am. Journal of Arch.*, II, pp. 261-6, 1886, where five of this class are figured.

An elaborate design representing the work of plowing the ground is given in fig. 371. Here two oxen, or two yoke of oxen, are attached tandem to the plow. Their yokes are distinctly drawn. One of the plowmen holds the plow by the two handles; a second presses down the point of the share; while two others drive the oxen with a whip. The construction of the plow is fairly well shown; but that is better shown in a cylinder to be described later. Another cylinder, which is probably much later (fig. 372), shows the same scene less developed. Here the man who holds the plow with one hand drives the oxen with the other hand. There appear to be eight dots* where we would expect seven in the Assyrian art, besides the moon and star. This raises some question whether the cylinder of the previous figure really belongs to the archaic period.

A purely agricultural scene is shown in fig. 373, where we have a wattled pen for the cattle, one of which is represented as coming out of it on each side, while five others are drawn, one of them above, perhaps conceived as within it, and the others approaching it, two on each side. This, however, is not an old Babylonian



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376



374



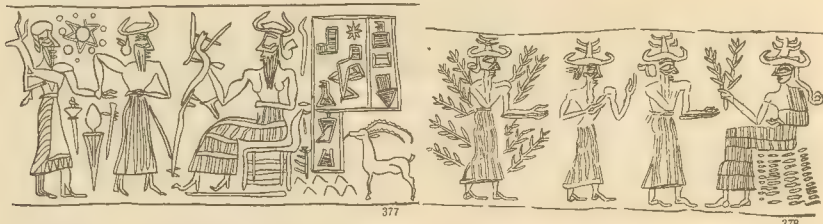
875

seal, but belongs to a later period and a more northern locality. It is of white marble and is not pierced longitudinally, but has at the upper end a handle pierced horizontally, as in fig. 16. This shape we shall find not very infrequent in the seals of a Hittite period, although it is not distinctively Hittite.

Of the cylinders of the Old Empire which represent a deity receiving a plow no one gives us the construction of the plow more carefully indicated than fig. 374. Here the seated bearded god has wheat (or barley) radiating from his shoulders, and he holds in his hand two more ears of wheat. Three bearded figures approach, of whom the second presents a plow and the third brings wheat in his hands, while wheat seems to grow from his garments. This cylinder is of serpentine, a material which is not easily corroded, although easily worn; when protected from wear, as in this case, it preserves admirably the work of the engraver's tools. In this case the plow is excellently drawn. We see clearly the two handles connecting with the point in front, the strengthening cross-bar, and the beam tied to the bent beam-end of the point of the share.

* The artist has overlooked one which I seemed to see on the cylinder.

We have another good example of the plow in fig. 377 from a little different point of view, which opens somewhat more clearly the curve of the part of the beam attached to the plow. It also shows us a pin which connected the curve of the beam with the share. Here again we have the seated bearded god and two approaching bearded personages, the first leading the second, who brings a goat as an offering. We also see the ibex near the mountains, over which is the inscription; also a peculiar star and a dagger between a club, or scepter, and an ax.



Another cylinder in which a worshiper, or perhaps a divine attendant, presents the plow to the seated god is seen in fig. 375, in which the curve of the beam attached to the share is more pronounced still. Here a second attendant leads a worshiper with a goat for sacrifice, and the seated god has streams issuing presumably from a vase by his body, a design to be considered later. Again we have the club or scepter. In fig. 376 the deity is a goddess. She holds three stalks of wheat in her hand, and before her is an altar of an early type (see Chapter LXVI) and the attendant holds the plow downward, as if plowing, instead of carrying it. The worshiper appears to have left his offerings, a bird and cakes, perhaps, on the altar and to have returned to his work on which the goddess looks benevolently.



On another handsome seal of lapis-lazuli (fig. 379) we have a different form of offering. The worshiper is pouring a libation on two altars shaped like an hour-glass. The deity, who seems to be the Sun-god Shamash, holds a plow in his right hand. The inscription bears the name of the owner, Amur-Shamash. The name of the god represented enters into the name of the owner.

We occasionally find the deities and attendants ornamented with wheat when the plow is omitted. Such a case appears in fig. 378, where the seated goddess holds two stalks in her hand, and three bearded figures approach in an attitude of respect, the last of them being quite enveloped in radiating stalks of wheat. Another such case seems to be seen in fig. 380, where the goddess holds a branch, not wheat, and stalks, probably of wheat, are seen in the field. An ibex stands rampant before her, and two worshipers bring goats as offerings. Another excel-

lent example of the seated deity with agricultural surroundings, but no plow, is seen in fig. 381. Here the deity, apparently male, holds in his hand a stalk of durra and a stalk of the same grain rises from each shoulder, while the first of the three approaching figures is enveloped in wheat.

An admirable example of the goddess of agriculture is seen in fig. 382, on which two separate designs appear. The one to the right is considered in the chapter on the "God Attacking an Enemy" (fig. 136a). Here the goddess has two ears of wheat in her lifted right hand and a single ear in her left hand. The bearded attendant who introduces the worshiper carries an ear of wheat in his right hand and branches spring from his shoulders. He is followed by the long-bearded worshiper and by a beardless servant carrying a goat as an offering. It will be observed that the worshiper wears the same headdress as the goddess and the attendant male god or demigod. In fig. 383 the goddess, with a long tress behind,



sits on what looks like a hill. From her shoulders the branches look more like reeds than wheat, and she carries another in her hand. Four figures approach, of which the first and last seem to be feminine.

For an excellent example of the plow in Assyrian times see Pinches, "Old Testament in the Light of Historical Records," p. 388. A plow very similar to that depicted on these cylinders is still in use in the East, and in Syria agriculturists have been known to object to part with one of these rude plows, out of jealousy lest they might be imitated by rival agriculturists elsewhere. Plows much like this are still in use in Western Europe, and perhaps no better modern illustration need be given than of those now employed by Spanish farmers, as in the accompanying illustrations (figs. 384, 385).

The goddess of agriculture seems to have been Gula, or Bau. She was "the Great Mother" from whom mankind received both the herds and the crops of the field (Sayce, "The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia," p. 304; Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonia," pp. 59, 462, 678) and she was herself designated as a heifer. But Bau became one of the forms of Ishtar, the goddess of fertility, to whom the sixth month, the culmination of the summer season was devoted. To

Bau as the goddess of fertility, offerings were made of animals and the fruits of the ground, and the early Chaldean New Year's Day, called Zagmuku, was consecrated by Gudea to gifts to Bau and her husband Ningirsu, called marriage gifts. Other figures of Bau are shown in Chapter XII.



We seem to have a statue of this goddess represented in fig. 386. Here we have the impression of a cylinder on a round tablet, the seated goddess, with wheat from her shoulders, and behind her the standing image of the same goddess on a pedestal, surrounded with wheat. What gives special value to this design is the fact that it is accompanied by an inscription on which is read the name of Naram-



Sin, King of Agade, the successor of his father Sargon the Elder. This carries back the worship of images, in the form of statues in the round, to a very early period. We may follow M. Heuzey in believing that the standing statue and the seated goddess represent the same goddess of fertility, probably Bau.

But it is a god as well as a goddess of agriculture that we see in fig. 387. The god appears to wear, which is most unusual, a lion's skin and carries a bow. The

goddess stands before him, and both are embowered in wheat. Besides the two we have the goddess Ishtar with weapons from her shoulders, a worshiper with a goat, a female figure with a spouting vase, an altar, and a rampant goat between the agricultural deities. There is also the inscription giving the name of "Ili-ugum, the Scribe." The lion's robe is so extraordinary, indeed so like the robe of Hercules, that one is inclined to raise a question as to whether this cylinder has not been somewhat reworked. The bow is unusual, but we see it on the Expedition cylinder, fig. 390; and the weapons of Ishtar and the inscription seem genuine. This cylinder is from the collection of the late Lord Southesk.

A male deity with the same emblems would preferably be Ningirsu. Indeed Ningirsu, under the name of Shul-gur, "Heap of Corn," was an agricultural deity and was also identified with Tammuz under one of the Protean forms of the latter god (Jastrow, "Religion," p. 58; Sayce, "Religion," p. 350), while Bau provides "abundance" for tillers of the soil.

The sixth sign in the zodiac was designated, at least in the Seleucid times, by a word meaning "ear of wheat" (Jensen, "Kosmologie," pp. 311, 312); and Jensen says that doubtless the Greek ears of corn in the hand of Virgo go back to this designation of the sign as "Ear of Wheat." The representation of the goddess with the ear of wheat on the cylinders proves that the Greek design has its relation with a very early period in Babylonian religion. And yet it is far from certain that this goddess is not Nisabu, daughter of Anu and sister of Bel. She was much worshiped by Lugal-zaggisi at an extremely early period, and was especially a deity devoted to fertility and grain. In an inscription by Scheil in the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, July, 1904, p. 256, is given an inscription in honor of Nisabu, on a large terra-cotta vessel which may have been intended for grain. She is described as the gracious Lady beloved of Anu, who rules the fruitfulness of the land, who has innumerable wombs and nipples, and eighteen ears. She is the great Scribe of Anu and the great sister of Enlil. It is interesting to know that a goddess should be a scribe; but, as Scheil says, agriculture was the mother of letters, for it was the abundance of the grain and fruits that created property and trade and made letters and records necessary to protect property. It is not strange that a goddess of wheat should also be the goddess of letters and herself the scribe of the gods. We know in Babylonian times of a woman scribe, Amat-bawu. Barton in his "A Sketch of Semitic Origins," p. 218, makes Nidaba a goddess and patron of agriculture.

CHAPTER XX.

DEITIES GATHERING FRUIT: THE "TEMPTATION" SCENE.

No design upon the cylinders has created so much discussion or attracted so much popular interest as that shown in fig. 388 and which has been popularly supposed to represent the temptation of Adam and Eve by a serpent. The design is a very simple one. We have a palm-tree, with a bunch of dates hanging down on each side of the trunk. On one side sits a deity—probably masculine, although the beard does not show—in a two-horned headdress and a long, simple garment. His hand is stretched out toward the tree. Facing him on the other side of the tree is a seated female figure, not having on her head the two-horned headdress of the god; she also is in a long, simple garment and holds her hand toward the tree. Between the backs of the two figures is an upright serpent with its head nearly over the woman's head.



It is not strange that any one familiar with the Bible story of the Temptation should regard this design as a proof that the early Babylonians had a similar story, although no remnant of it seems to have been preserved. Indeed, we may fairly expect that some such story may be found, just as we have Babylonian stories of the Creation and the Flood. This cylinder seems to belong to quite an early period. But it must not be forgotten that the upright serpent occurs quite often on cylinders, especially of the middle Babylonian period, and its presence here is not a certain evidence that it had any definite relation with the thought of the two figures seated about the palm-tree.

George Smith, in his "Chaldean Genesis," p. 91, interpreted this without question as a representation of the Temptation, but Ménant ("Glyptique Orientale," I, pp. 189-191) has strongly combated this view and has brought forward a strong argument against it in comparing with it a marble cylinder in the Museum of The Hague (fig. 389). It is a beautiful cylinder, which deserves careful study. We have again the palm-tree with its hanging bunches of dates. On each side stands a female figure with her hand on the hanging bunch of dates, while she holds another bunch in her hand. One of the figures is handing the bunch she holds to a third female figure which is reaching forward her hand to receive it, while still holding another bunch in her other hand. There is, in the field, a second short palm-tree with dates, and two other low trees or shrubs, and also two birds like geese or ducks, also a crescent and a brief inscription with the owner's name. Here is no temptation scene like that of Genesis. We seem to have a garden, it

is true, and birds. We may presume that the two similar figures plucking the dates represent but one personage repeated for the sake of the symmetry so much affected in early and later Babylonian art. The arrangement of the hair is the same as we have seen (Chapter XII) characteristic of the seated goddess Bau. With her often appears also a bird, such as is here depicted. We may preferably assume that here the bird is the emblem or adjunct of the goddess and is repeated merely because she is thus repeated. We seem to have simply the representation of a goddess of the garden, who is presenting its fruits to humanity represented by the woman receiving the bunches of dates.



I know of no other cylinder to be compared with either of these, for they are unique. To be sure, I have received the impression of a cylinder much like the last, but I rejected it as a forgery.

In comparing this cylinder with that in the British Museum, we seem to discover in the latter no idea of temptation. More likely two deities of production are represented, a god and his consort, and they are enjoying the fruit over which they preside. Bau was a goddess who provided abundance for tillers of the soil. Bau, it is true, was the mother of Ea, and so one of the oldest of the deities, and yet she was the consort of Ningirsu, who presided over agricultural prosperity and was known as Shul-gur, god of the corn-heaps (Jastrow, "Religion," pp. 58, 59), as we have seen in the last chapter.

It may be, very possibly, that we have here, in the British Museum seal, Ningirsu and Bau.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EXPEDITION SCENE.

The single royal cylinder which carries the Migration Scene (fig. 390) is such a peculiar and extraordinarily fine one that it well deserves a chapter to itself. There is no other with which it can be compared, except in single features. It is cut with extreme care and vigor, and might well be taken for a work of Greek art of a good period, so far as its technique is concerned. The inscription proves that it belongs to the early empire, being older than Gudea, and probably about the age of Sargon I. The inscription reads: "Bil-gur-akhi, King of Uruk, thy servant" ("Keilinsch. Bibl.," III, p. 84).



There are seven figures in the design, besides the inscription. The leader carries in one hand a bow, in the other what may be an arrow; and a quiver with weapons hangs on his back. He wears a short garment reaching not quite to his knees. On his feet are buskins, strongly curved up at the toes and the legs of which reach above the ankles. He is bareheaded, and his hair and beard are short and straight. Herein he differs from the other three bearded figures, whose hair and beard are short and curled. The leader's head is turned back towards his followers. The remaining figures are all barefoot. Four of them are of full size and most carefully and minutely drawn. These are clothed alike, in a single garment reaching to the knees, hanging from one shoulder, leaving the other shoulder and arm free. The material of the garments Heuzey calls *kaunakes*, but it may consist simply of strips of the fleece of the sheep. Usually this material is distinctly flounced, but in this case the flounces are distinct in only one of the three figures. The three have short, curly hair and curly beard, but their features are distinctly not negroid and might pass for good Caucasian. The curl of the beard quite differs from the straight, though short, beard of the leader. Like the leader, the second figure turns his head back to see those who follow. His head is bare, his arms are folded, and in one hand he carries a rather long rod, which is not a knobbed club. Between the two, in a space almost too narrow for it, is a short dagger with a handle. The next figure, with distinctly flounced garment, wears a low cap, not a turban. His beard is short and closely curled, but his hair is long and is turned back and tied in a band, as is found with male and especially female figures in early art. But he is remarkable for the weapon he carries, resting on his shoulder. It is an ax,

or rather a pick, with a short handle and with a long, sharp tooth at the end, perhaps tied to it; for there are three projections on the other side which may possibly represent the cord. The next figure, the fourth, if male, is completely shaven, without hair or beard. His garment is simply fringed at the edges; his arms are folded and he carries no weapon. The last of the five larger figures is bareheaded and is dressed like the second, and he carries an ax, as does the third, resting on his arm. Under the inscription are two short figures, in simple garments reaching half-way down to the knees. The first one, beardless and with short hair, probably a man or boy, carries a piece of furniture on his head. The second, which is more probably female, has the hair tied up in a loop behind and carries suspended from a stick over her shoulder a bundle, which looks like a bag in which one can conceive that household belongings are packed. It may be a bunch of dates or, possibly, a receptacle in which an infant rests. The unusually fine drawing of the whole scene appears particularly in the delineation of the muscles as well as of the features.

This scene has been described and fully discussed by Heuzey, as a tribe in migration, and such it may be. But another interpretation is not impossible, according to which the single unarmed figure with shaved head is a prisoner, as are also the two reduced figures carrying burdens, very likely of spoil, who are to be captive slaves. Scenes representing prisoners taken in war are, it is true, extremely rare. But we have one such in fig. 97, an extremely archaic cylinder, considerably older than the present one, where the hands of the prisoners are tied and one of the captives carries an ax. I am inclined to take this to be the meaning of the present scene.

As has been said, this is a cylinder of much antiquity, apparently belonging to the period not long after that of Sargon I. and his son, when art was at its highest development, the date of Bilgurakhi, King of Erech. We can not but wonder that, having progressed so far, it sank so soon into dull conventionalism.

CHAPTER XXII.

ETANA AND THE EAGLE.

Of all the early Chaldean seals none gives more vivid indications of a story and a myth than those which show us a man astride an eagle, while dogs and men watch him as he sails away. They are very few in number. When I made the first publication of them in 1886* I had found only two instances of their occurrence, both coming to my knowledge when on my visit to Baghdad; now I am acquainted with five such cylinders, besides two others that illustrate the composition, although not showing the man on the eagle.

In the Babylonian literature preserved on the tablets to which we must look for the interpretation of these designs, the eagle figures in certain interesting myths which have been admirably collected by Professor E. T. Harper and Professor Jastrow.

In the epic of Gilgamesh the eagle does not appear. The bright-colored Alallu bird that was one of Ishtar's lovers was hardly an eagle. Of the legends, or myths, that do contain the eagle, the Etana story is of especial interest. This is considered in part in Chapter xv on "Shamash and the Bird-man." From the fragmentary state of the tablets we can only learn that Etana, meaning "The Strong One," was a hero whose wife was unable to bring forth the child she had conceived. Etana appealed to Shamash for help, who sent him to a mountain, for "the plant of birth." How Etana reached the mountain by help of the eagle and secured the birth of his son is not known. We next find the eagle tempting Etana to visit the heaven of the gods. He mounts on the eagle's body, grasps its pinions, and is borne upwards for many successive hours. A vivid picture is given of the reduced far-away aspect of the earth as he ascends, until he reaches the gate of Anu, Bel, and Ea. Then the eagle bids Etana visit the abode of Ishtar. But the goddess appears to be angry, and both the eagle and its rider fall to the earth and are perhaps dashed to pieces.

With this portion of the Etana story is to be compared that told by Ælian of the birth of Gilgamesh (Gilgamesh), whose mother had been confined in a tower by her father Sokkaros, as he had been warned that his grandchild's birth would be fatal to him. When the child was born he had it thrown from the tower, but an eagle caught it and carried it to a gardener who reared the child until grown. Jastrow is convinced that the child thus saved was Etana rather than Gilgamesh. It may even have been the Elder Sargon, who was reared by a water-carrier.

Another chapter in the Etana legend tells us of the overthrow of the eagle by the serpent. The eagle had wickedly stolen and eaten the young of the serpent, against the warning of the wise young eagle. The serpent appealed to Shamash, Judge of Gods and Men, for vengeance. Shamash told the serpent to hide in the

*American Journal of Archaeology, vol. II, No. 1. One of the two was afterwards published independently by Dr. Pinches, who had not happened to see my paper. "Babylonian and Assyrian Cylinder-Seals and Signets in the possession of Sir Henry Peek, Bart.," by T. G. Pinches, London, 1890, fig. 18.

body of a wild bull, and when the eagle, following the other birds, should attempt to feed on the body, to seize and kill him. The story tells us how the wise young eagle warned its parent against a possible trick, but in vain. The eagle looked carefully, saw that the other birds seemed to be in no danger, and after examination descended and began to eat, when it was seized by the serpent, its wings plucked, and it was left to die.

The Storm-god Zu gives another form of the eagle-myths which were prevalent among the old Babylonians. It violently seizes the tablets of fate held by the god Bel Enlil, while the god was pouring out the brilliant waters, a scene occasionally figured on the older cylinders, and flew away to a distant mountain. The meaning seems to be that the storms and clouds, represented by the bird, had, as the rainy season approached, got the victory over the sun, represented by Enlil. Anu is disturbed by the robbery of the tablets of fate, and all the gods are in consternation. One god after another is bidden to go and recover them, and finally Marduk (or perhaps Shamash) succeeds in recovering them and restoring the reign of the sun over the earth.

Yet another story in which an eagle bears a part is the Adapa legend. Adapa, son of Ea, is fishing in the ocean when the South Wind attacks him under the form of a bird. Adapa catches the bird and breaks its wings. Then when the South Wind ceased to blow, the gods were disturbed. Anu was enraged and demanded that his protector Ea should bring Adapa into his presence. The story tells how, instructed by Ea, Adapa mollified the anger of the gods, and how he failed, having visited heaven, to secure immortality. But with this part of the story we have here no immediate concern nor with the parallelism between the story of Adam and that of Gilgamesh in their loss of immortality.

The eagle appears in various forms and relations on the cylinders. We have already seen him, in Chapter IV on "Archaic Cylinders," sometimes with a lion's head and sometimes with that of an eagle, seizing two animals in its talons, and also as the eagle-symbol of the city of Lagash. We now turn to another scene with the eagle, that in which he appears bearing on his wings a man into the heavens. This we may assume to represent the upward flight of Etana to the heaven of Anu, rather than the rescue of the infant Gilgamesh by the eagle as the child was thrown from the tower.

The finest example with this design is seen in fig. 391. It was first published in de Sarzec's "*Découvertes en Chaldée*" (plate 30 bis, fig. 13) and is a large cylinder of shell, which is evidence of its antiquity. The man, on whose face we seem to see a beard, sits astride the eagle, with his arms around its neck. Under the eagle are two seated dogs, gazing upward; between them is a large pail, or basket, with a handle by which to carry it. Behind each of the dogs stands a man in a short garment. One of them, who holds in one hand a pail, or basket, like that between the two dogs, is gazing up at the eagle, with his head bent back so as to bring his short beard to a horizontal position, and shades his eyes with his other hand: the other man carries a staff and has one hand lifted toward the eagle. It is evident that all this is one scene. A second scene shows us a wicker fence, with an opening, or gate, at the bottom, out of which a shepherd is leading his sheep and goats. The front one, which faces the other three and is being milked by a seated figure, is a goat. A third scene, in the upper part of the cylinder, appears to be domestic. The

three figures are all in long garments. Two of them, their garments fringed at the bottom, sit facing each other, with a large two-handled amphora between them. Another such amphora is behind one of them. Behind the other is a row of three small amphoras, above which a parallelogram seems to be drawn, filled with four rows of circles, four in each row. One's first thought would be that these are flat cakes or loaves. On the further side is a kneeling figure who has both hands resting down on an object before him. One might imagine him to be a cook kneading bread. In the upper field are a star and a crescent.

A second cylinder (fig. 392) has somewhat less-developed scenes. We have the same man astride the eagle, and the two dogs under him looking up, and a man on one side with his head lifted as if gazing upward, although the head is not turned back; but the man has a whip in one hand as if he were driving the dogs away, though more likely driving his flock. He has also a basket or pail in the other hand. On the other side of the dogs is a man with a staff leading a goat followed by three sheep, but no wattled sheep pen is seen and no gate, there being no

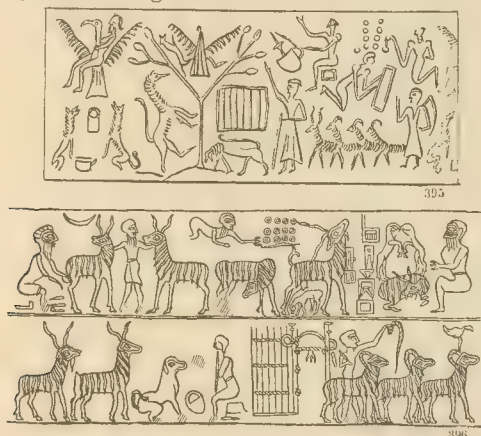


room for it. In front of the shepherd and over one of the dogs is a large amphora, and over the other dog a small object, perhaps a basket. Over the sheep is a large amphora, on each side of which sits a personage. There is also a crescent, and a rectangle with cross-lines, which may correspond to the rectangle with circles in fig. 391. The three principal scenes in the two cylinders appear to correspond, and we have an additional point—the figure which in the former design had his face turned upward here has a whip in his hand.

A third cylinder of this type is seen in fig. 393. Again we have the man astride the eagle and the two dogs gazing up at him, and the man with hand lifted before his face and carrying a basket, forming the first scene. There is a variation in the scene of the shepherd, who is driving, not leading, his flock of one goat followed by two sheep, but with no sheepfold. We see, again, the two figures seated about an amphora, and we have the rectangular object, this time again with little circles, like cakes, and a man on his knees reaching toward it. This cylinder confirms the indication that the rectangle is intended to contain round objects of some sort. One might think of the holes in a window for the admission of air; but it

would seem much more likely that they are loaves or cakes of some sort, in which case the kneeling figure is either reaching out to steal the bread or he is a baker making bread.

A fourth cylinder (fig. 394) is simpler in design, but reduced, as necessitated by its smaller size. Here we see the man on the eagle, but only one dog is looking up, and no man. We have a gridiron-shaped indication of a wattled fence, towards which a shepherd is driving two goats and a sheep. We have the large amphora, and only one figure sitting by it. We have also the small circles, but there is not room for the small kneeling figure either making or stealing the "loaves." But this cylinder adds one important element to the story. The man on the eagle, the shepherd, and the man seated by the amphora are all clearly bearded; they are not, then, women or children. It is to be regretted that the kneeling figure is not here included in the story, that we might know whether it is a man or a child.



A fifth very elaborate cylinder belonging to Lord Southesk, and quite equal to the first, is shown in fig. 395. Here is the man borne by the eagle, with the dogs looking up; beside them are two vessels. But we have also a second eagle in the branches of a tree, and a small animal by him, which perhaps he has seized and is carrying off, and two lions are at the base of the tree, one of them rampant as if looking up, perhaps angry that his prey has been snatched from him. A gridiron-shaped object represents the fence of the sheep-pen, before which stands the figure with hand lifted towards the second eagle, which we have seen gazing at the eagle with the man on its back. Behind him is the shepherd with a whip driving a goat and three sheep. Above the sheep, in place of the two men sitting about the amphora, is one seated man tipping a one-handed amphora. We have also the small circles, not inclosed in a rectangle, and the kneeling figure seems to have his hand on one of the "loaves." Below his hand is a tall rectangular object, held by a kneeling figure; it might possibly be a receptacle into which the man above was about to drop the "loaf," or it might represent yet an additional scene in the life of the hero. This cylinder shows us that the rape of the hero by the eagle, like that of Ganymede, is not the only feat of the eagle in the legend. It is also to be observed that the eagle is very much in the attitude of the eagle of Lagash.

With these cylinders must be compared another much like them, but which does not contain the man astride the eagle. It is shown in fig. 396. It is in two definite registers throughout, the two separated by a line. In the lower register we have the pastoral scene, a sheep-pen so minutely engraved that we can discover how the upright reeds are bound together; and the two posts of the gate are carefully indicated, with the rings that serve as fastenings. Out of the gate comes a shepherd with a whip following two goats and three sheep. Between the goats and the sheepfold a man is sitting, with a pail or basket tipped in front of him and a dog sitting down and looking up at him, very likely waiting to be fed with milk from the pail.

Thus far the scenes are as in the cylinders previously considered, the shepherd, the sheep and goats, and the sheepfold the same, and the dog and the man with the pail or basket being the same that we there saw looking up at the man on the eagle. In the upper register the scene is equally pastoral, but corresponds only in a less conspicuous but important part with the other cylinders. A man holds two goats, one of which is being milked by a second man. Unfortunately the milk-pail is not drawn, or more likely is lost in the decay of the material, but it will occur to one that what we have called pails or baskets, with a handle at the top, may be milk-pails. Three other goats are shown, one of them lying down and one with its kid and scratching its back, as goats do, with its horn. With his back to the man milking the goat sits another, perhaps ready to milk the goat that is lying down in front of him, or watching the flock. Above this goat are two little creatures which appear to be two kids at play, as kids do. For the elucidation of the other cylinders particularly important is the small scene above three of the goats, where we see the same rows of round cakes or loaves, if such they are. It is possibly fruit, here twelve in three rows of four each, incased in a rectangle of which one side is preserved. An even more likely suggestion is that these are round cakes of cheese, made from the milk which had been curdled in the jars. A small figure, almost lying down, reaches his hand forward apparently to take one of the objects. Here it is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that while the herdsmen are caring for their flocks this personage is furtively helping himself to food that is left unguarded. The single line of inscription is of an archaic period.

Another cylinder, very archaic, of shell, which suggests the same myth is to be seen in fig. 397. Here we have a tree with fruit, perhaps a fig-tree, in which case it is the oldest case known of the fig-tree in art; and a human figure, nude, appears in three scenes; once reaching forward, as if furtively to take food from a vessel; once bending down a reed, or branch; and once in an attitude as if drawing water from a well with a bucket, and an animal near by. If it be a well, the contrivance for raising the water is of the simple sort familiar in modern times, called the shaduf.

Yet one more cylinder (fig. 398) must be added for comparison, although it is much corroded, being of shell, and the figure fails to show all I see on the seal. One scene is the frequent design of a worshiper approaching a seated deity. The rest of the seal is taken up with the pastoral scene, the sheepfold, here a narrow opening, for a gate, between the vertical reeds. Out of it proceed three animals, the first a goat, but the erosion does not allow us to be sure whether the others are goats or sheep, probably the latter. Before the goat, and behind the worshiper, is a dog,

with his body raised as if looking upward, as in those that were watching the man ascending on the eagle. Above the sheep is a man bending over, with his hands reaching downward toward some uncertain object, perhaps kneading bread, perhaps taking the contents of some vessel. Behind him are four jars. We can not doubt that the same story was in the mind of the engraver of this seal.

These five cylinders which contain the man on the eagle, with these three others, are all known to me that seem to contain elements of what we may presume to be the Etana myth, as given in the texts first published by George Smith in his remarkable volume, "The Chaldean Genesis," and since increased in number from the fragments published by Harper and Jastrow.* It is true that we have two Babylonian stories of an eagle carrying a man, as Ganymede was carried to heaven by an eagle in the Greek myth, which very likely had a Babylonian origin; but the story of Gilgames borne as an infant by an eagle, as told by Ælian and not yet found in any Babylonian text, must be eliminated from the discussion of these cylinders, inasmuch as on one of them (fig. 394) the beard of the man on the eagle is clearly shown, and we can hardly suppose that the infant Gilgames, or Gilgamesh, would be proleptically represented as a grown man. We are then, so far as the available known texts go, obliged to recognize in these seals various scenes in the



story of Etana, the strong man. The tablets published are from the library of Assurbanipal and may represent a later version of the myth than that on these early seals, which are probably more than two thousand years older than the tablets. Of course the tablets may be copied from a much earlier text. Jastrow says that the three or four tablets on which the story of Etana is contained gave probably only a portion of the entire epic, and such seems to be the indication of the composition on the seals.

If we may venture to regard the scenes as representing various episodes in the story of Etana, we should imagine that, like Sargon the Elder, and Gilgamesh, and the biblical Moses, his life began in a humble and tragic way. Sargon was adopted by a water-carrier and Gilgamesh by a gardener. Etana seems as a child to be a waif, doubtless of high birth but exposed to death, who is seen surreptitiously seizing the cheese-cakes, or *leben*-balls, set out to dry in the sun, or perhaps the loaves of bread, and it may be drinking from a milk-jar. He was very likely detected and adopted by the shepherds. Then he became himself a shepherd, drove his flocks in and out of the fold, and milked the goats and ate from the vessels in which the milk and other products were stored, and fed the shepherd dogs. Etana married, and the texts tell us that when his wife had difficulty with childbirth Etana was directed to seek, with the help of the eagle, the birth-plant which would enable

* E. J. Harper, "Beiträge zur Assyriologie," II, pp. 390-408; Morris Jastrow, Jr., *ib.* III, pp. 363-378. Also see Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 698-700; Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonia," pp. 519-528.

the mother to bring forth the child. A birth-plant is not exceptional: compare *squaw-berry* and *squaw-weed*, names of American plants. It would seem that he was to go to the mountains for it. It is possible that in fig. 395 we have this plant, or tree, with the eagle in its branches. But this is by no means clear, and the presence of the small animal by the side of the eagle in the tree casts doubt upon it, as it does upon the supposition that we have here the representation of another event in the Etana story, where the eagle in the tree was ready to pounce on the nest of the serpent protected by Shamash. Then came the chief incident in his career, when on the wings of the eagle he was carried up to the heaven of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, until the earth and the oceans below him looked small as a little garden surrounded by its ditch. Said the eagle to Etana:

My friend, lift up [thy countenance].
Come and let me carry thee to the heaven of [Anu];
On my breast place thy breast;
On my pinions place thy palms;
On my side place thy side.

Thus they ascended to the lower heaven of this ancient triad of gods; and then the eagle tempted him to ascend still higher to the heaven of the Sun, Shamash; the Moon, Sin; and Venus, or Ishtar; two of whom are represented on these seals. But on the way he was frightened and the strength of the eagle failed, and they fell to earth. That the eagle was killed is not likely, for we know that later he was caught and captured by the serpent in punishment for eating the serpent's young. Etana we hear of later as inhabiting the lower world, but whether he was killed by his fall is not clear. We may with some confidence presume that the designs on the cylinders we have been considering add something to the story of Etana as told in the texts thus far found.

There may be some elements of these designs in fig. 361.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ALLATU UNDER THE BENT TREE.

An extremely interesting and very peculiar scene is shown on a large concave cylinder of black serpentine in the Louvre (fig. 399).^{*} While this seal is so generally in the style of the older Chaldean art that there can be no doubt of its authenticity, it yet presents features not to be paralleled elsewhere. The sun, or star, for it is impossible to tell whether it represents Shamash or Ishtar, is of very unusual size and shape, as if it had been carelessly or ignorantly made, while the attitude or the action of all the other figures has but one parallel. It contains two scenes, both unusual. In one a bearded god sits on a stool before a tripod with ox's feet,[†] on which is a broad open vase from which rises smoke or flame. The god has in one hand a rod, and holds the other hand against the flame as if to warm it or to



accept the smoke of the offering. This action seems to express the idea of the pleasure the gods had in the "sweet savor" of the fumes of their sacrifice and incense. He has on his head the elaborate high turban, and the lower part of his body is clothed with a flounced skirt. In front of his head is an apparently unskilful representation of the sun, with lines radiating single or double from the center, instead of having alternating rays and streams. This peculiarity, however, does not seem enough to cast suspicion on the cylinder which otherwise appears quite genuine. Before the god and his tripod altar stands a worshiper in a long, simple, fringed garment, and with a shaved head, as in the Gudea sculptures. In his lifted hand he holds an uncertain object, which may be a vase of the shape of a cornucopia, or it may even be a bone of an offering which he lifts to his mouth, as if he were feasting with his god. Separated from this scene by a short linear inscription is the second very extraordinary scene. A slender tree, with branches, is bent completely over till its top touches the ground, to form a sort of protecting tent, or canopy, over a kneeling goddess. On her head is the high turban; her hair falls in a tress behind her back; she wears a long simple garment that falls from her shoulders, and she reaches forward her hand towards an approaching figure. This is a bearded god who appears to rise from the ground, of whom only the upper part of the body is seen. On his head is the same high-pointed headdress, or turban,

^{*} This cylinder is figured in de Sarzec's "Découvertes," 30 bis, No. 17; also discussed by Heuzey, "Origines," pp. 192, 193; Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," p. 681.

[†] For a seal with ox's feet, see fig. 30.

with a ring at the top (is this ring seen elsewhere?) that is worn by the kneeling goddess. He reaches to the goddess a club or mace, which she seems ready to accept. Outside of the bent tree stands a strong, bearded god or demigod. His headdress is of two horns simply and unlike that worn by the god and goddess under the tree. He wears a short, flounced garment which reaches from his waist to his knees. With one hand he seizes a branch of the tree over the goddess's head, and in the other he holds an ax, which rests against the tree, as if to cut it. One foot is lifted and rests on the top of the tree which touches the ground.

As I have said, this cylinder seems to be genuine. If not, it is the work of a most consummate forger, and it is difficult to imagine that a forger could conceive so elaborate and admirable and novel a design. The only things about it which might arouse suspicion are the drawing of the sun and the little ring at the top of two headdresses. The cylinder is in good condition, except for a small abraded portion where the smoke or flame rises from the vase before the seated god. When I examined this cylinder in the Louvre, through the courtesy of M. Heuzey, I thought I was able to trace the smoke from the hand past the abraded portion, clear to the vase.



As Heuzey has said, the story of a god attacked is not unfamiliar in mythology. He regards this cylinder as giving us a representation of a myth not yet found in the inscriptions. The goddess might seem to be protected, or hidden, under a tree which has bent over to conceal her. The attacking figure, perhaps a demigod like Gilgamesh, is not trying to bury her under the tree, but, as his ax shows, is trying to cut away the tree which hides her. But she will be protected by the god who comes as her champion and who holds the war-club in his hand. Such has been taken to be the interpretation of this picture, from the design itself, which is of extraordinary vigor and complexity. The other scene of worship is of special interest also, because we see that the seated god is expressing his satisfaction with his worshiper, by accepting with his hand the odor or flame of the offering.

I know of but one other cylinder of this type, a smaller and much less elaborate one, concave, and of green serpentine, belonging to the J. Pierpont Morgan Library (fig. 400). Here we have a seated deity, apparently a goddess, in a flounced garment and with the high turban, under the bent tree. She has her hand raised. In front of her a bearded deity, with the same high headdress as the goddess, attacks the tree, apparently pulling it over rather than cutting it down. His raised foot reaches beyond the tree. From his shoulders there radiate rays. Behind this scene a worshiper stands with hand raised. I see in this cylinder no evidence that it is a forgery, although one must be constantly on his guard against forgeries that may have been copied from other cylinders or from figures published in books. I have never seen a complete forgery in stone of this variety, which would appear not to be accessible to forgers except as found in old cylinders themselves; and old cylinders that are badly worn are likely to be recut along the lines of the original engraving.

It is not unusual to see black serpentine cylinders, or even shell cylinders, thus recut and so sophisticated as to ruin them, and the same might be done with the green serpentine of the cylinders of lower Babylonia. These two, however, have not been recut.

This second example might seem to put in doubt the natural interpretation of the first one, from which it seemed that the attacking personage was trying to cut down the tree so as to reach the goddess protected by it; it would seem more likely that the purpose was to crush and kill the goddess. We also may judge from the rays from the god's shoulders that he is some form of the Sun-god. Shammash, as we have seen, is very frequently so represented, as also with his foot thus lifted, on a mountain. But the Sun-god is usually represented in a long garment, which falls to his ankles and opens in front to expose the lifted leg. In neither of these cylinders is the god thus clothed.

Inasmuch as this represents a Sun-god, it is more likely to be Nergal, and if so we can make a very plausible conjecture as to the meaning of the design, at least in part. We know from one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets* of a mythologic story according to which there arose a conflict between the gods of the upper air and those of Hades. Nergal had shown disrespect to Allatu, or Eres-ki-gal, queen of the lower world, who ordered him sent down for punishment. He attacked her in her covert, cut off her *khuduba*, then seized the goddess and was about to drag her from her throne and kill her, when she begged for mercy and offered to be his wife. From her he received the tablets of destiny and became supreme god of the region of the dead. It is possible that in these two seals we have the goddess in the lower world and the god bursting through the earth to reach her. In the first and more elaborate of the two we may have a second scene of the story also, the goddess delivering to her conqueror the scepter of her authority and kneeling before him as he enters her domain. We have a scepter much like it held by the goddess in fig. 215. This appears to me a more probable interpretation than that which would have been drawn from the mere inspection of that cylinder alone. It is an important item of evidence which we draw from the second cylinder, that the attacking deity is a Sun-god, as shown by the rays, and that the difference in the headdresses of the two figures of a god has no significance. Until other light shall appear we may regard this scene as the conquest of Allatu and the lower world by Nergal. If this interpretation is correct the age of the story of the conquest of Allatu by Nergal is carried back to a considerably earlier period than was conjectured by Jastrow.

* Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonia," pp. 584-85; Winckler and Abel, "Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna," II, 164, 165; Pinches, Proceedings Society of Biblical Archaeology, xxviii, pp. 215-218.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE GODDESS AND CHILD.

The design of one person held in another's lap is not unfamiliar in Eastern art. In Egypt we see occasionally a king represented with his wife in his lap. We also see Isis thus represented holding her son Horus. In a cylinder of the Hittite age (fig. 401) we see what is probably a god holding a goddess (?) in his lap. It appears to follow an Egyptian design.

That so few of the early designs on the cylinders remind one of the Egyptian figured mythology seems strange, considering the evidence that comes from the use of the cylinder itself in the earlier history of Egypt, that there was, at their origins, a connection between the two civilizations. Scholars have been adventurous enough to find evidence in various other directions of such primitive relationship. But,



402



408



404



401

when we turn to the art of the earlier period of Babylonia, and indeed any of the art that preceded the Egyptian invasion of Asia in the eighteenth dynasty, we shall with difficulty find anything that directly reminds us of Egypt, unless it be the design of the mother and child. To be sure this is a very rare design, so rare that not one has ever passed through my hands for the great collection of the Metropolitan Museum. Only four such cylinders are known, belonging to four different collections, those of the British Museum, the Louvre, the de Clercq Collection, and the J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

That in the British Museum is of shell and of archaic style (fig. 402). The mother holds the child in her lap, the child's face turned towards her. There are three other figures, all female, of which the first beckons with one hand the two that follow, while with the other hand she points to the mother and child. Her face is turned towards the approaching worshipers, which might suggest that at

the time this design was drawn the convention had not been adopted by which the attendant and directing figure was drawn with two faces to indicate that attention was given both to the deity and to those that approach. In this case the attendant on the goddess is compelled to turn her face from the goddess, an attitude which later seemed to imply disrespect. The child is nude; the other figures are all dressed exactly alike, in garments of simple construction reaching to the ankles and folded in front, fringed at all the edges, and leaving the arms and feet bare. The hair is bound in a fillet, which holds it looped up behind, in a way usual for female figures of the very early period. The features are quite distinctly drawn, not of the "bird" type, but with a sharp nose and thin protruding lips.

A second one of this design is to be seen in fig. 403. This is of green serpentine ("porphyrie") and may be of a somewhat later period. The inscription accompanying the design appears to be quite as old as the period of Sargon I. Here the goddess is more elaborately dressed than her two worshipers, in a flounced garment, and her hair hangs in a queue behind. The child faces her, with hand lifted, as if in an attitude of respect. M. Heuzey says ("Origines," p. 93) that the figure in the lap of the goddess is not a child, as it is bearded. This may be doubted, and the child's attitude of respect with the hand lifted shows that it is not a full-grown god, while the fact that it is nearly nude (it may have a girdle) would suggest that it is not a king or worshiper of rank that is taken for protection into the lap of the goddess, as, in Hittite art, a deity folds his arm about the much smaller figure of the king. Only slaves of mature age are represented nude in Babylonian art, except, of course, as Gilgamesh and Zirbanit are nude. But the general modesty of the Babylonian art, in the matter of clothes, is very marked. We never see any display of phallism. Two figures approach bearing offerings, one male, with a goat, and the other female, with a pail or basket; while behind the goddess a female figure kneels, in an attitude of worship, and seems to present a large vase on a tripod, while two other large vases are above her.

The third cylinder known to me with this design is shown in fig. 404. It belongs to the Louvre.* Here we have a scene similar to the other two. The goddess holds the child who turns its face to its mother and who, as figured by Ménant and Heuzey, has a queue from the top of its head. An attendant presents a vase, and a kneeling figure, perhaps a cook, has her hand on the top of a broad-bottomed vase on a tripod, as if taking something from it for presentation to the goddess. The vase is of the character naturally used for cooking. Above are three slender vases on a shelf. The specially interesting thing about this cylinder is the child's queue. Heuzey calls attention to the Egyptian parallel, as we find the tress on the breast the sign of infancy and the mark of the infant god Horus.

A fourth cylinder with this design belongs to the J. P. Morgan Library (fig. 405). It differs from the others in that the child is clothed, perhaps in a flounced



*Unfortunately, my notes do not show that I found this cylinder in the Louvre. I much regret it, as I should have much wished to examine the queue from the head of the child. In the drawing I am, therefore, compelled to follow Ménant, "Pierres Gravées," I, p. 166, and Heuzey, "Origines," p. 93.

garment. Unfortunately, the cylinder, of black serpentine, is considerably worn. As in figs. 403 and 404 there is an offering of the contents of a vase, but in this case the vase is in front of the goddess and we observe that the child's face is not turned towards her. We have also the standing Shamash, with his foot lifted high on a mountain and holding his notched sword. The inscription is filiiary: "Ikrub-ilu, son of Lani."

Now, what is the meaning of this scene on these four cylinders? We may dismiss the Egyptian Isis and Horus, the Younger Horus, as he is called, inasmuch as we have in Babylonian mythology no parallel to the story of the wife and son of Osiris; and the connection of Asari, another name for Marduk, with Osiris, as suggested by Sayce, is not easily confirmed. Nor is there any more basis for the suggestion that the child may represent Dumuzi, or Tammuz, whom we do not know as an infant but as a lover of Ishtar, or a god of fertility, perhaps to be identified with Ninib. Any son of any goddess might as well be suggested. This remains at present one of the problems of the mythologic art of early Babylonia to be settled by some further fortunate discovery.

Yet we may make a plausible conjecture. The design of the mother and child is not quite unknown in early Chaldean sculpture. It appears in several statuettes described by Heuzey (fig. 406), but they really add nothing to our knowledge of the scene in question. They represent * a simpler type, which gives us only the mother with a nursing child. This probably represents a goddess, but even that is not quite certain.



Perhaps, after all, the more likely supposition is that we have in these scenes a naïve representation of the protection which the goddess gives to her worshiper. This would account for the presence of the supposed beard and for the garment in which the personage in the lap is clothed in fig. 405. In the Hittite art the affection of the deity for the king is figured in a way not unlike. The king, represented as a child, in comparison with the size of the god, is embraced by the deity who stands by him and puts his arm about him (fig. 777). The Babylonian or Assyrian thought is of the king conceived of as a child dandled and nursed by his goddess mother. Thus Assurbanipal says: "A babe art thou, Assurbanipal, unto whom the Queen of Nineveh (Ishtar of Nineveh) hath bestowed thy kingdom. A meek babe art thou, Assurbanipal, whose seat is on the lap of the Queen of Nineveh. The abundance of the teat which is in thy mouth thou suckest, there thou hidest thy face" (Stephen Langdon, in "American Journal of Semitic Languages," xx, p. 259). It is then the more probable conjecture that we have in these four seals the owner of the seal conceived of as a child, resting on the lap of his goddess-mother, just as Gudea addresses Bau-Gula as "the mother who produced him" (Jastrow, "Religion," p. 60). An interesting parallel to the protection given by a deity to his worshiper is seen in the Bowl of Palestrina (Perrot and Chipiez, "History of Art in Phenicia," II, fig. 267, Clermont-Ganneau, "La Coupe Phénicienne de Palestrina"), where a hunter in his chariot, attacked by a savage troglodyte, is enveloped, chariot, horses, and all, in the embracing wings of the divine emblem.

* See Heuzey, "Origines Orientales," p. 5, fig. 3; "Catalogue des figurines de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre," Nos. 30, 31; "Découvertes," p. 254.

CHAPTER XXV.

ISHTAR.

One of the cylinders that were first made known to scholars and one of the earliest is that one of the Rich collection (fig. 407) which gives us the seated Ishtar. A goddess in a flounced garment, with a high-horned headdress, sits on a seat ornamented with lions, and a lion is under her feet. Her most distinctive mark is the weapons that rise from her shoulders, alternate clubs and sickle-shaped scimitars. Before her are a crescent and a star, also an altar of peculiar construction (see Chapter LXVI) apparently of bricks, on which is the head of a ram. Three beardless figures approach in worship, the middle one of which (perhaps masculine)



407

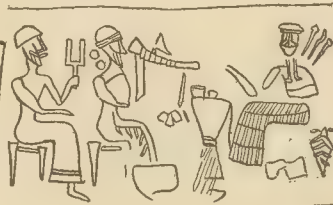


408

carries a victim for sacrifice. Behind them is a dog. An older cylinder, not so artistically designed and cut (fig. 408) belongs to the archaic period. Here the goddess is without her lions. She has on a two-horned headdress, a flounced garment, and the alternate clubs and scimitars rise from her shoulders. Three figures approach in the attitude of worship. There is a lower register where we see four ducks swimming in the water, and as many fishes. Another excellent example is on an unfortunately broken cylinder belonging to the Morgan Collection (fig. 409). This is of especial value, because it shows us the goddess with the



409



410

weapons, retaining the scimitar with its original form, which is a serpent like the Egyptian asp with the thick neck. The goddess is probably seated, but the broken cylinder does not allow us to be certain. There is a second two-horned female figure, also a worshiper with a goat. The remaining objects are too imperfect to be described. A fourth example appears in fig. 410. Here are three seated figures. One of them is Ishtar in her flounced dress and with her alternate clubs and scimitars from her shoulders. Before her appears to be an altar shaped like an hourglass, beyond which two other female figures sit facing her. One of them seems to lift a large uncertain object in her hand.

A cylinder of an early period is shown in fig. 411, where the weapons about the goddess all end in clubs, without the alternate serpent scimitars. A worshiper, an attendant with a pail, and the seated god with streams also appear. This cylinder is figured in Ménant, "Pierres Gravées," I, p. 106, but the clubs are drawn as simple rays.

These six cylinders are all that I know that bear the figure of the seated Ishtar with weapons from her shoulders. They are all of an early age.

We have seen that Shamash with his rays from his shoulders is represented both as sitting and standing. The same is true of Ishtar. But we have no example from the oldest period of the standing Ishtar, unless it be of the goddess who accompanies the god Inlil in his subjugation of the dragon and who stands on the back of a dragon (fig. 127). But we must also consider fig. 387, where there appears, with other gods, a standing Ishtar flounced, in a high headdress, with one foot and leg protruded from her garment, not raised or resting on any animal, and with alternate clubs and serpent-weapons from her shoulders. This cylinder has various unusual features. Such are the female attendant with the spouting vase, the ring in the stream from the altar, the single foot of Ishtar, and the lion's skin, with lion's paws,



fastened at the neck and worn by the god with the bow. This cylinder is so peculiar that its genuineness, in part, must be received with caution. The only other case of a standing Ishtar of the supposed earlier period is shown in fig. 412, but this is a forgery.* For the cylinders representing Ishtar on a subject dragon, see Chapter VIII.

The seated Ishtar passed early out of use on the cylinders, and was succeeded by the conventional form of the standing Ishtar, which distinguished her from Bau, who was always represented as seated. She is distinguished, in Babylonian art, by her head always *en face*, the weapons from her shoulders, the lions associated with her, and lifting in one hand the caduceus of two serpents with bulging necks, like asps, and a vase between them. She may carry the scimitar in her other hand. Her characteristic animal is the lion. We have seen the seated Ishtar with lions about her seat (or under her feet); so the later Ishtar sometimes stands on two lions, or in the more conventional form she rests one foot on a crouching lion, which is generally so reduced as to be hardly recognizable, as scarcely more than the head appears. On the monuments she is described as "on the lions" (Lenormant, "Bérose," p. 116).

While she sometimes carries the scimitar of Marduk, the ἀρπη of Perseus, her characteristic weapon, or emblem, is the caduceus. Both of these objects either originated in the serpent or were figured in the serpent form. The weapons from

* For a discussion of this cylinder see *Athenæum*, March 10, April 7, April 28, June 2, 1900.

her shoulders are no longer differentiated as scimitars and clubs, but are, rather, like sheafs of arrows rising from quivers. As she, however, never carries a bow, on Babylonian seals, as she does in Assyrian (Chapter XL), they can hardly be meant for arrows, but as conventional reminiscences of the weapons of the earlier seated Ishtar.

Fig. 135 represents the period of transition to the conventional types of the Middle Empire. Here the goddess stands on two dragons, not of full size, as in figs. 127-133, but reduced. She is represented with the face in front view, with a long lock of hair falling on her shoulder, wearing a high headdress and a flounced garment, and holding in her hand the Babylonian caduceus. There are no weapons from her shoulders; they are replaced by the caduceus, which is itself a fearful serpent-weapon. She is thus represented as a god of conquest, of war. This practically requires us to identify her with Ishtar, under some one of her names, whether the more usual and strenuous Ishtar, or Ninni or Nana or Anunit. She is not to be identified with Bau or Gula, who is not a particularly warlike deity;



nor can she be any one of the paler feminine reflections of the gods, like Belit or Aa or Shala. It can then only be Ishtar. This attribution is made certain by a bas-relief found by de Morgan in Persia (fig. 413). It is a monument of a king of Lulubi, an Elamite tribe. The flounced goddess is represented with clubs from her shoulders and presenting to the king two prisoners, one of whom is held by a ring through his lip. This can be nothing but the warlike Ishtar, the later goddess of Arbela. The accompanying archaic inscription reads: "Anubanini, mighty king, king of Lulubi, has placed his image, and the image of the goddess Ishtar on Mount Batir." This may well belong to a period not much later than Gudea or Hammurabi, although the inscription looks earlier than either. Notice the turban of the king.

We see the same goddess in fig. 415, although the upper part of the body is lost in the fracture, but the two lions are preserved. Other figures are a worshiper offering a goat before her, and behind her, under a cow suckling a calf, a servant carrying a pail with distinct legs, also the Babylonian Ramman-Martu, and Shala, and an inscription. For another admirable example of the goddess on two lions see fig. 442, where also are Shamash, Aa, and two worshipers, one with each of the principal deities.

In the Middle Empire Ishtar took the same form as represented in fig. 414, although generally the lion or dragon was still more reduced, or rather was crushed under her feet. She still carries the caduceus, but modified, also the serpent scimitar, which is common to her and Marduk, and, most characteristic of all, from each shoulder rises a sheaf of clubs. Other examples appear in figs. 416, 417. It is to be particularly noticed that she occasionally leads the lion by a cord in its nose, as Adad leads the bull (Chapter xxx). Fig. 418 may here be considered, in which the goddess carries a scimitar in her right hand, and in her left she holds, instead of the caduceus, a standard, with what appears to be the eagle of Lagash, while the cord to hold the lion is attached to her waist. Then we have two figures of Eabani seizing an ibex and the inscription "Shamash, Aa," which has no relation to the design.



415



414



416



417

Here we may mention 418a, which is very peculiar, as it has on it five goddesses and a figure like Gilgamesh presenting a goat in sacrifice. One of the goddesses is in the usual form of Aa-Shala, in profile and with both hands raised. The others are all *en face*. The only one of the goddesses whose dress is not in flounces stands on two animals which do not look like lions. One of them holds a forked rod in her hand. It is noticeable that the breasts are drawn and far apart as in the older art. Who these goddesses are it is quite impossible to say, as also why Gilgamesh should appear as a worshiper with an offering.

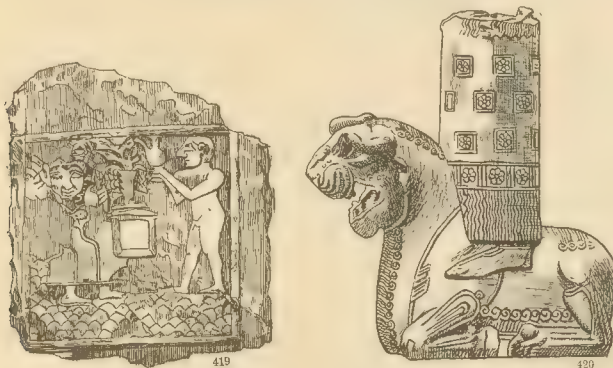
I call attention to but one other cylinder, fig. 562, in which only the head of the deity is preserved, but which possibly represents the seated Ishtar, this time not on the conventional dragon, but perhaps on a lion, or perhaps on that mythological animal which we see on the kudurrus attached to the seat of Marduk, in which case it would be that god. But this is not likely, as the cylinder seems too old for Marduk, who was a later deity.

In comparison with this goddess we must bring a very archaic bas-relief figured and discussed by Heuzey (fig. 419, see "Découvertes," p. 209; "Catal. Antiq.

Chald.," p. 119). Here we see a seated goddess, with face in front view, before whom a nude worshiper offers a libation from a vase with a nose or spout. Between the goddess and the worshiper is a stand with a curious plant, apparently, springing from it, and on each side is a pendulous object which looks like a bunch of dates, but the plant is evidently not a palm-tree. The vase might represent vegetable offerings of various kinds, while the worshiper offers a vase of wine or oil. This is to be compared with other representations where the appearance is rather of a flame from the altar following a libation of oil, as in fig. 399. Heuzey sees in this



seated goddess Aa or Malkatu, consort of Shamash, but she appears to be differently represented, as will be seen later, and the appearance of the face in front view and the rays connect her with Ishtar. The worn condition of the bas-relief and perhaps the restricted space do not allow us to see the ends of the rays, which appear as the clubs and serpent-scimitars in the art of this period as shown by the cylinders. Attention should also be called to a bronze statuette (fig. 420) which gives us the lower part of the body of a draped figure standing on a lion lying with his feet bent under him. This probably represents Ishtar, but it is valuable for little else than an indication of the care put on the elaborate ornamentation.



The various local forms or names of Ishtar were not differentiated in the Babylonian art. We have no separate representations that we can distinguish of Ninni, Nana, or Anunit, under whatever designation the evening and morning stars were worshiped. They were all the same planet, Venus, daughter indiscriminately of Anu, god of Heaven, where she shone, or of the Moon-god who ruled her sky. She was goddess of war as well as of love from the earliest times, and was so represented with weapons of war. The story of her descent into Hades in search of the consort of her youth, Tammuz, tells us how richly she was dight, and how her garments and her ornaments were successively stripped from her as she entered the

seven gates of the lower world, and were restored to her as she returned. One observes that she is drawn on the cylinders as wearing a special sort of pectoral hanging from her neck and occupying the space on her breast that is covered in figures of male deities by the long beard, so that it is apt to be mistaken for a beard in the case of worn seals, or of the impressions of seals on tablets. Such has been the case with the impression on a tablet shown in fig. 421. This is a case in which M. Heuzey has been obliged to reconstruct the design from a number of broken tablets. He concludes that the deity is the god Ningirsu, from the inscription which tells us that the owner was a priest of that deity; but it is more likely that it is not a beard which is so drawn both in the figure of the seated god and of the flounced figure to the left with uplifted hands. The latter figure is always feminine, and so probably is the seated deity. The lion belongs characteristically to Ishtar. But there remains the possibility that we have here not Ishtar but Bau, wife of Ningirsu, and that the same goddess is represented with a single lion on her seat, on fig. 229. Heuzey regards the object in the hand of the deity as the weapon of seven serpents. This cylinder is remarkable as the only case in which we find a two-headed eagle in Oriental art before the Hittite period.



CHAPTER XXVI.

THE NAKED GODDESS.

It is not usual in Chaldean art to find a female figure unclothed. In a very early period we have a naked goddess accompanying Bel-Inlil on a dragon, but this is exceptional and archaic. There is, however, one goddess who is always represented conspicuously nude. Since her identification by Lenormant she has been called Zirbanit, the wife of Marduk; and as Marduk took the rôle of Inlil in the later Babylonian mythology, so Zirbanit may be supposed to have usurped the place of Belit of Nippur, which would connect her with the nude goddess of the dragons.

Zirbanit is represented always as standing quite nude, and usually in front view, with her hands together under her breasts. She is slender, and has the appearance of a statue. Indeed, a multitude of statuettes of this goddess are found, but most, or all, of a late and base period. On the later cylinders in the Hittite



times the feminine traits are more accentuated; the abdomen and hips are larger, the navel is designated, the breasts are sometimes given, and the face is often in profile, or is left *en face*, but with very little delineation beyond the roll of hair each side of the head, suggesting the symbol of the goddess Ninkharshag or Belit. The *capillus veneris* is represented by a triangle, often accentuated, as in fig. 422, and very much so on the later statuettes. This nude goddess does not make her appearance in art until after the time of Gudea, perhaps not before that of Hammurabi.

She is never figured in any special relation to another deity. We can not therefore assume that she is the consort of any god, that is, from the art-evidence. Occasionally she appears alone with a worshiper, as in fig. 423, but this is not usual. In fig. 424 we see her associated with a number of emblems of gods, the crescent of Sin, the thunderbolt over a bull representing Adad, the caduceus (probably of Ishtar), and a dancing figure. More usually she is associated with a number of gods. Such a case is fig. 425, where Ramman and Shala are the principal figures, and as emblems there are the sun and crescent, a fly, and a tortoise. But very

notable is the perhaps unique modesty of the goddess, who wears a short apron. It is quite unusual also that Ramman carries two wands. In fig. 426 the god holding a weapon towards the inscription ("Shamash, Aa") may be Marduk, and there are a goddess and worshiper the other side of the inscription. This is one of the cases in which the head of the nude goddess has degenerated into a vertical line and two locks, and the navel is drawn. This is of a somewhat late period. The column with a large triangular head behind Marduk appears to be the symbol of that god. In fig. 427 it is perhaps Marduk who carries the serpent scimitar, while the Babylonian Ramman is easily recognized, and there is a worshiper, beside two small nude figures, one reversed. In fig. 428 we again have Ramman and Shala, and the navel and breasts of the nude goddess are both distinctly marked. Over the dog is the caduceus, and there are other emblems. Fig. 429 gives us a not unusual case in which the goddess is diminutive beside the other deities. This cylinder seems to be of a somewhat early period in the Middle Empire, and we notice that the head is only suggested, as in fig. 426. The other gods are Shamash and Aa, with worshipers.



Occasionally in later cylinders the goddess appears in profile. Such a case we find in fig. 430. There appears to be a second goddess, like Aa or Shala, and perhaps two female worshipers, unless one repeats the flounced goddess. There are other emblems.

The naked goddess appears occasionally in the later period with her hands at her side, as in fig. 431. She is not found in the Assyrian nor in the Persian art, which avoid nudity, but a corresponding naked goddess is prominent in the Syro-Hittite regions, as is shown in Chapter L. To this period, also, we may refer fig. 432, where she stands on a stool and wears an enormous necklace. The numerous terra-cotta and alabaster figures of the naked goddess (fig. 433) generally belong to a late Babylonian period, but spread all over the Mediterranean coast and islands. She is not an original Babylonian deity, but was imported from the West with Marduk, Ramman-Martu, and Adad.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MARDUK WITH THE SCIMITAR.

The god with the scimitar I have been accustomed to identify with Marduk. The reason is very plain. It is a god of a form specially characteristic of the second empire, seldom found in the earlier art, and so belonging to the period when Marduk emerged, with the rise of Babylon and Hammurabi. His fight with the dragon Tiamat is considered with the Assyrian designs in Chapter xxxvi. He wears a long garment, like the standing Shamash, with one leg exposed in part through the opening of the garment in front, but the foot not lifted, as with Shamash, on a mountain or on the low stool which stands as a convention for a mountain; and he wears the high turban with several folds or horns. But his characteristic mark is his scimitar, occasionally resting on his shoulder, but usually held downward, so that the curved end nearly reaches the ground. It is held in the right hand, as impressed on the clay, the upper part being a straight shaft, which at the lower end makes a full curve, with the sickle shape with which we are familiar in the Greek art as carried by Perseus (fig. 434), and called the *ἀρπη*. This weapon appears



in somewhat varying forms, but was originally a serpent. In the older cylinders on which it appears carried by Marduk the form of the serpent is perfectly distinct. The swollen asp neck is exaggerated even more than in the Egyptian art. From that it degenerates into the mere sickle or scimitar in which we see it in the Assyrian art, where Marduk is fighting the dragon (figs. 564, 585, 588, 592). A similar Assyrian figure of the god with the deeply curved scimitar is seen in a standing statue of a god who may well be Marduk (fig. 435). In these cases the sense of the original serpent is quite lost. In the later Babylonian art it is also often forgotten, but there the curve is usually much less, just as the old art makes the crescent moon much less concave than it appears later. In Assyrian art we meet the same god also fighting an ostrich (figs. 587-595), or other fantastic creature which represents Tiamat or the spirit of disorder. It is the same form of serpent-weapon which we see doubled in the Babylonian caduceus; and the frequent cases in which we see a single vertical serpent in the middle period may very well represent this same weapon of Marduk, even as we so frequently see the thunderbolt of Adad.

We have an example of a standing god in a long robe bearing the serpent-scimitar on his shoulder in the remarkable cylinder of Dungi, the early king of Ur (fig. 436). Here the god, in a two-horned turban and a long plain garment, stands before a flaming altar, while the owner of the seal, followed by the goddess who presents him, stands in an attitude of worship. The god carries two weapons, one the serpent-scimitar, the head of the serpent being lost by the imperfection of the seal, and in the other hand a triple club, the three knobs of which indicate its terrible character. It must not be taken for a branch with fruit. With this must be compared fig. 32, another example of Dungi's early period, where the same god carries no scimitar.

So early an example of a god carrying the serpent weapon is very rare in the earlier art before Gudea and another example can hardly be found. We have it above in fig. 1305*a*, of the time of Gudea. Almost as rare in the middle period following Gudea is the figure of such a god with the caduceus lifted in his hand. An example we have in fig. 437. Here we have a god in dress and form like the standing Shamash, except that his foot is not lifted on an eminence and his weapon is the curved scimitar and not the notched sword. Facing him is a flounced god-



436

dess, like Aa or Shala, which might suggest that the god whom she faces is Shamash, except that hers is a conventional type for almost any goddess that is to be related to a god. The worshiper stands behind the goddess, if it be the worshiper, in a very abbreviated garment and a shaven head of the Gudea style, while behind the god are two servants bearing offerings in baskets. The objects which fill the upper part of the space are of interest—a head, or mask, which may represent Ninkharshag (Belit), also three circular emblems, of which the central one is Ishtar, with radiating angles, and the two others appear to be rosettes. The style and workmanship of this cylinder, unless it be the rosettes, would seem to carry it back to a period earlier than Hammurabi, and so earlier than the preëminence of Marduk.

Occasionally the god with the scimitar stands or lifts his foot on a grotesque animal. He stands on the animal in fig. 438. It is the same conventional animal which we shall see under the emblems of Marduk and Nebo, Chapter LXIX, No. 10, and he holds his scimitar in one hand. Before him stand a worshiper and the flounced goddess, and the accessories are a vertical serpent, a star, and a jackal or monkey-like animal. For a case much like this see fig. 562. Such another case appears in fig. 439. The god, in his long garment, holds his right hand against his breast, and in his left the scimitar hanging down in the usual way, and his foot is lifted high on a winged animal, which has the head meant for a serpent. Behind him is the upright serpent, which may be the symbol of Marduk, and which in this

case has the thickened upper part of the body, such as we find in the serpent-scimitar. A small worshiper stands in the restricted space before the god, and a second worshiper behind the serpent. The remaining space is given to Eabani fighting a lion, and between them a vase over a "libra."

Another case in which it may be the same god who appears with his foot on an animal is shown in fig. 440. The abrasion of the stone does not allow us to see more than the head of the animal, which is like that of a lion. In his right hand the god carries the caduceus, with a vase between the two serpents, and from the same hand appears to pass a cord attached to the lion's mouth, just as in the cases



where Adad holds a bull. This is very unusual, and it may be that this is not the god, but a goddess, for we have a similar case in fig. 415, where Ishtar leads a lion in leash. The characteristic scimitar is in the left hand of the deity. The other figures are the owner in worship before the god and the servant behind the deity with a very narrow vase, which looks more like a thin wedge. In this case what might be taken for the beard may be meant for the pectoral of Ishtar.



As examples of the more ordinary form of the god, simply designated by his scimitar in his left hand, we may give fig. 441. It is rather frequent on these seals to have, as in this case, both Shamash with his notched sword, and the god whom we call Marduk with his scimitar. We notice that the worshiper, or servant, with the offering is placed on an eminence, as if it were desirable to represent him as of diminutive size compared with the god. That the elevation of this figure on an eminence is not intended to indicate any dignity appears from such a design as we see in fig. 442, where it is perhaps the worshiper before the goddess Ishtar who is thus made smaller than the goddess and stands on a similar eminence. The other scene gives us Shamash and a worshiper followed by the goddess Aa. The object carried in one hand in fig. 441 is a slender vase, and in the other is what seems

to have legs, as if it were a pail of metal or earthenware rather than a basket. Another cylinder much like these is shown in fig. 443; but the second god is not Shamash, but the god Martu, to be considered in Chapter xxxi. It is interesting, as in these cases where different gods are on the same seal, to be able, in our identification, to separate and distinguish the gods thus figured together.

Two cases have been shown, in figs. 436 and 437, in which the god lifts the scimitar or serpent in his hand, instead of letting it hang down. Another such case is given in fig. 444. But here the god has his foot lifted, like Shamash, on an eminence; and yet this is not another form of Shamash, for we also have Shamash receiving worship. The lifted foot, however, seems to suggest a Sun-god, such as was Marduk. The same god with serpent-scimitar seems to be repeated and in connection with yet another god, this time Adad, in fig. 445. We have here the same small attendant on an elevated stand that we have seen in figs. 441, 443.

As has been said, the god with the curved scimitar is scarcely to be found in the earlier Chaldean art. He appears in the period of Hammurabi and later. The god carrying his scimitar on Dungi's seal is probably a predecessor of Marduk, perhaps Bel. His weapon is hardly carried by any other god, although it is also carried by the goddess Ishtar. He is not one of the more frequently appearing deities on the cylinders, not nearly so frequent as Shamash or Ramman. That he is to be identified as Marduk depends very largely upon the fact that the god who fights the dragon, in its later Assyrian modifications, is evidently the same god and the scimitar is his characteristic weapon. Further, the fact is important that he hardly appears until about the time of Hammurabi. He is one of the late gods in art, like Ramman. Where in the seal of Dungi (fig. 436) we see a god carrying this serpent-weapon on his shoulder we may regard it as the Elder Bel, supplanted later by Marduk.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

GOD WITH FOOT ON VICTIM.

Among the cylinders of an early period, we considered in Chapter IX those which show us a Sun-god, probably Nergal, assaulting an enemy and pushing him against a mountain. We recognized in him Nergal, as the hot sun driving away the clouds. Perhaps too closely connected with that mythologic design to be radically separated from it are the cylinders now to be considered. They give us a god with his foot on a prostrate naked enemy lying on his back and lifting his hand in fear and petition. The god is bearded and wears a short garment, girded about his middle, which leaves his legs exposed. In one hand he carries a sheaf of weapons which radiate and end in some sort of protuberance. They might be considered as clubs, or sometimes arrows, but more likely they were not meant for any particular sort of weapon, but rather to indicate the hundredfold weapon which gods sometimes carried. The other hand is raised to smite, and holds a weapon, such as a scimitar. The god does not wear the two-horned or several-horned turban, but a simpler turban with the band about the bottom. Unlike the god considered in Chapter IX, who seemed to be an early form of such a god as Nergal, this god wears the short garment, such as we shall see worn by Ramman, or Adad. These cylinders belong to the Middle Babylonian Empire.



A characteristic example is seen in fig. 446. Here the sheaf of weapons looks somewhat like clubs. Facing the god is a second god, perhaps, clad in precisely the same way, in the attitude of Ramman, except that the hand to his breast holds no rod or scepter, and the hand behind him holds downward the scimitar. This figure is duplicated behind the filary inscription, which seems to suggest that it is not a god. We remember that the god usually holding this attitude and weapon wears a long garment. The fact that he is accompanied by an attendant carrying a pail and vase also seems to support the conclusion that it is a human figure and not a god. But the attitude of dignity rather befits the god, and in the next figure we have what seems certainly Marduk occupying the same relative position. Why

the attendant is placed on an eminence is probably because it was desired both to keep the upper line even and to represent the servant as smaller and thus of a lower dignity. Much like this, with the god's foot on his victim's body, is fig. 447. The god holds the serpent-scutar, and in the other hand the circle of weapons, which here have a semicircular end, as if they might be the heads of arrows. There are a crescent and three lines of inscription of an early period.

Another example is seen in fig. 448. The god is precisely the same, only the turban is better drawn and the sheaf of weapons look more like arrows, but the attitude of the victim is different. The god Marduk before him has on his usual long robe and his horned hat and carries his scimitar. Also the Sun-god Shamash stands in his usual attitude, and before him are a worshiper in respectful attitude and also the sun in the crescent. Another cylinder very much like the preceding is seen in fig. 449, where, instead of Marduk with his scimitar, we have a god in a short garment and with a bow over his shoulder, who lays his hand on the head of the crouching figure, possibly for protection. The remainder of the design is in two registers, and in each two lions attack two ibexes. Yet another is fig. 450, where the second design gives us the seated Shamash with a worshiper and the goddess Aa. Cylinders of this type, although not very numerous, could yet be multiplied. We have some variations. One such is in fig. 451 where, instead of holding in one hand the sheaf of weapons, the god grasps the victim by the arm. The remainder of the design is the same, the god with the bow and the lions attacking the ibexes (only one ibex above), but in the space not occupied by the weapons is a sheep. Somewhat similar is the design in fig. 452. Here the god and his victim are smaller subordinate figures, and the victim seems to be in front view, like Gilgamesh. The larger figures give us the usual Ramman and his wife Shala, also Zirbanit; and the subordinate emblems that fill up the remaining spaces give us figures of the goat-fish and the man-fish, the head of Ninkharshag-Belit, a fly, an ibex seated, and the sun in a crescent.

If the god whom we have seen in Chapter IX pushing his cloud-enemy against the mountains and in deadly conflict with him is Nergal, god of the hot and destructive sun, we may see in this god of the Middle Empire the conventional form replacing an archaic form of the god. This is a purely Babylonian figure of a god, not taken from the west like the figures of Ramman and Adad, and, we may probably add, Marduk and Zirbanit, and is therefore to be considered the normal succession, simply conventionalized, of the older and freer form of Nergal, just as we have the Shamash rising over the mountains conventionalized into the Shamash of the middle period with his foot on a low stool.



CHAPTER XXIX.

THE DRAGON SWALLOWING A MAN.

In this chapter are included illustrations of an occasional design which appears on the rather thick hematite cylinders that began to come in use apparently towards the end of the older period, before the time of Gudea. It gives us a naked victim on one knee attacked by a dragon, occasionally a lion, which opens its mouth to take in the victim's head. We have such a one in fig. 453. On the other side the victim is threatened also by a rampant lion. Another lion opens his mouth to take in the head of an ibex, and in the spaces are another small lion and a turtle. These hematite cylinders are often much worn by usage and time. Another example is fig. 453*a* where the dragon seems ready to swallow the kneeling figure, who turns



his head back to see a lion which also attacks him. Also a worshiper presents a kid to the standing Shamash. Yet another is fig. 453*b*. Here the victim attacked by the dragon kneels on a mountain. Gilgamesh kneeling on a lion lifts another lion over his head, and a lion fights with a human-headed monster with lion body.

Another example of this type is seen in fig. 453*c*. It is remarkable in that it includes the two kinds of dragon, one of the older type swallowing a man, and the other of the later type, winged and with the long tail, more like that which accompanies Marduk and Nebo, but the head is here plainly not that of a serpent, but of a lion. We also see Eabani fighting a lion. There are two small animals, one of which seems to be the very unusual fox. In fig. 454*b* it is an ibex which the dragon attacks and a lion which attempts to swallow the man, while Gilgamesh and Eabani

are in the attitude of wrestling. In fig. 454*a* the dragon and the lion are in the fighting attitude, while Eabani lifts a standard surmounted by the crescent moon and the included sun.

We should probably include here the cylinder shown in fig. 454*c*, for these are not vultures ready to devour the slain, but dragons with lion's heads. It may be that the god is driving them away in answer to the appeal of their victim, as so often in the prayers and charms that have been preserved. There are two other divine figures, one the Gilgamesh with streams. In fig. 454 Ramman faces Shala as usual, and between them, under the head of Belit or Ninkharshag, we have the dragon devouring an ibex as in fig. 453.

One is inclined to regard the dragon as one of the evil spirits of which the Babylonians were so much afraid and against which they composed so many charms. At the same time the mountain on which the victim kneels in fig. 453*b* and the lion which is associated with the dragon suggest that we may have here another representation of the storm-clouds dispersed by the Sun-god Nergal, for we know that Nergal was conceived of as a lion and figured with a lion's head. But it would seem that he was also figured as a dragon and so he appears on the back of the remarkable funereal bronze tablet described by Clermont-Ganneau in his "*L'Enfer Assyrien*." The goddess of the lower world on the face of the tablet can be hardly anything other than Allatu, and the figure which covers the back side, with the head of a lion and the feet and legs of an eagle, as we see it in the representation of Tiamat, would seem to be her consort Nergal. Nergal is also closely related to Girra (Dibbara), who is a monster. We may then with some probability regard these scenes as showing us one of the phases of Nergal, who destroys the cloud enemy and who also rules and destroys in the lower world.

CHAPTER XXX.

ADAD LEADING A BULL.

In the chapter on Ramman and Shala we shall consider the fact that the god Martu there recognized as Ramman is not to be confounded with the god who has seemed to be Adad and who carries a thunderbolt and leads a bull. In figs. 460, 464, 478, 479, and 482 both gods are represented on the same seal, and so were regarded as separate gods. The god with thunderbolt and bull appears late in the Babylonian art, as does Martu, not till about the time of Gudea, and he is occasionally, but not frequently, found in the period following Hammurabi. As early an example as any is to be seen in fig. 338.

This god we see in fig. 455. He wears a long open garment and has one foot raised and the leg is bare, exactly as in the case of the standing Shamash. He also wears the high-horned turban of Shamash. But while the standing Shamash, whom we have considered in Chapter XIII, has his raised foot on a conventional mountain, this god rests his foot on a bull, or also stands entirely on the bull, while his lifted foot is on the bull's neck or head. This bull he leads by a leash attached to a ring



in its nose. In the same hand, or connected by the leash, he holds up usually a bident thunderbolt, which may also become a trident. In fig. 455 this thunderbolt is omitted. The other hand may be folded across his breast, or it may carry another thunderbolt, or a weapon, presumably a scimitar, over his head. In fig. 455 the bull is unusually well developed, so as to show the ring in its nose. The other accessories are the worshiper, his servant with the pail or basket and a slender vase; also the sun in the crescent.

In fig. 456 the god standing on the neck of the bull holds up a thunderbolt in each hand, and the cord which holds the bull seems to end in a ring. There is also a second deity, in a square hat and carrying two crooks. This deity, who occasionally appears with one crook, is a goddess, if we may judge from the square hat, which characterizes the Hittite goddesses, and from the diverging lines of the necklace, which might be mistaken for a beard. But such a pectoral is worn also by Ishtar. Similar to this is the representation of the same god in fig. 457 where he carries in one hand the thunderbolt and the leash by which he leads the bull, and folds the other arm to his breast. With him is a second similar god with his foot on a different kind of animal and carrying a peculiar scepter. The other accessories are a vase and a "libra" and the sun in a crescent. It is not easy to identify the second deity.

Perhaps more frequently this god leading the bull and carrying a thunderbolt holds a weapon over his head. Such a case we see in fig. 458. In this case it is clear that the weapon held over his head is the same scimitar as we have seen carried by Marduk. The bull appears to be of the later humped-ox species, which came late into familiar use from India. We see it generally in the Sassanian period considerably later. There is a flounced figure, a small kneeling figure, a small monkey-like animal, and a small star. Another case in which the god holds the weapon over his head we see in fig. 482 in the chapter on Ramman and Shala. Behind the god on the bull are the three large dots which probably mean the symbol of Sin, the god Thirty, or the moon. Fig. 460 also seems to be late, and the bull is very slender. Ramman is also figured. In fig. 461 the



god rests his foot on the hump of the bull, with his thunderbolt in one hand and probably a scimitar in the other. With him on the cylinder is Zirbanit on a stand, and Gilgamesh and Eabani are also seen. Another is shown in fig. 462, where the god swings a club over his head. Another scene shows a god, probably Shamash, and Aa, and a worshiper carrying a goat. In the field are numerous emblems, the sun in the crescent, two heads, one that of Belit, the vase *without* the "libra," two animals, also Zirbanit and a small dancing figure. Yet another interesting seal is shown in fig. 463. Here, if we can trust Cullimore's drawing, the horns of the bull are peculiar. But we have an important feature in the three slain victims of the god.



There appears occasionally a god with the thunderbolt, leading by a leash an animal not a bull, which may or may not represent the same deity. Such a case we see in fig. 465. This may be, it is true, not a Babylonian seal, but a seal from one of the outlying countries. Here it is the same god with one hand on his breast, but the animal he leads would be a lion if its tail were not so imperfect. The other figures and the whole seal are so peculiar that, while the influence is Babylonian, it hardly seems of Babylonian origin.

In the case, however, of fig. 464 we seem to have a purely Babylonian seal that might go back nearly or quite to the time of Gudea. Here a god clothed with a headdress and short garment, exactly like Ramman, holds a scimitar over his head,

and stands on a winged monster that might be patterned after a lion but for its short tail.

In this connection we may show for comparison the seal in fig. 466 which is semi-Assyrian in character, where the god stands on what seems to be a lion, and holds in one hand a scimitar and by the other holds the lion in leash, and also a ring, which may be a loop of the leash, but the god is not holding a thunderbolt. This may be compared with types of deities on animals which we shall have to consider when we treat of Assyrian seals.

Now what deity or deities we have been finding on these seals it is not easy to say. One would naturally conclude that the god with the thunderbolt must be Ramman or Adad, even although we shall find it conclusively indicated in the next chapter that Ramman is the god in a short garment and low, banded cap, with one hand behind him and the other holding a mace; while this god has a high-horned turban, a long garment, and carries a thunderbolt and has his foot lifted on a bull which he leads by a leash. So far as the art is concerned, the two usually seem mutually exclusive. Indeed, we have noted cases in which the usual Ramman appears on the same seal with the possible Ramman-Adad on a bull. He thus appears in fig. 465 on a winged lion or dragon, with the short-skirted god. It is so natural to conclude that the god with the thunderbolt must be Ramman-Adad, the god of thunder and storm, that we are bound to raise the question whether two



separate gods, separately figured, neither of which appears in the earliest art, and both of which are thus of foreign origin, could originally have been different gods, perhaps from different countries, and both later identified as the same under the name of Ramman or Adad. We seem to know that Ramman and Adad are the same in the later Assyrian texts, but mythology is full of cases in which different gods of different nations have been identified. Thus the Roman gods have all been identified with Greek divinities with which they had originally no relation. There is reason to believe that the Babylonian god's name was Ramman, while the Syrian name of Adad prevailed in Assyria.

It might be possible that some native Babylonian deity is here represented, either a later god like Marduk or a new representation of an old god like Nergal, or, indeed, some one of the many local gods that became identified with ruling divinities. The dress of the god, the high turban, the long garment with protruding leg and lifted foot, of course suggests Shamash, although the scimitar belongs to Marduk, and the thunderbolt, the leash, and the bull are new. But the thunderbolt, in one case in another form, is very old. We have seen it in figs. 127, 134, where the goddess on a dragon holds a thunderbolt. But here it is a god and not a goddess who carries the thunderbolt, and similarly it is a god rather than a goddess who stands occasionally on a lion or a dragon. The bull, it is true, we have seen related to a god in figs. 317, 318, but leaping on the seated god's knees. We recall that in the famous seal of Sargon a deity is giving water to a buffalo.

We have, however, pretty clear indications, as we shall see when we come to consider in Chapters XL and XLVIII the Assyrian Adad and the Hittite Adad-Teshub, and compare with them the Vested God, as discussed in Chapter XLVII, from what source these two separate representations of Ramman, or Adad, came. Under whatever name, the god with the thunderbolt seen in this chapter came from the north and west and is related to the Assyrian and Syrian Adad and the Hittite Teshub, while the Ramman of the next chapter came from the Vested God.

The god in a long garment, with thunderbolt and leading or standing on a bull, may probably be Ramman-Adad under a second form, as we shall see him in the Assyrian and Hittite cylinders. The god clothed like Ramman, with scimitar, thunderbolt, and dragon, of fig. 464 is certainly not Ramman-Martu, for the two appear on the same seal, neither is he the genuine Shamash, for the same reason,



and his short garment seems to forbid us to identify him as Marduk. He also must be left in uncertainty. We have in these seals problems to be left for further light. In fig. 467 we have the god with a thunderbolt leading the bull, with the goddess who is usually seen with the Babylonian Ramman (Shala) and three lines of inscription. But before the god's thunderbolt is the character for *god*, and the inscription gives the worshiped god as Adad.

Not infrequently the god is designated by the thunderbolt over the bull, or by the thunderbolt alone, while the god himself is not represented. In fig. 468 the triple weapon is over the bull, and the conventional goddess is repeated for symmetry. In fig. 470 we have the thunderbolt alone, and the gods Shamash (probably) and Ramman. In fig. 469 also the thunderbolt stands without either its god or the bull, and we have no figure except that of Ramman. But in this case a later owner has erased one line of inscription and part of the design, and on the erased part put the thunderbolt and the crescent.



We may add fig. 470a, in which, while the inscription, "Shamash, Aa," doubtfully suggests that the god is Shamash, and his foot is on the mountain of Shamash, his weapons are those of Adad. The rude *facture* of this cylinder suggests that it comes from an outlying province.

In an article in *The Academy* of May 11, 1895, Dr. Bonavia suggests that the "thunderbolt" held by the god Ramman is derived from a pair of horns fastened to a sacred tree. For this conjecture there is no evidence in art; and he is also mistaken in imagining that "the thunderbolt held in Ramman's hand has a straight

middle prong, while the two side prongs are wavy." The prongs are usually zigzag rather than wavy; and the middle prong is *not* straight. Dr. Bonavia seems to have confounded the thunderbolt with the caduceus often carried by Ishtar, and less often by a male deity. This we have seen in Chapter xxv.

The bellowing bull was probably related to Adad to represent thunder, just as the god's weapon represented lightning. This deity, who is also the Hittite Teshub, became the Jupiter Dolichenus later worshiped in the Hittite region, who had a shrine near Aintab; see Roscher, *s.v.* "Dolichenus" (fig. 471). This shows how each nation in adopting another nation's god changed its weapons and style. The Babylonian Adad carries thunderbolts while the Hittite Teshub carries other weapons.



CHAPTER XXXI.

RAMMAN AND SHALA.

One of the gods most frequently figured on the cylinders wears a short garment to his knees, stands firm on both feet, with the right hand behind him and with his left holding a short wand, or more likely club, to his breast. In fig. 425 he carries two wands. His headdress is not usually horned, but is the close, round turban with a band at the bottom holding it about the head, familiar as used at the time of Gudea. His beard is long and is likely to be a little spread at the end, as if to show that the ends curled up. With him almost always appears the goddess whom we take to be the conventional form of goddess, assigned to any god, and herself colorless. She has the high-horned turban, the long, flounced garment, a long queue falling nearly to the ground, and stands in an attitude of respect before her god, with both hands raised. This same form of goddess we have seen with the sitting and standing Shamash, and she may appear, in Chaldean or Babylonian art, with any other god. With these seals, which we may suppose to be of the style affected by the common people and which are usually of hematite, we



472

very frequently find simply the god and goddess facing each other, perhaps with the frequent filary inscription, and often with simply the name of a god and goddess, "Ramman, Shala," just as we have found the inscription "Shamash, Aa" so frequent on the cylinders on which we have recognized Shamash to be figured. The filary inscriptions may contain the name of any god as worshiped by the owner. We may suppose that the engraver kept a stock of seals for sale, ready to be filled out with the name of any purchaser, and some already engraved with the names of the deities represented.

An illustration of the usual style, with filary inscription, is shown in fig. 472. Here one will notice the armlet on the god's left arm, as also the knob of the club at its upper end. It is not necessary to multiply cases in which we find precisely the same god and goddess, often without any inscription or other figure or emblem. The frequent inscriptions with "Ramman Shala," we see in fig. 474, or we may read, instead of Ramman, the equivalent syllabic "Martu," god of the West. A cylinder whose owner must have been a peculiarly devout worshiper of this god is seen in fig. 473.



473

It has two registers, which are just alike. Ramman appears three times in each, twice with a worshiper and once with Shala. There are seven scattered lines of inscription on each register. The cylinder may be of the Kassite period.

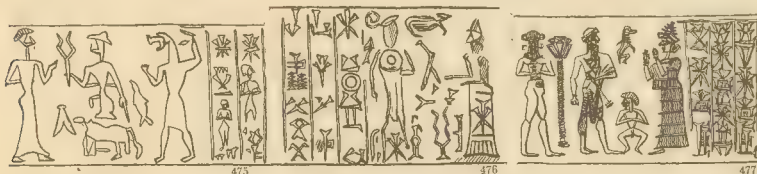
As has been said, we frequently find the name of Ramman engraved on these seals, either simply with his name and that of his consort, or he is mentioned as the

god worshiped by the owner of the seal. Thus, in the collection of de Clercq, there are 25 inscribed cylinders on which the only figures are those of the god and goddess, with, in some cases, that of a worshiper. Of these 25, five have simply the inscription "Ramman, Shala," or "Ramman, Son of Anu," and four add to the name of the owner the fact that he is a worshiper of Ramman. One of these bears the name "Ramman-adri, servant of Ramman." But four others indicate that the owner was a worshiper of Sin, three were worshipers of Ninib, and two of Nebo. Besides these, two of the cylinders add a small figure of the naked goddess Zirbanit, one of which records that the worshiper, a woman into whose name Ramman enters, is a worshiper of Ramman; and in the other case the owner is a worshiper of Ninib. Thus out of these twenty cases, ten are devoted to Ramman. In this connection we may refer to fig. 475, where the figure of Ramman in slightly different attitude is actually engraved within the inscription of the god's name, and that of Shala, but much resembling Zirbanit, within that of the goddess. Here can be no doubt whatever; such a case conclusively proves that the god and goddess thus figured are Ramman and Shala. It were much to be desired that other gods were so conclusively identified.

Beyond this identification little further need be done than to illustrate what are some of the combinations of Ramman with other gods. A more than usually



471



475

476

477

coarse example, and probably quite late, appears in fig. 476. Here there is a diminutive figure of the nude goddess, while the sign for deity is attached to each of the larger figures of Ramman and Shala, but the deities are not specified by name as in the previous case. This is sufficient to prove that the female figure is that of a goddess, and not of a priestess, as usually supposed. The inscription shows that this cylinder belonged to a slave-catcher, according to Oppert. Another illustration of Ramman and Shala with other deities is given in fig. 477, which shows a figure like Gilgamesh, a caduceus, a squat or dancing figure, and a small animal.

Two other cases are particularly of value because of the presence with Ramman of the northern Adad, who is also identified with Ramman. In fig. 478 we see also Ishtar, Adad, and a worshiper before Shamash. In fig. 479 only Adad appears with Ramman and Shala. In fig. 480 we have also a female deity, perhaps Gula-Bau, but with the unusual rod and ring held in her hand. There is also a worshiper with a goat elevated on a stand. In fig. 481 the goddess, who may be either Aa or Shala, appears with both Shamash and Ramman, and so may represent either goddess. We also have, in small figures, Gilgamesh in profile on one knee stabbing a lion, while behind him



478

is a second standing figure; and under them two figures of Eabani holding between them a caduceus, which is an unusual feature. There are also a worshiper carrying a slender vase and pail, a head, a crook, and a monkey-like figure. With this may be compared fig. 213, on which also both Shamash and Gilgamesh appear with Ramman, but here there is no doubt that the goddess is Shala, as a worshiper stands before Shamash.



We have remarked that this form of the god Ramman does not clearly appear before the time of Gudea. It is rare for it to appear before the time of Hammurabi, frequent as it is after this period. I do not remember to have seen it on any of the case tablets of the time of the kings of Ur and of Gudea. That Ramman was a western god, imported from the north or the west, is accepted and his frequent designation as Martu is evidence of it. Whatever may have been the mythological confusions and identifications of the gods, it is clear that in art the form of Ramman as here given is kept quite distinct from that of the god of the thunderbolt, the Adad of Syria, the god who leads the bull or composite animal by a thong, who is also often seen on the cylinders of the Middle Empire, and, with variations, on the northern and Assyrian seals, and is frequent in the Hittite art, and whom we have considered in the last chapter. That the two were distinct appears also from such seals as are shown in figs. 478, 479, where the Ramman we are considering, or Martu, appears together with Adad, as usual with one hand brandishing a weapon over his head, and in the other hand holding the thunder-



bolt and the leash by which he leads a bull or dragon. Similarly in fig. 482 we have the two gods side by side and sharply distinguished.

In fig. 477 we have noticed the wand-like weapon carried by the god, having somewhat the shape of a double hammer. We see it more clearly in the shape of a hammer in fig. 483. The weapon looks foreign, but is characteristic, as is also the round, banded hat or cap.

While the evidence seems pretty clearly to make this god Ramman, it will bear consideration that we have no definite representation of Nebo, and that Nebo is designated as god of the scepter, or staff. Yet the resemblance to the Hittite Vested God of Chapter XLVII seems to control our judgment. Martu came from the west.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THICK CYLINDERS WITH SHRINES AND ANIMALS.

There is a class of Babylonian cylinders which stands so separate from Babylonian art that it is difficult to assign its place in a scheme of classification. They include the largest cylinders, 30 to 40 mm. in length and nearly as thick, although some are smaller, but of the same relative dimensions. The large cylinders are usually made of a hard, white marble, and are engraved in a coarse way with figures of animals, ibexes, etc., and what can best be described as a shrine or doorway. Ménant, in his "Glyptique Orientale," I, p. 51, gives a drawing of a cylinder of this type and assigns to it the extremest antiquity; and in his description of the "Collection de Clercq" he puts cylinders of this type at the very front of his "Catalogue," as representing the most archaic style. Heuzey follows Ménant, and in his magnificent "Découvertes en Chaldée par Ernest de Sarzec" (pp. 276, 277, plate xxx, fig. 1) he describes a fine cylinder of this type as "belonging to a very ancient epoch of Chaldean glyptic art"; and he offers this cylinder, here again confessedly following Ménant, as an example of the "very primitive use of the *bouterolle*," or revolving burr, the *terebra* of the ancients.

It is characteristic of all these cylinders that they are deeply worked in the joints and body of the animals or human figures with the *bouterolle*. This fact would raise a question as to their very high antiquity, as we have no other examples of cylinders thus engraved before the times of the Kassite dynasty, when the use of these mechanical contrivances seems to have been introduced from Egypt by way of Syria and the Hittites. To be sure Heuzey (p. 276) refers to a bas-relief of the date of Ur-Nina (plate I *bis*, fig. 2) as showing the use of the *bouterolle* in very ancient times; but that is again a unique case in archaic bas-reliefs; and the round holes under the arms and under the chair can, I think, be otherwise explained than by the assumption that the *bouterolle* was in regular use. Certainly if used in marble it ought to have been used in hard stones; but no instance of the sort is known. Of course the vertical holes through the cylinders and other objects must have been made by a process of rolling, but not with the *bouterolle* as used later in seals.

The material of these cylinders is peculiar; usually, in the case of the larger ones, of pure white marble, and in the case of the smaller ones, of a pink or red marble. The hard, crystalline, white marble was very little used in the archaic cylinders, and the pink marble not at all. We do have a number of pearly-white aragonite cylinders that go back to a very early period, but that is an allotropic form of calcium carbonate, differing from marble, and is readily distinguished from it. These are heavy, thick, coarse cylinders, all deeply bored with round holes and quite unlike any of the recognized forms of antique art.

An excellent example of this type is found in the de Clercq collection (fig. 484). In this case, which is unusual, the shrine, or doorway, is double. We may conceive of it as two folding doors. There are two ibexes over two bulls. They could hardly

be more roughly drawn; three deep holes are bored to fill out the body, several smaller ones for the legs, with an outline about the whole. The tails are quite omitted. We observe here the strong erect horns, which seem to designate neither the water-buffalo nor the bison of Elam, but a bull more of the form of the aurochs. Another cylinder with the double door, or shrine, appears in fig. 485. Here we have two ibexes over two hornless animals. It is remarkable that this white marble cylinder is unpierced; but it has the two ends indented, as if it were left uncompleted or too large to be strung and worn. Usually there is but a single



doorway or shrine. A good example is seen in fig. 486. Here, as elsewhere, the form of the grand entrance, or gateway, is clearly shown. The central door is in a somewhat deep recess apparently, as is very frequent now in the East, where the visitor is protected from rain by the depth of the wall; the sides and top we see usually ornamented with designs in plaster of Paris. In this case, as in others, the ornamentation is with diagonal lines. What the peculiar object is to the left of the gateway I can not conjecture. It does not appear to be an ornament on the wall, but looks like some implement. There are also several ibexes in various positions, but the fracture does not allow us to say how many. In fig. 487 the shrine has with it two human figures, one of them, doubtless a female, carries a vase on her shoulders.

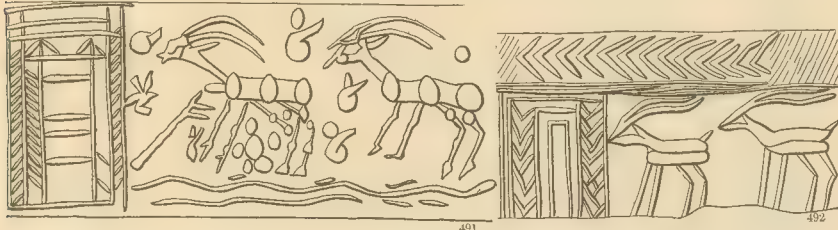


Other illustrations of these constructions, whether we call them shrines, doorways, gates, or porches, are seen in figs. 488, 489, 490, 491. They differ in that some have the door with bars, or in the animals being ibexes or bulls.

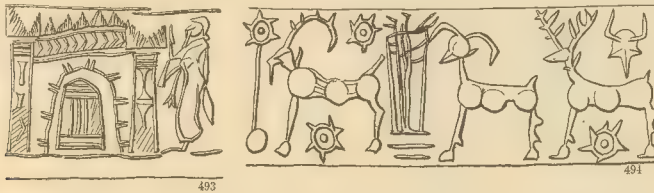
In this connection must be considered another of the same general design, and still of white marble, like most of those already figured, shown in fig. 492. It has the same doorway, in a recess, and two ibexes. But the peculiar thing about it is that instead of being a simple cylinder, it has the upper end conical, or rather the frustum of a cone; so that it reminds one of the shape of certain cylinder seals of the Syro-Hittite or more northern style. Unlike those, however, this cylinder is pierced longitudinally, while those have the hole pierced through the narrow end.

Yet the ornamentation on the upper end is in angles, such as we expect to find rather on early Assyrian cylinders, or those from northern outlying regions.

These cylinders are architecturally interesting, and for this reason we may include here another cylinder which, though not of the usual abnormal thickness, seems to have a relation to them. Fig. 493 shows a similar portal and gate, with the angular ornamentation above; also one standing figure. This is probably early Assyrian.

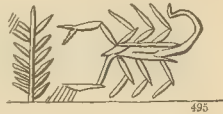


A number of cylinders which evidently belong to this general type, usually somewhat smaller, have on them no shrine, only rude animals and men. In this class is one of serpentine (fig. 494) on which are a deer with branching horns and two sorts of ibexes, apparently, with other objects not easily definable. The vertical lines might be the reminiscence of the shrine, or gate, or they may be meant for

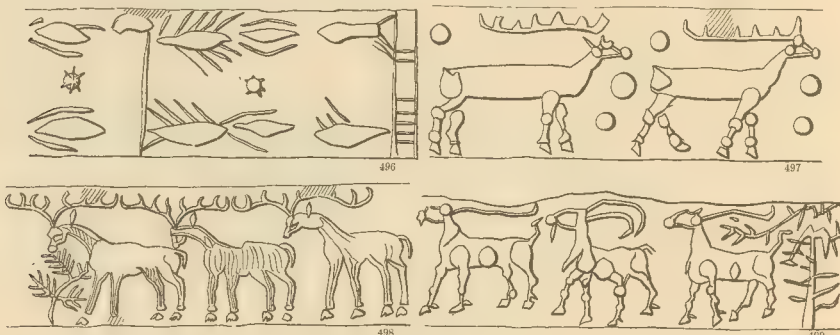


ashera-columns, in which latter case they would indicate a comparatively late date in the Assyrian period. To be compared with this is fig. 496. Here appears to be a narrow gate, and various rude fishes, etc., take the place of the usual animals. In fig. 495 we have only a scorpion and a simple branch. Yet another (fig. 497) has simply two horned animals, with deep dots; in fig. 498 we have three ibexes and a rude tree, and in fig. 499 three stags and a branch. In fig. 500 are what appear to be two long-tailed oryxes. In fig. 501 there are two registers, with four animals in each, bulls, ibexes, and goats, one of which is perhaps feeding from what may be a manger.

But those just figured are not of the smaller kind, which are so often of a red marble, but occasionally of other material. I obtained four of these in Southern Babylonia and was assured that two of them were said to have been found at Abu Shahrein. One of these, from this old site of Eridu the Blessed, is shown in fig. 502, of pink or red marble. It will be seen that there is a double border line at the bottom, with vertical cross-lines, and above it a series of what we may suppose to be six ibexes lying down—the animals consisting of little more than three large deep dots, with two horns. Another of the same material, which I was told also came from Abu Shahrein, appears in fig. 503. It gives us three seated figures and a series of large and small



dots. In fig. 502a the four seated figures have their hands lifted, as in other cases. The border line below is the same as we have seen in fig. 502. In fig. 504 we seem to have four figures seated before a fifth, and with them a number of vases. Fig. 505 belongs to this same type, but is of serpentine, and in place of being pierced

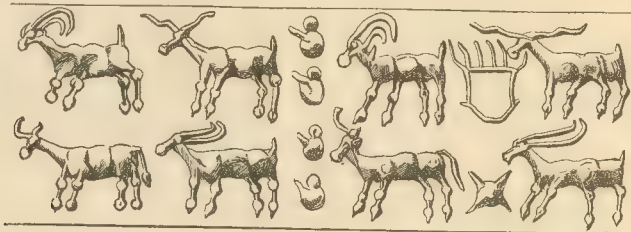


it has two holes at one end connected below so as to make a loop and hold a string. There are a seated figure and an ibex, and other objects not easily determined. No. 508 seems to carry two spiders; while fig. 507 gives two scorpions and three serpents. In fig. 506 we again have two seated figures, but also two standing figures.

We now revert to the period to which these cylinders belong.



There is so little art, and that of the coarsest kind, about these cylinders that it is not easy to draw evidence from it. The animals are of the most formal kind and they suggest a decaying rather than a nascent art. The abundant use of the *boute-rolle*, as previously stated, suggests a late period. The white marble does not absolutely exclude the earliest date, for we meet with a few large cylinders of white marble of an archaic period, and now and then one of unusual thickness, as in fig. 71, which is doubtless archaic, of white marble, and of a thickness (length 28 mm., diameter width 22 mm.) nearly proportionate to that of the cylinders we are considering; but the marble seems to be of a different texture.

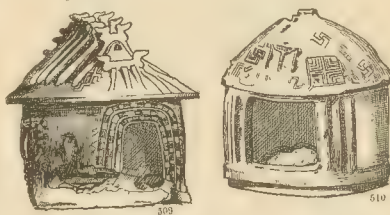


The shrines, or doorways, on these cylinders are not like those which we have found on other archaic cylinders. Those are much more simple; these seem to suggest, perhaps, a door with a recess in the wall. The door itself is framed in two or three similar outlines, and they quite suggest the huts or shrines from Latium, seen in figs. 509, 510. Indeed, the hut shown in fig. 509 is almost of the shape of the cylinder shown in fig. 486.

The smaller cylinders of pink marble may possibly not be related to the larger, white marble ones, although probably they are. I obtained four of them (one of syenite) in Southern Babylonia, and, as stated above, I was told that two of them were found in Abu Shahrein. This is evidence that they were in use in Southern, probably Southwestern, Babylonia or perhaps in the borders of Arabia. The J. Pierpont Morgan Library contains one which is cast in bronze or copper;



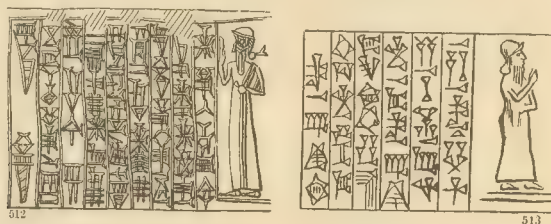
otherwise metal cylinders are quite late. Another evidence that these are late appears in another cylinder, a cast of which is mislaid, which seems to be of the same smaller style, with very deep holes and very thin outlines. In this case we seem to have the god Marduk with his scimitar, but the weapon is of a shape characteristic of a late period, and not found in the earlier art. On all the earlier cylinders the curved part of the scimitar is very shallow, forming an arc of scarce 45 degrees; while in the later art the curve is much more pronounced, reaching a half circle, such as appears in this case. However, the profile face of the figure carrying the weapon has quite an archaic look, with its round head and angular, bird-like nose. While a conclusion can not be certainly reached I am inclined to put all these cylinders comparatively late. Unfortunately, on none of them is any inscription found. It would seem as if those who used them were not a literary people.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE KASSITE CYLINDERS.

With the introduction of the Kassite dynasty into Babylonia there came in a new type of cylinders quite different from those of the two previous periods. In the period about Sargon the Elder a large cylinder prevailed, from 3 to 4 cm. in length and two-thirds as thick. In the Middle Babylonian period, from the time of Gudea, the cylinders were much smaller, seldom reaching 3 cm. in length and with the thickness generally about half the length. In the Kassite period there was a reversion to the length of the earlier period, but not to its ratio of thickness. Thus they were generally 3 to 4 cm. in length, but only 1.5 to 2 cm. in thickness. It is true that there are smaller ones, but they are likely to occur in the more unusual



agates or jaspers. But these cylinders are particularly notable for their inscriptions, which may run to seven or eight lines and which are usually composed of prayers to the gods. The space for figures is thus limited, often only a single figure appearing, or two at the most, a god and a worshiper. But new emblems occur frequently, of which the most remarkable is a Greek cross. Few of these cylinders are of any special artistic merit, and we begin here to find the use of the wheel, or revolving disk, as an instrument of cutting.

The date of these cylinders is fixed by several royal cylinders of Burnaburiash and Kurigalzu, belonging to the Kassite dynasty, three of which we have already seen in figures 40, 40a, 41a, and which are here repeated (figs. 512, 513, 539). To these may be added figs. 514, 515, which are related to Kassite kings. They date from the period of the fourteenth or fifteenth century B. C. It is true that the Kassite dynasty began some three centuries earlier, but we have no evidence of this



peculiar style before the times of these five cylinders, and it was not till this time that we could presume the Egyptian influence to have begun to show itself. Previously the Kassite art would hardly have differed from that general in Babylonia.

We have in Oriental art abundant evidence of the profound influence of the Egyptian invasion of Asia, and to this must be attributed much that we have been accustomed to call Phenician. These cylinders belong to the usual and characteristic type, often a prayer to the god occupying so much space that there is room for but a single figure, which may be that of a god, but is usually that of a worshiper, whom we may consider to represent the owner of the seal in an attitude

of supplication. Sometimes there is a single god represented, seated or standing, and occasionally both the god and his worshiper. We may also expect a new variety of symbols, the *labarum*, or Greek cross, the sphinx, the winged disk, and various forms of birds and animals. Some of these seem to have come from an Egyptian influence, following the irruption of the eighteenth dynasty into Asia, and they are found more abundantly in the Syro-Hittite art. We have also in some, if not all, of these cylinders an evidently new *facture*, the use of the revolving *terebra*, and yet generally the inscriptions are as carefully cut with the point as in any of the earlier seals. While it would not be easy to find direct evidence for it, it sometimes seems as if as late as the Second Empire the style of this Kassite period was followed archaistically.



As has been said, the most usual design shows only a single worshiper with the long inscription, as appears in figs. 512, 513, 514, 518. See figs. 40, 40a, 41a, for discussion of their relation to the times of the Kassite dynasty. Fig. 515 has the name of the son of Duriulmas, who was son of Kurigalzu. Here the cross, in the developed form of a cross within a cross, will be observed in fig. 514, and in fig. 515 the vase (?) in the seated god's hand, the bird, and the two rhombs, each inclosing a rhomb. Another admirable example is in the blue chalcedony ("saphirine") cylinder shown in fig. 516. In my "Hand-book No. 12" of the Seal Cylinders of



the Metropolitan Museum, I put this cylinder very much later, owing to the material which we scarcely find in use before the period of the Persian Empire, but even with the sphinxes facing each other the workmanship may well belong to the later Kassite period. The sphinxes are, to be sure, not found on other seals of this style, but they are common enough on the Syro-Hittite seals of as early a period. It is much to be desired that we knew the topographic source of the blue chalcedony so much admired later. This cylinder was brought by General di Cesnola from Cyprus, but it probably did not have its origin there. We observe in this, as in the preceding cylinders, the straight, stiff garment of the worshiper, a style which is quite characteristic.

The inscription in eight lines reads:

To the god Marduk, mighty lord, light of the multitudes,
Judge of the countries, who executes justice in heaven and earth,
Giver of life to the gods, his own offspring
Make glorious the servant who fears thee.
May he be illustrious! may his name be magnified! may he be wise!
Tunamige

Son of Pari,
A man called [to his position] by the people, may he increase!—PRICE.

We may include in this class fig. 517. Besides the single god there are what may be a sheep and a bull lying down, three heads of *durra*, and six objects which may represent the rhombs, more frequent later. The inscription is of interest for the names of the gods worshiped. It is thus read by Professor Price (American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, xx, p. 111):

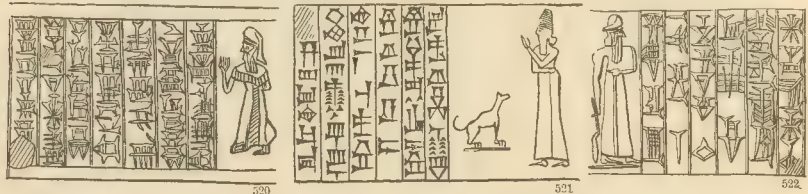
"Property of Marduk-Ummiagarra, son of Apil-Marduk, who is servant of the god Lugal-banda and the goddess Nin-gul." The arrangement of the lines in two columns is peculiar.

Of those cylinders which have but a single figure, and that a worshiper, it is sufficient to give but three others. They are important simply for their long inscriptions. One is shown in fig. 518 of an unusual material, a black chalcidony.

Another example is fig. 520, and the inscription is thus translated by Oppert:

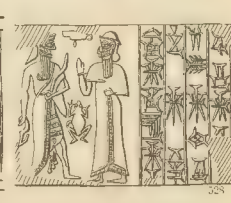
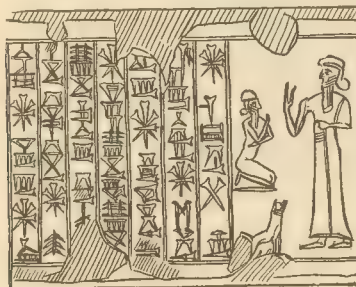
O Wife of Ea, loved of the earth
Sovereign of
Who pardonest
the handmaid, thy worshiper,
Dusurtu,
daughter of Ibni-Bau,
granddaughter of Ibni- . . .

It is of interest that this is one of the seals we occasionally meet which belonged to a woman; and, further, that although she is a worshiper of the goddess Damkina, it is the conventional bearded figure which is engraved on the cylinder, neither that of herself as worshiper nor of her goddess. This illustrates how independent the design often is of the inscription.



We have treated this standing figure with hand raised as that of a worshiper. Of course, it is to be considered whether it may represent an undifferentiated god whose raised hand represents not worship, but placated pardon or benediction. While a worshiper is represented with hand raised before his god, the god worshiped also often raises his hand in the same way, although usually he holds a cup or some

object in his hand. But that this figure may represent a god is certainly suggested by fig. 521, where the standing figure wears a tiara like that of a god, and a dog stands before him. Similarly a dog stands before the supposed worshiper in fig. 525. Here besides the dog there is an ibex, and there is a profusion of ornamental emblems, a cross, rosettes, and rhombs, and an uncertain object, the lower part of which looks like a fish. The rhombs we shall frequently see in these and in the Assyrian and Syro-Hittite cylinders. They are what Lenormant calls the *κτεῖς*, although it is far from certain that in the ancient art it had the significance of a female emblem. It is as likely to be the Egyptian eye. In fig. 524 the dog stands before a figure who is certainly a god, although he has the hand raised, but in benediction. Before him kneels a worshiper. Here the prayer is addressed to Marduk.



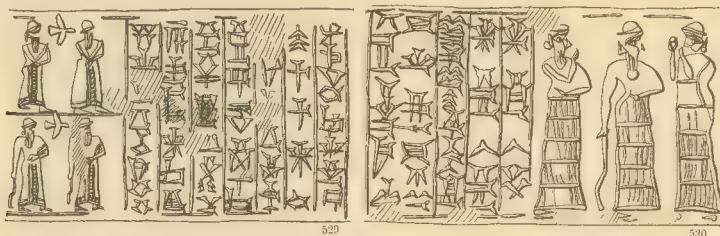
Of the figures which certainly represent a god the most frequent, perhaps, is the god holding in his hand a scimitar curved at the bottom, whom we have found to be Marduk. From the time of Hammurabi Marduk shared popular veneration with Shamash, and his representation was to be expected on the cylinders. An example is seen in fig. 523. There is little doubt that the god figured is Marduk, and yet the two deities worshiped are Nergal and Shamash: "May Nergal hearken to his name; may Shamash lift him up." Another cylinder (fig. 522) of the unusual material bloodstone has the same design as fig. 523. The inscription reads:

O Goddess Belit, the exalted,
Guard (him), preserve (him),
Spare (him for a long life);
The servant who fears thee,
Zabru,
Son of Indim.—PRICE.

This is one of three cylinders here given in which Belit is addressed. The others are figs. 531, 535. Another of a somewhat variant type appears in fig. 526, where the god holds the scimitar of Marduk, but lifts his foot like Shamash, yet not like Shamash to put it on a conventional mountain, but on a bird which probably takes the place of Tiamat. We shall see in figs. 587-596 the god fighting an ostrich, and in figs. 597-9 fighting several eagle-like birds beaked as in the present case. With the bird are here other emblems, the ibex, the cross, and two rhombs. The inscription reads:

To the God Marduk, lord of . . .
the mighty, ruler of heaven and earth,
to his sovereignty it (this seal) is dedicated
by the servant who fears thee;
may thine eyes be favorable (to me).—PRICE.

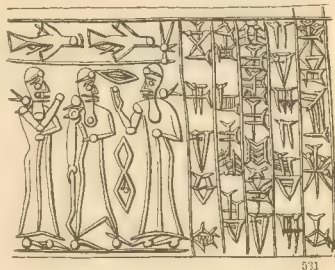
Another case is seen in fig. 527 of the god with the scimitar, where the god worshiped is Nergal.



Sometimes the god with the scimitar appears with the worshiper standing in adoration before him, as in fig. 528, which contains only a filiiary inscription, with the name of the god worshiped. It reads: "Udam . . . , son of Siga-Marduk, servant of Adad and Belit the exalted."—Price.

In fig. 529 the god with the scimitar is repeated on the lower register, and the worshiper is similarly repeated on the upper register, and a flying bird appears with each couple of figures. In fig. 530 Marduk stands between a worshiper and his goddess, here figured like Aa or Shala. The inscription reads:

To the god Marduk, the brilliant lord,
The first-born god, the first-born lord,
Who preserves in safety the souls of the living,
.....—PRICE.



Similar is fig. 531 where the god with the scimitar stands between two worshipers, and above them are two flying birds and a star, while three rhombs appear in the field. This is one of the cases in which the inscription bears no reference to the god; the prayer is addressed to Belit, "Lady of Heaven." It reads:

O goddess Belit,
Thou hast made (him), thou hast called (him);
Guard (him), protect (him),
And spare (him for a long life):
The Servant who fears thee.—PRICE.

The flying bird appears as the important element in other seals of this general Kassite class. Such are fig. 532, an unusual green feldspar (Amazon stone) cylinder, and fig. 533. In fig. 534 two gods are represented, each of them with a scimitar but one of them has his leg protruded and the knee bent, as in the figure of Shamash, although the low conventional mountain, which is his footstool, is not drawn. The inscription would seem in this case to indicate the two gods, and is thus translated by Oppert:

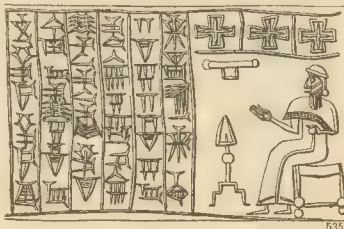
God . . . Master of the gods
Thou God . . . of the gods of life,
Who makest the sun helpful
Proclaim his glory.



The "Master of the gods" would be Marduk, and the second deity is indicated as Shamash.

Occasionally these cylinders give us the figure of a seated god. We have such a case in fig. 535. Here a column, that of Marduk, stands before the god and may suggest again that he is the god represented. Above it is what may be a suggestion of the winged disk, although we should hardly expect the disk at this period, and above are three crosses. The inscription reads:

O goddess Belit, the exalted,
Thou hast made, thou hast named him,
Grant (him) favor,
Guard (him), protect (him)
And spare him (for a long life):
Thy Servant who deeply reverences thee.—PRICE.



Another cylinder which has some peculiar features is shown in fig. 536. Here the seated god holds in his hand a stalk of *durra*, the Egyptian wheat, to be presented as the bread of life to the worshiper; and opposite him stands a goddess, like Aa, and in this case the breasts are distinct, which is not to be expected at an earlier period. In the frieze above are two bulls lying down, one each side of what may possibly be a so-called sacred tree. It is an emblem not easily identified. The bulls appear to be of the humped variety, which we do not see before this period. We might naturally expect the seated god to be Shamash, and here the presence of Aa favors the identification, although the grain in his hand is not specially his. The inscription is interesting. It reads:

Menaruptum,
Daughter of Bazi.
Lady of Nabu-dayan,
Handmaid of (god) Shamash,
Lady of (god) Adad.—PRICE.

In fig. 537 before the seated god are the cross and the rhomb. The inscription is addressed to Shamash. We have already seen a similar case in fig. 515 where the seated god is accompanied by a bird and two rhombs. In fig. 537a the seated god's feet and seat rest on two human-headed bulls, such as we see in figs. 320-323. Before him is simply a beardless worshiper, and there are seven lines of inscription, and an eighth between the god and his worshiper. The god might appear to be Shamash. The inscription reads:

Manbargini-Marduk,
the diviner,
Son of Iriba-Marduk,
family of Isin,
born
at Babylon,

chief servant of the god Marduk and the goddess Gula.—PRICE.



There are a few other cylinders of the Kassite class that may be mentioned for some special peculiarity. One is fig. 538. Besides Marduk and his scimitar we have a small figure of the naked goddess whom we have measurably identified with Zirbanit, wife of Marduk, properly figured with him here. The inscription is filiiary and bears the name of Sin. There is also the cross. An unusual cylinder is shown in fig. 539, a hitherto unrecognized royal cylinder of Kurigalzu. The inscription reads:

Terimangar
son of Gishkuranshidada
chief official of the shrine of Ishtar,
servant of Kurigalzu.—PRICE.

There are two bearded human figures, each apparently holding a musical instrument. These musical instruments are of interest, and one of them is perhaps unique in ancient art. It is the long object held by the left-hand figure. It is what is called in Arabic the *nai*, also *kemān*; it is used by the Eastern dervishes and is figured on Egyptian monuments (see Prince, "Music," fig. 23, "Encyclopedia Biblica"). It is now made by making a drum of a gourd or cocoa-nut, and attaching to it a long rod and adding from one to three strings, thus forming a very rude lute. The other instrument is a cithern. There are several small objects, a fly, a monkey, a cross, an ibex, and four rhombs. Sometimes the inscription leaves no room for the figure of a god or a worshiper. Such a case we see in fig. 540 where the space of a single line is given to two crosses and a rhomb. The difficult inscription would appear to refer to Shamash.

The nature of the long inscription will probably warrant us in putting here the fine, though somewhat worn, cylinder of jade shown in fig. 541. This cylinder is in two registers, each of which has nine lines of inscription, consisting of a

Sumerian prayer. In the upper register is the figure of Aa, and before her six small oval objects over two slender branches or trees. In the lower register is a tree which suggests the later tree of life, though less regular and ornate, each branch ending in a sort of fruit or blossom; and above, on each side is a very graceful bird. The designs in both registers are quite unlike the old Babylonian or the Assyrian, nor is it to be matched among the other Kassite cylinders; not only the inscription, but the unusual size of the cylinder and its general cutting would suggest Kassite as its period, although the apparent tree of life makes this very doubtful.

The introduction of this style of Kassite cylinders marks the transition from the older to the newer Assyrian and Babylonian fashion in this branch of glyptic art. It was a reversion from the small cylinders that had been in use from the time of Gudea to the more generous size that had preceded them. At the same time new motives came into use, and new emblems, with longer inscriptions, whose precatory



538



539



540



541



542

character suggests that they had begun to have something of the nature of an amulet. It is at this period also that we begin to observe the general use of a new method of engraving, by means of revolving drills and disks, but not yet of tubular drills. The emblems offer the chief difficulty. Once we have seemed to see a rude form of the winged disk, which had been brought from Egypt. The cross is nothing more than a variation of the old conventional representation of the sun, which was made of four radiating angles with which alternated streams. Here the streams and the circumference were omitted, and there remained a cross which was decoratively modified. That the cross came from the sun-disk is made almost certain from fig. 543. This is a Syro-Hittite cylinder on which we see the representation of the sun inclosed in the moon's crescent; but instead of the earlier form of the included rays and streams we have a cross of two lines in an enveloping cross such as we have on these Kassite seals. The dots on the extremities of the included cross are perfectly paralleled by the similar dots at the ten extremities of the star of Ishtar as shown, with the cross, in fig. 542, where the gods mentioned in the inscription

are Ramman and the Great Goddess. Whether the swastika was derived from this cross we can not say; but in the simple forms of the Kassite cross in which the enveloping cross is omitted, it is much like the *swastika*.* That the rhomb represents the *κτεῖς*, or female emblem, is hardly probable. It is quite as likely to have replaced the crescent of the moon, especially as the crescent is no more represented on these seals than the sun in its old form. Equally likely, as already suggested, is it that it comes from the eye, so often figured in Egyptian art. These are the two principal emblems, and may have been the sun and moon. It is possible that when in its western passage the emblem reached the region where the moon was regarded as a female divinity, the emblem itself became feminine, but the extreme modesty of both Babylonian and Persian art (the Kassite dynasty being from Elam) hardly allows us to think that the rhomb had originally a sexual meaning.



543

Of the remaining emblems, such as the bird with wings closed or flying, and the dog, it is not easy to discover any definite meaning. We shall, however, find the dog of Bau-Gula on the kudurrus, and shall have to consider it in the study of the emblems of the gods. One naturally thinks of the large rôle played by the dog in the later Persian religion, for which see "Sacred Books of the East, Zend-Avesta," p. LXXIV. The dog was the protector against the death-spirit. The dog appears freely on the later cylinders of the Second Babylonian Empire; and the transition from the style of the Kassite period to the Neo-Babylonian may have been gradual, and some of those we have here considered may belong to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II., or not much earlier. The separation is not always easy. For another cylinder apparently of this class see fig. 545.

* Since this chapter was written I find that de Morgan, "Délégation en Perse," vol. VIII, p. 110, suggests the same origin of the swastika, which he found on pottery associated with the cross.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE LATER BABYLONIAN PERIOD.

For a complete study of the date of these cylinders we are indebted to J. Ménant, whose discussion of the impressions of these seals on tablets of the Egibi family was published first in a paper "*Empreintes de Cylindres assyro-chaldéens*," 1880, and later in his "*Les Pierres Gravées*," II, pp. 129 seq. We can do no better than to follow, for the most part, his discussion, showing that this class of cylinders was in use from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II. to that of the Seleucidæ.

The cylinder shown in fig. 544 is impressed, in part, on a tablet dated in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar. As we find it thus, in a very characteristic form as early as the first year of the first king of the dynasty, we may conclude that there was an insensible transition from the times of the Kassite kings. The cylinders have the same size and shape, but quite a new set of symbolic forms has arisen and the use of the long precatory inscriptions has gone out of fashion.



And yet long inscriptions are occasionally seen which may suggest that it is possible that some of the supposed Kassite cylinders may belong to a later period. Another impression from a tablet dated in the twenty-sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar is seen in fig. 545. We have here the worshiper, precisely as we have seen him in the seals of the Kassite date, standing in adoration before what is not an altar, as has been supposed, but the seat of the gods, and on it two emblems, one the thunderbolt of Adad and the other a dog. Ménant gives a second example, in his fig. 122, of almost the same design, only the thunderbolt stands before the divine seat and there is a crescent.

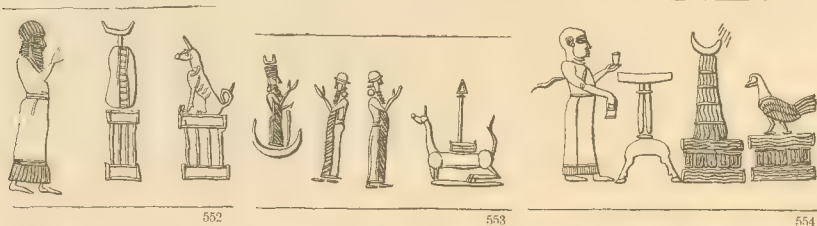


We can not do better than to reproduce from Ménant several other impressions of cylinders on tablets. That in fig. 546 is dated in the thirteenth year of Nabonidus; that of fig. 547 in the reign of Cambyses; fig. 548 is on a tablet dated in the twelfth year of Darius. We see here a new series of motifs on the cylinders and yet not wholly new, for they are all found in the kudurrus. The irregular oval object resting on the divine seats, and surmounted by a star or a crescent, is not easy to explain,

but it is not itself important except as the support for the star of Ishtar and the crescent of Sin. It may represent, in a corrupted form, the horned turban of the god as seen, two or three together, on kudurrus. Those turbans are not distinguished by emblems, but they usually represent Anu, Inlil, and Ea. (See figs. 1269, 1271, 1272.) Here they may be conventionalized, and are then distinguished by their emblems, the star or the crescent. The goat-fish, with the raven's head on an ashera above it, in fig. 548, represents Ea. The ashera with a lion's head in figs. 546, 547 is meant for Zamama-Ninib.



These figures have been taken from impressions of cylinders on dated tablets; but there are many cylinders whose period may be easily gathered from these by comparison, and they give some other symbols. One of the same style is seen in fig. 549 which gives us simply the three divine seats on which are the emblems of three gods, one evidently Sin, but the others not so clear. The center one looks like horns, but may be a form of the thunderbolt of Adad. The deity represented by the dog seems to be Bau-Gula. Another is fig. 550, in which a worshiper stands before two divine seats, on one of which is the emblem of Sin and on the other that of Ishtar. In 550a we have the emblems of Sin and Adad and a worshiper. In fig. 551 the emblems of Sin and Ishtar are both over the divine seat, before which the worshiper stands. Behind him is a tree, at the foot of which is a dog, or



jackal, and a rampant sphinx stands before three lines of inscription. In fig. 552 the worshiper stands before a crescent and a dog. This is a very handsome lapis-lazuli cylinder.

An interesting design appears in fig. 553. Here the owner of the cylinder is repeated in the attitude of worship before Sin (standing on his crescent) and the emblem of Marduk. We shall find this figure of Sin in the crescent repeated in another style in the Persian cylinders. Yet another emblem, that of a gallinaceous bird, is shown in fig. 554. Here the worshiper with a vase and a pail stands before a table with ox's feet. The object on one of the divine seats is elongated, and on it is the crescent of Sin; on the other is the bird. Of what deity it is the emblem is not yet determined. In fig. 555 we have a similar figure of a worshiper before a symbol of the god Sin, and the inscription giving the name of the god. In fig. 556

we have a cylinder much like that in fig. 554 where the worshiper stands before the emblem of Sin and a bird.

We have seen the goat-fish already on the impressions of cylinders or tablets. An unusually fine cylinder with this design is shown in fig. 557. The cylinder is remarkable for its unique material, a rich blue quartz, *not* lapis-lazuli, as given by Ménant. Here the worshiper stands before the divine seat, on which is the goat-fish emblem of Ea, with the column of the goat's head above it, and above them the crescent. Then we have, as a fresh emblem, two human-headed scorpions facing each other. These scorpions seem to be mentioned in the Gilgamesh epic. Another cylinder with a similar design is shown in fig. 1278. Here the worshiper stands before the man-scorpion in an attitude of worship. The scorpion represents Ishkhara. There is also the goat-fish of Ea, and above it we see the supreme Ashur, somewhat in the Persian shape, with the circle lost from the winged disk. This may be a somewhat later cylinder of the Persian period.



At times these cylinders carried nothing but emblems of gods, with the worshiper before them. Such a case appears in fig. 558. Here we have the emblems of Marduk with his fantastic animal before it, and that of Nebo to the right. The divine seat is quite reduced.



The various emblems are the peculiar characteristic of the cylinders of this period which begins from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, or his father, and extends into the period of the Persian kings, when the cylinder was passing into the cone seals, which were generally engraved simply with columns or asheras, symbolizing the gods, more frequently Marduk and Nebo, as in fig. 558. Its simpler forms may not easily be distinguished from those of the Kassite style, which, indeed, doubtless merged into that of the last Babylonian empire. The symbols themselves will have to be treated more at length in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XXXV.

MISCELLANEOUS BABYLONIAN CYLINDERS.

A certain number of cylinders of the Older Empire, but not absolutely archaic, defy classification. Such a one is fig. 559. It shows us a hunter with a bow shooting at a wild bull on a mountain. Behind him is a nude attendant holding a short sword or knife, below which is a second knife. Between the two is a short inscription in an archaic style, on which we can read the character *Lugal*, king. The entire design is vigorous and seems to belong to the period of Sargon the Elder, and so does not belong with the hunting designs of a much later period shown in Chapter LIX.



With this may be compared another of similar vigor, seen in fig. 560. Here a lion seizes a bull from behind, and the bull kicks at the lion. A single gracefully bending reed indicates the nature of the ground, here not a mountainous region. This also appears to be of a comparatively early period.



Similarly old, probably, judging from the inscription and the garments worn by two figures, is the cylinder shown in fig. 561. This design is absolutely unique and comes nearer to being obscene than any other known. A female figure, perfectly nude, sits squat, with knees apart, over a prostrate figure, nude except for a belt, and lying on his back with his hands behind his head, apparently dying or dead. A standing figure in a short simple garment grasps the arm of the female figure and with the other hand seems to raise a weapon. The attitude of the female figure certainly suggests the whoredoms as described in Ezekiel 16: 25.

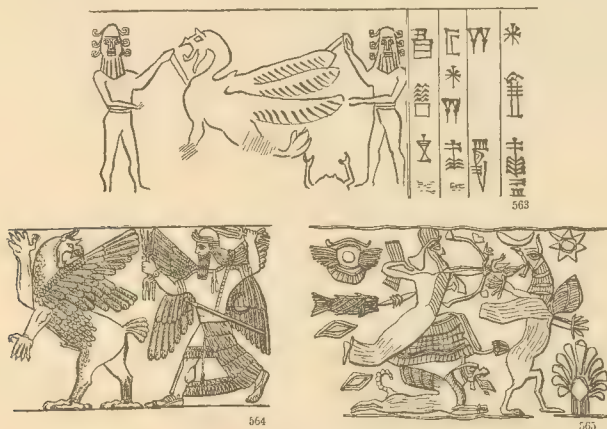


Another peculiar and quite unique cylinder we have in fig. 562. Here is a god seated on a monster which has quite the form of that which we see under the seat of Marduk on the kudurrus and on the cylinders. Before them is an altar with flame. There approach two figures, of which the first bears a branch and leads the second who carries a goat as an offering. There are six short lines of inscription. This is a quite archaic cylinder, much earlier than the emergence of Marduk. It may be that the god is Bel and that his animal, who may be an early alternative form of the dragon Tiamat, was later assumed by the Marduk of Babylon.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ASSYRIAN CYLINDERS: BEL AND THE DRAGON.

The conflict between Bel and the dragon is not found on the older Babylonian monuments. It first appears in the Assyrian period. In the earliest Chaldean art we have the dragon driven by a god in his chariot, or with the god standing on his back, but not the representation of the conflict itself. It is possible that the story of the conflict which led to the subjugation of the dragon had not yet been developed and that accordingly the mastery of the god of light and order over the representatives of darkness and disorder had not yet been figured in art. We have no representation of the sort from the earlier Babylonian period, unless we are to find it in fig. 563, which bears the name of Dungi, King of Ur, and is taken from an impression on a tablet. See fig. 51, also figs. 187*a* and *b*. Here, however, it is a figure like Gilgamesh, duplicated for symmetry, which is in conflict with a dragon.



The texts we now have of the fight between Bel Marduk and Tiamat are quite late, even in the Assyrian history, belonging to the time of Assurbanipal of the seventh century; but the essence of the story must have been considerably earlier, although originating in Babylonia. Indeed, it is distinctly two centuries earlier in Assyrian art, inasmuch as the remarkable representation of the fight between Bel and the dragon on two slabs (fig. 564), in the British Museum, comes from the temple of Ninib built by Assurnazirpal in Nimrūd, where was an earlier capital of Assyria. This standard representation, more or less varied, was often repeated on Assyrian seals and in later times was very much modified, as we shall see.

The fight between Bel and the dragon is an early cosmogonic story of the conflict between order and disorder; of the creation of the world out of monstrous chaos. Originally, if one can judge from indications gathered by L. W. King in his "Seven Tablets of Creation," it was another god of an older time, either Ea or

the Elder Bel-Inlil, who overcame the ocean monsters; but as Babylon came to be the chief capital of the country, the local god of Babylon, Marduk, was made the chief Bel Marduk of the pantheon and assumed the conquests of the local gods who had ruled at Eridu and Nippur. From this time Marduk was Bel; and it was he who overcame Tiamat, and it was he who had the fifty names of conquest and glory. Doubtless the story of the fight between Bel and the dragon originated at a very early period, even although the actual conflict is not distinctly given in early Babylonian art. To be sure, we have such figures of a winged composite monster from a period of extreme antiquity, indeed the same as was put on the great bas-relief of Assurnazirpal; it is not represented in the act of conflict, but as thoroughly subdued and therefore not killed. We have already seen it in Chapter VIII on the Dragon, where it is drawing the god's chariot, or where a deity is standing on its back. We have also seen the same dragon in conflict with a human figure on seals of a somewhat less antiquity in Chapter XXIX, but in these cases it seems to be less the victory of Bel over the dragon than it is the victory of the dragon over a human antagonist.

The story as told in the "Seven Tablets of Creation" represents Marduk as slaying the dragon Tiamat and dividing her body to create the firmament and the earth out of the two portions. This is very likely a late development of the story; for, as has been said, in the earliest art the dragon is not slain, but simply subdued. Equally there have been other radical variations in different localities. A quite different version was in the mind of the artist of Assurnazirpal, inasmuch as his dragon is masculine, and not, like Tiamat, feminine. Equally thus in the version given by King ("Seven Tablets of Creation," p. 117) the dragon is masculine. The text reads:

Who was the serpent (dragon)
 Tamtu was the Serpent
 Bel in heaven hath formed
 Fifty kaspu is his length, one kaspu (his height)
 Six cubits is his mouth, twelve cubits (his)
 Twelve cubits is the circuit of (his ears)
 For the space of sixty cubits he a bird,
 In water nine cubits he draggeth
 He raiseth his tail on high

The tablet, unfortunately broken, goes on to tell how the gods appealed to Sin to attack the dragon, now called not *siru*, serpent, but *labbu*, lion, as if both the serpent form and the lion-headed form were familiar to the writer. The dimensions given, however, make it a serpent rather than the composite monster with wings which we find more frequently on the seals. The length is given as fifty *kaspu*, that is, about three hundred miles, while the breadth of his mouth is only six cubits. He is to be conceived of as a serpent, most probably of such a form as is to be seen in the rare cylinders of the most archaic period shown in figs. 106-108, where he takes the serpent form with a human head and is bent in the shape of a boat on which a god rides, perhaps Ea or Enlil, the Elder Bel; or of the serpent form of the myth to be given later (figs. 578, 579). It is to be observed that in this version of the myth the verbs and pronouns referring to the dragon are masculine, and that the name given to him is not Tiamat, but its masculine Tamtu. The serpent form of the dragon, whether masculine or feminine, has thus far been found in conflict with Marduk only on two cylinders. The last line quoted above, "He raiseth his tail on high," suggests the dragon of Marduk, fig. 1300.

The usual dragon is a quadruped, with the head and fore legs of a lion, the hind legs of an eagle, a short tail of a bird, and a body covered with feathers. In the bas-relief from Nimrūd, the phallus has the head of a snake. As figured in the bas-relief the god has four wings and carries a thunderbolt in each hand; and his peculiar weapon, the sickle-shaped scimitar, hangs by his side, as does also a third slender weapon. On the cylinders the god may shoot his three-pronged arrow of lightning from a bow. He is usually accompanied by a smaller figure, much like Tiamat, which is probably to be regarded as one of the evil spirits which he called to his aid; for this form is not peculiar to Tiamat, but may be given to any demon of storm or pestilence.



Perhaps the best example of these cylinders is shown in fig. 565. It is also probably one of the oldest, as it is one of the largest of the class. Here the weapons of the god are the bow, a quiver, and an ax. He is accompanied by a monster which differs from Tiamat not only in size but also by having a tail like a dog, or, more likely, a scorpion. In the field are a sacred tree, a winged disk (which may here be Shamash and not Ashur), the crescent of Sin, the star of Ishtar, a fish, and two ovals which are usually regarded as female emblems, but which are quite as likely to be the Egyptian eye.

For some years the only known example of this design was that figured by George Smith in his "Chaldean Account of Genesis" (revised ed., p. 114). This cylinder is now in the Metropolitan Museum and is shown in fig. 566. It appears to be later than the former. The god has from his shoulders the double ray, or quiver, often seen in the later Assyrian figures of gods. Two worshipers are figured, one kneeling; also the oval or rhomb, the winged disk, and the seven dots, which seem to represent the Igigi or perhaps, as Hommel says, the god of the planet Saturn.



Another excellent example of this design appears in fig. 567. Here we have two scenes, one the fight of Marduk with the dragon, the other a worshiper before his goddess Ishtar. Marduk shoots with a bow and carries his scimitar in his belt. Here the dragon seems to stand on a mountain, which is a startling variation from the myth as we have it, inasmuch as Tiamat is a creature of the ocean rather than of the land. Another example is shown in fig. 568. Here a second deity follows the god and carries his thunderbolt for him. In fig. 569 the god also seems to have an

associate in the battle. In fig. 570, again, we see the god with his favorite trident arrow and the two rays from his shoulders. We have a peculiar scene in fig. 571 where the frequent confusion appears by which the god Marduk is replaced by the usual type of Gilgamesh, who attacks the dragon with a spear. There is a rampant ibex, also a bird, and a monkey on the top of a tree. In fig. 572 the god seizes the dragon by the leg. It is not quite easy to explain the calf lying down so quietly before the god and showing no excitement over the conflict, unless it be by its raised tail.



Among other illustrations of this design may be shown fig. 573 and fig. 575. It is well here to consider fig. 574, on a very much worn and large cylinder of hematite, but of a style usual on soft serpentine, which seems to indicate that it belongs to a class of early Assyrian or neighboring cylinders which I have been inclined to regard as being earlier than 1000 B. C. It has the wide herring-bone border. The god is on one knee and shoots at the dragon with a bow. The dragon's tail is more that of a scorpion. The condition of the cylinder is such that it is not possible to make out the full details. The seal is interesting as an indication of the early appearance of this design in Assyrian art, but with a winged, bird-headed god.



A peculiar and very interesting cylinder is given in fig. 576. Here we find that the deity, usually figured as Marduk, is replaced by a composite figure with the lower body of a scorpion. On one of the kudurrus (fig. 1287, W.A.I., V, 57) is a scorpion-man shooting with a bow. He has been supposed to represent the Sagittarius of the sign of the Zodiac. This appears to show us what was the foe at which his arrow was directed. Unfortunately, it is not certain who was the god that takes the form of the scorpion-man. It is, of course, not the same as the simple scorpion, which represents the goddess Iskhara. And the scorpion Sagittarius can not be Marduk, since his emblem appears on the kudurrus. But just as Marduk, in his victory over Tiamat, supplanted earlier gods whose rôle this was, so in later times, or in other regions, when the hegemony of Babylon had come to an end, the conquest may have been ascribed to other local deities. Another illustration of the confusion

which attached to this design in a later period is seen in fig. 577. Here two gods, or, rather, the same one duplicated for symmetry, unite in lifting a dragon by the hind legs, much in the attitude of Gilgamesh. It will be observed that the deity has the short garment with horizontal stripes, of a Hittite god, while a worshiper stands before Ishtar, after the Assyrian style.

In two cases we have the composite dragon replaced by the serpent. It has been mentioned that in one version of the story the description and dimensions show that the figure of the serpent was in mind. One of these is known as the "Williams Cylinder," first described by me in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," 1881, p. 224, in an article on "The Serpent Tempter in Oriental Theology," and from there it was copied by Professor Sayce in his revised edition of Smith's "The Chaldean Account of Genesis," p. 90. This cylinder was obtained by the Rev. W. Frederick Williams, an American missionary in the region of Mosul. He bought it from an Arab, who had just come over the river from Layard's diggings near Mosul in 1857.



Mr. Williams presented it to his brother on learning soon after that a son had been named after him; and it passed from the hands of this son, Prof. Frederick Wells Williams of Yale University, into my possession and that of the Metropolitan Museum. It is shown in fig. 578. The god thrusts at the serpent's mouth with a lance or similar weapon. The serpent is very long and has a peculiar horned head. There is one worshiper and probably an attendant deity. In the field are also the crescent, the rhomb, the seven dots (one missing), and two small trees.

Since the discovery of this unusual cylinder, the British Museum has secured another of remarkable interest, first published by C. W. King (fig. 579). The serpent is not only horned, but he has two short arms and two hands. The god is armed with thunderbolts in each hand and is followed by a companion deity with a club. A worshiper stands before the serpent and god. In the field are a star, the sun in a crescent, and a rhomb.

These two seals are of great importance for the fresh version they give of the myth. They show us that in the region where these cylinders were made a form of

the story was current in which Tiamat, whether female or whether the masculine Tamtu, assumed the form of the serpent. That is, it took the form which was incorporated into the Genesis story of the temptation of man; for the biblical story of the temptation, although adapted to a pure monotheism, must have been a part of a cycle of which the Tiamat story is another episode. We may conjecture that these are not purely Assyrian cylinders, but that they originated in some region to the north or west of Assyria, whether that of the Mitani or the Hittites, and that it was directly from them that the Israelites got the story of the serpent tempter, and not directly from the Babylonians or Assyrians.



There are many other variants of this scene of conflict in which the artists delighted, especially in the later Assyrian period, while they seem sometimes to have almost lost the original story. In fig. 580 the head of the monster is still that of a lion, but the attitude is more nearly that of a horse. Besides the star, the fish, and the rhomb, we observe also a bird, such as we shall later see the god fighting



with. But more frequently the monster took the head as well as the wings and hind legs of an eagle. Thus in fig. 581 we find that the god, who has necessarily lost his scimitar, seizes two monsters arranged symmetrically, each with the bird's beak. We have the same design in fig. 582, where the god has four wings. In this case there is a Phœnician or, more likely, early Aramaic inscription, but the design is pure Assyrian. A good example of this design appears in fig. 583, unusually well engraved and showing the several garments of the god as well as the care in decorating his enemies. Yet another is seen in fig. 584. Here we observe that the god wields an ax instead of a scimitar, which indicates a foreign influ-

ence. A very handsomely engraved cylinder is shown in fig. 585, where the god is evidently Marduk with his scimitar, and the dragon is, with the exception of the bird's head, the conventional Tiamat. We have also a peculiarly developed sacred tree. But in fig. 586, another elaborate cylinder, the design is considerably confused, and Marduk and Gilgamesh are combined in one. The face is that of Gilgamesh, and the hero, or god, holds the two griffins in the attitude familiar with Gilgamesh when he lifts up the lion.

From conceiving of the dragon as a monster having a bird's head as well as legs and tail, and feathers over the body, the transition was not difficult to regarding it as entirely a bird. But for this the favorite form was that of an ostrich and not of an eagle or vulture. The eagle was already the emblem of a god and was regarded as a bird of good omen. But the ostrich was the largest bird known, a mysterious



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inhabitant of the deserts, swift to escape and dangerous to attack. No other bird was so aptly the emblem of power for mischief. To conquer the ostrich was a feat like that of overcoming the buffalo or the lion. Accordingly in the period about the eighth and seventh centuries B. C., when the Assyrian glyptic art was at its best, the contest of Marduk with an ostrich was a favorite subject. The feathers of the ostrich attracted the skilful hand of the engraver. A good example of this is seen in fig. 587, where Marduk, with his scimitar lifted above his head, seizes an ostrich by the tail, while another smaller ostrich precedes. In this case the smaller one does not seem to be aiding the god, but rather to be fleeing also from him. We may probably consider it as taking the place of the small dragon on the older seals, but misconceived by the artist.

More frequently the god seizes the ostrich by the neck. Such a case is shown in fig. 588. The four-winged god with his right hand holds his scimitar, and with the left hand chokes the ostrich, while the owner of the seal looks on in worship.

The most famous and one of the best examples of this scene is that shown in the cylinder of the Armenian king Urzana, given in fig. 589. Here the four-winged god grasps two ostriches, arranged in bilateral symmetry. As each hand seizes an ostrich it is not possible for him to carry his scimitar. The inscription reads:

Seal of Urzana, King of the City of Muzazir, the capital city, which is fortified (?) with *ushu* stone, which is built high up on dangerous mountains in full view.—PRICE.

This king met Sargon in battle 714 B. C. The history of this cylinder, one of the earliest to reach European scholars, is given in Chapter II. It is now in the Museum of The Hague. The inscription is not reversed on the seal.

In fig. 590, which appears to be later, or at least less carefully engraved, the god, still four-winged, seizes the two ostriches by the neck. Under the winged emblem of Ashur is a star, and under that the conical column with its two streamers, which probably still symbolizes Marduk notwithstanding the added streamers. By it is what may be a vase, and we find also a fish and a rhomb. A yet coarser example, wholly cut with the wheel, is shown in fig. 591. The right-hand column



is again the emblem of Marduk, and the other may perhaps represent Nebo, under an unusual form. In an equally rude cylinder, but cut in a soft stone with the free hand, is fig. 592, where the kneeling god seizes the ostrich by the neck and holds the scimitar in his other hand. Among other examples may be mentioned fig. 593, in which the god seems to carry a stone as weapon, as well as his own scimitar. Similarly in fig. 594 the god carries three weapons, a scimitar, a stone, and a bow. In fig. 595 the god stands with one foot on an ibex, and in the field we observe a star, a crescent, and a low plant. In this connection, for the sake of the ostrich, we may consider fig. 597, although it is quite doubtful whether it represents a god or a mere hunting scene. The attitude, which is very fine, is quite unlike the formal Assyrian work, but we have remnants of Assyrian writing. The strong and hairy hunter, quite nude, attacks a lion, while before it is a deer and behind it an ostrich.

There are a few examples of cylinders in which evidently the same god Marduk has a fight not with a single ostrich, nor even with two symmetric ostriches, but with three very strong and vicious birds, a sort of *Stymphalides*. Such an example is in fig. 596. The design is about the same in the several cases: in each the god seizes one bird by the neck, another by the leg, while a third on its back on the

ground is savagely attacking the god's foot. We are reminded of the battle of Hercules Melkarth with the three birds, olor, aquila, and vultur, related to the constellation Lyra, according to Robert Brown, Jr., in "Academy," July 20, 1895. Very much like this is fig. 598. (Compare fig. 526.) But we have an interesting variation in fig. 599 where the god, holding in one hand what may be a net or lasso, puts his foot on the bird, while a scorpion-man looks on, whether in support of the god or the bird is not very clear. There is also what looks like a goat. We may judge that the scorpion-man is the foe of the god from the cases in which a god attacks a scorpion-man, or even two such monsters. Such a case we have in fig. 600. But in a very rude, and doubtless late, cylinder (fig. 601) we find the scorpion-man, the Sagittarius of the Zodiac, pursuing a dragon, which seems to have the head of a bird.



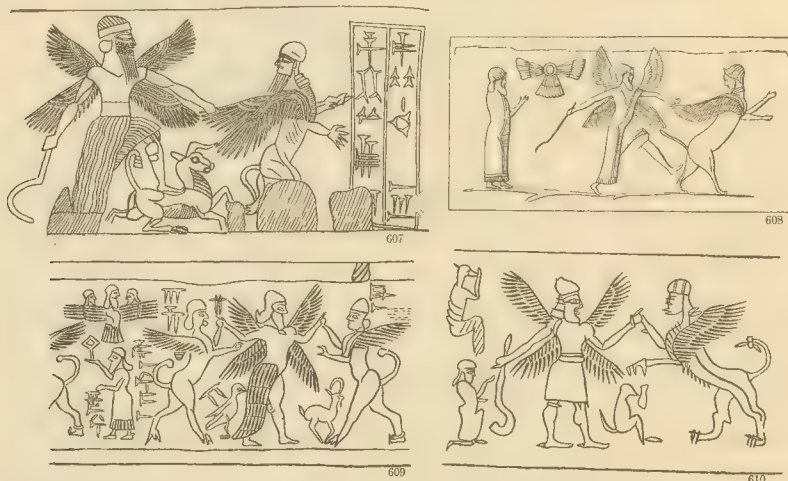
It was doubtless the Egyptian influence that led to the later frequent representation of the Tiamat-dragon foe of the demiurge Marduk as a sphinx. The sphinx came, however, so late into Assyrian art that we are not to regard it as an immediate result of the Egyptian conquests of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties; nor yet does it seem to have been as early as the Hittite and Syrian seals, which were immediately influenced by that conquest. In the reign of Assurbanipal this was a very favorite design, and we can hardly be mistaken in seeing here the influence of the later Assyrian conquest of Egypt, although we can not be certain but that in some cases the seals are earlier. An unusual illustration, which combines both conventions, that of the bird-headed dragon (or griffin) and the sphinx, is shown in fig. 602. It was not to be expected that the artist would venture thus to break the rule of complete symmetry, yet we have such cases in fig. 603 and fig. 604. In fig. 603 the presence of the nude winged goddess shows the Western, Syrian, or Hittite influence.

While the composite scorpion-man, in the form of a Sagittarius, is bearded, the sphinx is usually beardless. It would hardly be safe to conclude that this is

due to the memory that Tiamat was feminine. It is quite as likely that in following the Egyptian form the Assyrians retained its usual convention. The Greeks naturally assumed that the beardless sphinx was feminine.



Yet occasionally the vagary of the artist led him to give the sphinx a beard. Such would naturally be the case when it was developed from a bull, as in fig. 605, where the bull's horn is retained in a way to suggest the unicorn. Here we have Ashur's winged disk over the sacred tree. Also in fig. 606 the sphinxes seem to be



nude, though the wings of the god and his peculiar dress show that this is not a purely Assyrian seal, and the little dogs suggest the same thing. But in a large and vigorous design shown in fig. 607 it is clear that the sphinx is bearded, while the god carries the weapon of Marduk. To be sure, he has his foot on the bull of Adad, which again illustrates the confusion of the mythology of this late period.

Many illustrations might be given of the beardless sphinx. One of these is shown in fig. 608, where the god holds his scimitar, and we have the winged disk of Ashur and a worshiper. Another excellent one, more than usually developed, is seen in fig. 609, where a bird and an ibex are seen under the wings of the sphinx, and the winged Ashur shows the triple heads over the worshiper. In another (fig. 610) the god, in a short garment, more like that of a Hittite god, carries the scimitar of Marduk. There are also two sitting apes and a half-length worshiper. A peculiar case appears in fig. 611, in which the god grasps the sphinx, much as Gilgamesh might a lion, while preparing to kill it with his scimitar. Under the winged disk is a human-headed bull, with hands lifted as if to support it, as is sometimes



seen in Hittite art, where two bulls are in this attitude under the winged disk. Besides there are a worshiper, a crescent, a star, a rhomb, and a fish. In the case of fig. 612 we observe the short embroidered skirt of the god and the two low plants. There are peculiar features in fig. 613. Here the god has his foot on a third sphinx. We have also the nude winged goddess, front view, but face in profile, which suggests a western or northern influence. In fig. 614 the god lifts two winged sphinxes by the hind leg, and above are two small animals in a recumbent position.

Very numerous are the Assyrian cylinders in which the god attacks a winged bull. It is not easy to conceive of the winged bull, the good spirit which protects the entrances of Assyrian palaces, as a form of Tiamat, spirit of chaos and all evil. It is much more likely that there is here the confusion which we have observed between Marduk and Gilgamesh, and that we have a variation of the Gilgamesh

myth, in which the bull attacked by the hero, as well as the hero himself, is ornamented with wings. But the bull is by no means always winged. Thus in fig. 615 the convention of one of the forms of the Gilgamesh story is well revived. The god lifts the bull, here the short-horned bison, by a hind foot, while on the other side it is attacked by a lion. This is an unusually fine and large seal, in red quartz. On the ends the copper plates are preserved, through which the doubled copper wire passed, making a loop at one end of the cylinder, for suspension, and the two



extremities of the wire are clamped over on the other end. So in fig. 616 the bulls are not winged and the thick hair of the bison is well expressed. The bull with wings is seen in fig. 619 where the god carries his scimitar, and in fig. 618 where he attacks two bulls. A very elaborate example of gem engraving is given in fig. 617, which shows admirably the rich embroidered garments with their succession of fringes.

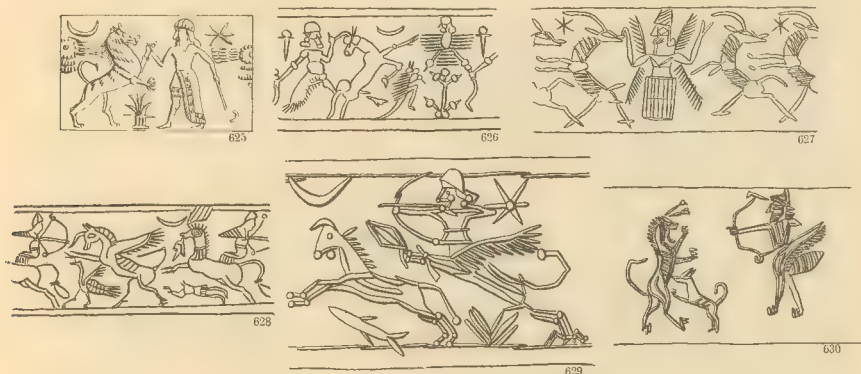
The artist may vary his conceit as well as his symmetry, by representing the god as attacking on the one side a lion-sphinx and on the other a winged bull. Such



a case we have in fig. 620, where we have also, in the field, an ibex, a star, a fish, perhaps a scorpion-man, and another uncertain object. In fig. 621 he attacks on one side a winged bull and on the other a griffin.

In quite a number of cases the god, generally without wings, attacks not a composite animal, but a lion or bull or other animal naturalistically drawn. There may be figured with him, however, a subordinate object which indicates his divine character. We have such a case in fig. 622, where the god, attacking a lion with his scimitar, has his foot on a griffin. There is also a sacred tree evidently patterned

on a palm. We may safely assume that it is the same scene that is depicted in other cases, as in fig. 623, where the god is identified solely by his characteristic scimitar. Another example appears in fig. 625, where we have the winged disk, the crescent, the star, and a low plant or sacred tree. It is the same god who in fig. 624 attacks a bull, while a scorpion-man stands behind the god. Equally in fig. 626 we see the god attacking a bull, while we have a sitting monkey, a sacred tree under the winged emblem of Ashur, a crescent, and the Egyptian crux ansata. Quite curious, and showing decided foreign influence, is fig. 627, in which the rudely drawn winged god seizes two ibexes. Equally foreign seems fig. 628, in which the god is on horseback and shoots with his bow, after the Parthian fashion, a winged monster, perhaps a horse, which pursues him, while under his own horse is a headless man, and a bird follows, perhaps to feed on the carcass. It is by no means clear in this case that we have a variant of the story of Bel and the dragon; it may be the rendition of quite another tale current among the wilder hunters of the countries to the north or east. Indeed in all these more naturalistic scenes we appear to feel the influence



of the early Babylonian art with the contests with wild beasts of Gilgamesh and Eabani, quite as much as that of Marduk and Tiamat.

In this connection we may properly consider those cases in which the wild imagination of the artist is directed towards the god as well as his antagonist. We have already seen in fig. 576 the god replaced by a scorpion-man. Other variations occur. Another such case we see in fig. 630, where a scorpion-man shoots at a lion. In fig. 629 a bull is pursued by a sort of archer-centaur, but with the hind legs of an eagle. Other accessories in this very rude example are a star, a crescent, a rhomb, a fish, and a simple plant or tree. Quite similar is fig. 631. Here a centaur-archer attacks the fleeing dragon. In the field are a star, a crescent, and a fish. In neither of the last two cases can one suppose a purely Assyrian design; and the guilloche border here indicates as much. Yet this is not in the style of the Syro-Hittite cylinders which we shall consider later. Fig. 21 shows us a centaur of the Kassite period. Very probably we have here a hunter god, a sort of Esau, of one of the neighboring regions whose mythology and whose art can not yet, with our imperfect materials, be separated from those of Assyria which affected them so much. A similar centaur is shown in fig. 632, in which the archer-centaur shoots

a lion-headed winged creature, which has the tail of a lion, but apparently the body of a horse. In this case we have the remains of what was a rude guilloche border. In fig. 633 the centaur has the body of a lion and attacks a lion.

In other cases the god takes the head and wings of an eagle, such as was called Nisroch in the earlier days of Assyriology, when the name of Nisroch was imagined to be somehow derived from a Hebrew word for "eagle"; but it is more likely that the name "Nisroch" is a corruption for either Marduk or Nusku.

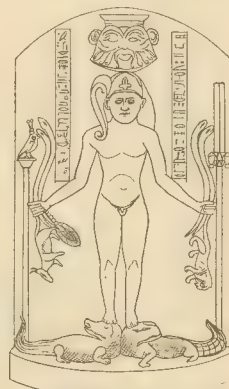
A good example of this is shown in fig. 634, in which both the god and his antagonist are eagle-headed, while between them is the bull over which they seem to be fighting. This style is much like that of the ninth century, of the time of Assurnazirpal. In fig. 635 two winged gods appear to be fighting over a prostrate bull, while between them is a winged sphinx with his head turned backward. We have another very neat example in fig. 636. Here the god seizes a bull by the tail and, reaching his other hand behind him, touches the same bull's mouth. In fig. 637 a wingless god seizes two ibexes by the horn. The scene is inclosed by



two spear-pointed columns and below are a crook and a trident. In fig. 638 the god is again wingless and holds a scimitar and seizes a lion by the head. It is very doubtful whether in such cases as these we are to consider the god as Marduk or any other chief deity. He is quite as likely to be one of the multitude of subordinate protecting powers which the Assyrians loved to represent as guarding their palaces and temples, like the cherubs of the Hebrew religion and the Amshasbands of Zoroastrianism. Yet it is one of these winged subordinate deities that is kneeling before the god as he seizes the bull, such a figure as stands by the sacred tree.

In the study of the Persian seals we shall have occasion to observe the development, or rather the degradation, of this motif of Bel and the dragon. It became dominant in the Avestan religion, but was less developed in Persian art. It appears early in Egyptian and in the contest between Horus and the serpent Apep (figs. 639, 640); and we may presume that it was by the combination of the Assyrian (or Babylonian) story of Bel and the Dragon with the Egyptian story of Horus and Apep that we get the two examples (figs. 578, 579) with the serpent. It was confused with the myth of Gilgamesh, and in this form reached Greek art and mythology, so that Hercules strangled both lions and serpents. We still retain it in the story of Saint George and the dragon (fig. 647), the saint being simply another form for Marduk.

In the Sassanian period of Persia we have a very interesting illustration of the same thought of the conflict between the powers of light and darkness, order and chaos, the demiurge and Satan, in fig. 641. Here the dragon is again a serpent, as in Egypt, the two figures 578, 579, and in the Genesis story of the temptation of Adam. The god on horseback, like Saint George, pierces the seven-headed serpent with his spear. The foe of the gods was a serpent in the Avestan literature. Azi-dahaka was "three-mouthed, three-headed, six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish *drug*." ("Sacred Books of the East," Zend-Avesta, II, p. 294.) And there was "the snake Srvara, the horse-devouring, men-devouring, yellow, poisonous snake, over which yellow poison flowed a thumb's breadth thick" (*ib.*, p. 295). With this should be compared a round seal with a god on horseback spearing a one-headed serpent figured by Levy, "Siegel und Gemmen," Tafel III, a, on which Mordtmann recognizes three probably Pahlavi, and Levy Sabea, characters.



We may here, though very doubtfully, consider a very few cylinders in which a god, or two gods, may attack what seems to be a giant figure, partially or wholly human, that has been forced upon his knees. In fig. 642, a cylinder which seems to be of an early period and from the region about Assyria, the giant, if we may call him so, has fallen on one knee and rests his hands unresistingly on his hips. He is clad in a close garment about his body. He wears a crown of feathers, with two strange feathered curls on each side of his head, which is in front view. On each side he is attacked by a god (but very likely meant only for a single god treated symmetrically) with quivers from his shoulders, as Adad is represented with Ishtar. One of the gods smites with an ax and the other with a sword. There is a worshiper and also a small tree. With this is to be compared fig. 643, where the gigantic monster has great clawed feet and his head has a single curl on each side. He is attacked by a god, presumably, with a sickle weapon and with curious spurs to his feet, who looks backward towards a fish. In this case the radiations from the head and the lack of beard on the monster, together with the sickle-shaped scimitar, naturally suggest that this is an early form of Perseus killing the Gorgon. But it is not likely

that these are female figures, and we do not see, as in the archaic forms of the Greek Gorgon, either the protruding tongue or the wings. This is more likely to be some figure corresponding to the giants with whom Zeus and the other gods fought, although their legs do not take the form of serpents, as in the Gigantomachia.

Another example, apparently somewhat later, is shown in 644. The "giant" appears to be bearded and has a horned headdress. He is attacked on each side by a god, one of whom lifts an ax. There is a worshiper of the Assyrian type, and there are also the crescent, the seven dots, and the asheras of Marduk and Nebo.



With these three cylinders may be compared a fourth (fig. 645) of a quite unusual type, in that it gives us only the head of the "giant" and the head of a fantastic animal. The human head is clearly bearded from the mouth, and so not a feminine necklace ornament, and we see the same kind of curls as are shown in fig. 642. There are also a star, a rhomb, and a crescent over the ashera of Marduk.

In the case of these designs we have beyond question a conflict between a god and his foe, the monstrous enemy being completely overcome. In fig. 646, however,



the same personage seems more definitely to be assimilated to Gilgamesh. The position, the dress, and the crown are as in the designs just shown, but he lifts by the leg two ibexes attacked by winged lion-like monsters, while a small four-winged deity attacks the two monsters. Yet it is not at all clear that this design has any genetic relation with the Chaldean notion of the fight between Bel and the dragon. Indeed it is probable that it has an independent origin. It may have a relation to the Egyptian Bes, who was in Egypt a foreign god; and on the other hand it is not unlikely that it is related to the Greek Gigantomachia.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ASSYRIAN CYLINDERS: THE SPOUTING VASE.

One of the most remarkable and imaginative of the motives of the early Babylonian art is that of the gift of water to man. The gods were the source of water. It was from the gods that water must be supplied to their world, whether in the form of rain or by the successive risings of the Tigris and Euphrates. We have an admirable illustration of this in fig. 129. One of the gods, Ea, was particularly the god of waters and wisdom. His charge was the lower waters, the waters of the ocean and the earth, of rivers and fountains; all the waters that are under the heavens and those that have subterranean sources. The waters that are above the heavens were controlled by Shamash. His emblem is easy to recognize. It is the solar disk, with four triangular rays, which later develop into a Greek cross. These rays point outward from the center and, alternating with them, there are four streams of water represented by two or three undulating lines, as frequently seen, particularly in the bas-relief of the Sun-god from Abu-habba (fig. 310). Shamash sails through the upper waters in a boat, as seen in fig. 293. I have identified the numerous figures, from the art of the older Chaldean Empire, of a seated god holding a vase from which streams of water gush, as the Sun-god Shamash, and I so designated him in my "Handbook" Catalogue of the cylinders in the Metropolitan Museum. M. Léon Heuzey, however, the most profound scholar who has studied the origins of Babylonian art, has brought evidence to show that in some cases the god with the spouting vase is Ea. In his luminous paper "Sceau de Goudéa" (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, v, 4, 1902) and in a previous chapter "Le Symbole du Vase Jaillissant" in his "Les Origines Orientales" M. Heuzey has gathered the evidence which assigns to Ea these and other representations of gushing or spouting vases, and on his study much of the discussion of this chapter must rest.

The earliest representation of this vase to which we can assign an approximate date is that on the famous seal of the Elder Sargon (fig. 26). A kneeling figure *de face*, exactly that of the Gilgamesh who fights lions and buffaloes, holds a vase, shaped like an aryballos, one hand on its neck and the other supporting its bowl. From the mouth of the vase spout up two streams which fall to the ground, and from one of which a buffalo drinks, lifting his head to the water. The water-buffalo is the *Bubalus*, which had not then been domesticated, but roamed wild in the swamps of the lower Euphrates. The design is evidently mythological, and represents the gift of water to a water animal, and so to the world. But it is not easy to decide whether the personage who supplies the water is Gilgamesh or some other god. One would look for Ea, if the figure were not so characteristically that of Gilgamesh. But we have no literary evidence that this rôle belonged to Gilgamesh. If it did belong to him it must have been after his death. We shall find, however, that Gilgamesh, or a figure like him, is related to superior gods, and we may have here an attendant of the great Water-god Ea. It must also be considered that the facial types which the Chaldean artist could draw upon were very few,

and others than Gilgamesh might have his head and curls. It has been more than once suggested that the two streams which in the case of the Sargon seal, as usually, fall from the vase, represent the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates; but it is more likely that the controlling principle of symmetry explains the two streams. For a number of other illustrations see the chapter devoted to "Gilgamesh with the Spouting Vase."

The design of the spouting vase is not found on the archaic cylinders which antedate the time of the Elder Sargon, unless an exception be made for fig. 102. This interesting seal shows a boat in a swamp of reeds frequented by wild boars. It is propelled by two boatmen, with poles, and between them stands a god in a horned hat, with two streams from his shoulders, and perhaps rays also. On each side are fish. There is no vase visible and the streams are not waving, but they can hardly be anything but streams. This may be the Sun-god in his boat, or perhaps Ea in his native element. This design became quite frequent after this time. A very interesting old example, probably not much later than Sargon, is shown in fig. 648. The god is set in a recess surrounded by waters, and a stream of water falls from his body on each side. On either side, as an attendant, with a mace as



a badge of office, stands the figure of Gilgamesh. He often appears in this form and evidently represents not a principal god, but a subordinate divinity, like the two porters who stand by the gates of the Sun-god Shamash. M. Heuzey makes the brilliant suggestion that this sort of mace held by the Gilgamesh and Eabani figures is the door-post of a wattled gate, such as is seen in fig. 205 and elsewhere, so that this is really an attendant porter. We can conceive him to be, in the Sargon cylinder, the assistant or intermediary of Shamash in providing water; but there is every appearance that in fig. 648 the god in the recess is Ea, and not the Babylonian Noah, as George Smith suggested.

For the seal shown in fig. 649 we are indebted to M. Heuzey, who has copied it from an "*empreinte*." It is evidently taken from a cylinder of about the Gudea period. A standing deity, in a long flounced garment, stands on a goat-fish and a man-fish. In each of his hands he holds a spouting vase. From one of them the single stream falls into a vase held in the hands of the man-fish, while from the other two streams gush and fall into a vase on the head of the goat-fish. By the latter stream stands Gilgamesh holding a vase, which it might be supposed he was filling from the stream, unless the drawing from an imperfect impression has failed to show that there is a stream from the vase held by Gilgamesh. On each side of the head of the god the figures of the goat-fish and the man-fish are repeated.

The meaning of this design is clear, and there can be little doubt that Heuzey is right in recognizing Ea. It can not be Shamash, as Shamash is figured on the

same seal, with his foot on his conventional mountain. It is especially appropriate that Ea should be figured as supplying water to the creatures of the deep, the goat-fish Capricorn and the man-fish, in whom Heuzey recognizes Oannes. This also makes Gilgamesh the attendant of Ea. The goat-fish is the special emblem of Ea, and forms the base of the seat, in the kudurrus or so-called boundary stones, on which the column of Ea, with the ram's head, rests, as shown in the chapter on the Emblems of the Gods. For other and much later examples of a god seated or standing on the goat-fish, see figs. 755-758.

Another beautiful design of the same nature (fig. 650) is given by Heuzey, from the impression on a tablet of a cylinder which contained an inscription stating that it belonged to "Gudea, patesi of Shurpura," or Tello. For description see fig. 368*a*. We can hardly doubt that the seated god is Ea.

M. Heuzey speaks of the god with serpents (Ningishzida) as helping the god to support the vase by his hand under it. We may, however, imagine that he is receiving it, to present it, as the god's gift of water, to Gudea. The god is abundantly supplied with water, as shown by these ten gushing streams, and has



many more vases which he can continuously supply to the world. One seems to see the descent from the upper to the lower waters, the "*tiamat eliti*" and the "*tiamat shapliti*," on a fragment in King's "Seven Tablets of Creation," I, p. 197. The design would then not only honor the god as the giver of water to the world, but would also honor Gudea as the patesi, who had, by making canals, supplied irrigation for his subjects. It must be remembered that no work of rulers was held to be more important than the digging and repairing of canals. They repeatedly claim in the record of their achievements the honor of having thus provided for the sustenance and welfare of their people. For an interesting variation see fig. 39*a*, where a goddess appears to be rising out of the vase with the stream, but such may not have been the intention of the artist.

The cases are few in which Ea can be recognized in the Babylonian art. It must be remembered that he was a primitive god, whose worship went much out of fashion, because he was the god of Eridu, a city which early lost its preëminence. Marduk became the chief local god of Babylon, and other cities had their special deities, but the favorite popular gods of the people were Shamash, Sin, and Ishtar; the Sun, the Moon, and Venus. In Chapter XVI, on the Seated God, evidence has been given to show that in some cases it is not easy to distinguish Shamash from Sin, and equally Ea may have been figured in much the same way. But I can not agree with Heuzey in thinking that the seated god with streams and fish is usually Ea. It is more likely to be Shamash.

The spouting vase is, in the more ancient art, not confined to the cylinders. Among the fragments discovered by M. de Sarzec at Tello, and edited by M. Heuzey, is a beautiful bit of stone with a succession of vases (fig. 651). Even more beautiful is the design on a large stone basin, an apsu or "sea" for a temple, of a succession of maidens holding vases (fig. 653). The design is very graceful, each maiden holding the neck of a vase with one hand, while the next maiden's hand supports it underneath, just as the two figures of Gilgamesh support the vase in fig. 880. A figure of the goddess Aa with the spouting vase is to be seen in fig. 652. Her name, with that of her husband Shamash, appears in the inscription. There is a worshiper with a servant bearing offerings, while behind the god is an uncertain emblem.

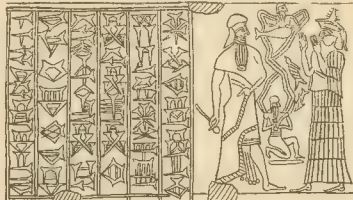


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The further use of the spouting vase in the Babylonian art has been sufficiently considered in the chapter on the spouting vase of Gilgamesh (Chapter XI) and that on the seated god with streams (Chapter XIV), and elsewhere. But in the Assyrian art this design had a new development. Indeed it began in Babylonia, perhaps, rather than Assyria, if we may judge from fig. 654. This belongs to the general Kassite style, which continued into the time of the Second Empire. Between an



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indefinite god and his consort is the man-fish above holding a vase from which two streams fall and cross, to meet in a vase held by a kneeling bearded figure below. This kneeling figure we may take to be a variant of Gilgamesh, or as the representative of the king, or of men, receiving the gift of water from above. As so frequently, the fish beside the stream certify the meaning. The inscription reads:

Dim-kira-badna
Son of Ushag-Bel.
May he be illustrious! may he be great! may he be victorious!
With long days may he be blessed!
With goodly property, food and drink!
As a charm was this seal made.—PRICE.

Fig. 655 is purely Assyrian, as indicated by the style of the inscription, which is not reversed on the seal itself, showing it was more an amulet than a seal. The inscription in three scattered lines indicates that Adad was the tutelary god. Under the winged disk, in the place of the usual sacred tree, is a kneeling female figure, with hands lifted to the wings of the disk; and on each side of her is a bearded and winged genius, lifting one hand and holding a pail or basket. These figures with a pail may indicate the supply of water for man, just as in the same figures with the sacred tree they indicate that the blessings, or fortunes, of the tree are supplied to the owner of the seal. While one thinks of Nina, the goddess related to fish and water, it is very doubtful if we can identify the kneeling figure. All the

more is it doubtful because in fig. 656, another very fine cylinder, the kneeling figure under the winged disk is bearded. Here there are no vases, but the water entirely embraces the god, as in fig. 648. It is also to be observed that the cord which usually falls from under the wings of the disk, and which ends in a tassel and is grasped by the worshiper, is here also a stream of water. This very interesting cylinder belonged to the poet Henry W. Longfellow, who presented it to the Semitic Museum of Harvard University; it was one of the seals brought to Europe by Rich.

The man-fish is not frequent on the cylinders and is not always accompanied by streams. In fig. 657 the Assyrian god who fights with various mythological creatures grasps by the wrist a man-fish on each side. In fig. 658 a worshiper stands before the man-fish and two streams fall to the ground, or, rather, to a round dot, to which, in the cone seals, the vase is reduced, as in figs. 659, 660. Another ill-drawn Assyrian cylinder with a god holding a vase with streams is figured in Ouseley's "Travels in Various Countries in the East," vol. II, plate xxxvii.

In fig. 661 the streams are present, while in fig. 661a a hand reaches down to touch the goat-fish. Unfortunately the body attached to the arm is lost in the fracture.



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661a



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Before leaving this subject it is well to call attention, here following Heuzey, to the statue of a god in the palace of Khorsabad, as given by Place, "Ninive et l'Assyrie," III, plate xxxi bis, figs. 1, 2, and shown in figs. 662a and 662b. The streams from the vase which the god holds with both hands fall down his body before and behind. This may represent Ea, or, quite as likely, considering that there are only two sets of horns to his turban, an inferior deity in charge of the waters. Heuzey recognizes the mistake of earlier writers in supposing this to be a statue of the Assyrian Sargon.

It was Ea who gathered the waters of the lower sea, the *tiamat shaplii*, which Shamash sent down from the *tiamat eliti*. The great lower waters are thus described in a hymn (King's "Seven Tablets of Creation," p. 129):

O thou River who didst create all things,
When the great gods dug thee out,
They set prosperity upon thy banks.
In the midst of thee Ea, the King of the Deep created his dwelling.
The deluge they sent not before thou wert!
Fire and wrath and splendor and terror
Have Ea and Marduk presented unto thee!
Thou judgest the cause of mankind!
O River, thou art mighty! O River, thou art
supreme! O River, thou art righteous.

Occasionally it is a goddess who is related to the streams. In the ancient design on the great basin of Shirpurla (fig. 653) it was a maiden who held the vase. In fig. 655 it is a female figure that rules the waters. We recall that in the Zend-Avesta it was Anaitis, Ardvī Anahita, who was worshiped as the "Holy Water-Spring." She says (Aban Yost, 5):

"From this river of mine alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvaris. This river of mine alone goes on bringing waters both in summer and in winter."



For her "Ahura-mazda made four horses—the wind, the rain, the cloud, and the sleet—and thus ever upon the earth it is raining, snowing, hailing, and sleeting" (*ib.*, 119). While the Persian mythological form is late, it doubtless is derived from the conceptions drawn from the Babylonian and Assyrian pantheon and cosmology.

In cases in which the water is presented to a worshiper, as in fig. 650, we may conclude that there is a relation with the water of life mentioned in the texts. The god presents the water of life to Gudea. So the streams that issue from cups held in the hand of Shamash or other gods are the water of life. And this leads us to conclude that in the numerous cases in which a god holds a cup in his hand before a worshiper introduced to him, he is not receiving a gift from the worshiper, but is benignantly offering him the symbol of life and prosperity.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ASSYRIAN CYLINDERS: THE TREE OF LIFE.

The designation of the Sacred Tree has become so established that it may be used in place of the Tree of Life, which would more definitely express the purpose of the presence of human figures or divine figures or animals before a conventionalized tree. It is only by the careful inductive study of multitudes of cases in which it appears that we can gather what was the idea of this motive in mythologic art.

Numerous questions will arise, which we desire to answer, avoiding the pre-suppositions that have been created by various hypotheses. Such questions are these: What was the original species of tree out of which the usual conventional tree has developed? In the conventional tree what are the fruits supposed to be? Why is the winged disk so frequently above the tree? Is the human figure before the tree worshipping it or worshipping the winged disk? Who are the winged figures often on one or both sides of the tree? Why do they hold a fruit in one hand? What is the purpose of the basket or pail in the other hand? Why should a fish-god stand by the tree? What is the relation of various animals to the tree? What was the historical origin of this adoration, in what country, with what people, at what time? These are questions that still need satisfactory answers.

In considering this class of cylinders under the head of Assyrian art it is implied that we find them rather in Assyria than in Babylonia; and such is the fact. Like the fight of Bel and the dragon this belongs to the north, and not at all to the early south. There is not a single case to be found in which this worship of the sacred tree appears in the early Babylonian art. Perhaps the nearest approach to it is seen in the impression of a cylinder on a tablet of the age of Dungi, of Ur, shown in fig. 663, where we have what may be a tree between two hills. On one side is the flounced goddess Aa-Shala, and on the other a worshiper. There are also the heraldic eagle and three lines of inscription on this very peculiar cylinder.



In the Assyrian art, however, we find it one of the most frequent and characteristic in use. But it covers also the region to the east and especially the west, being found in Persia, to some extent, although not often, and is abundant in the Syrian region. Evans found it as far west as the island of Crete, and says ("Mycenæan Tree," p. 55) that it is associated with goats and bulls, while lions are associated with columns.

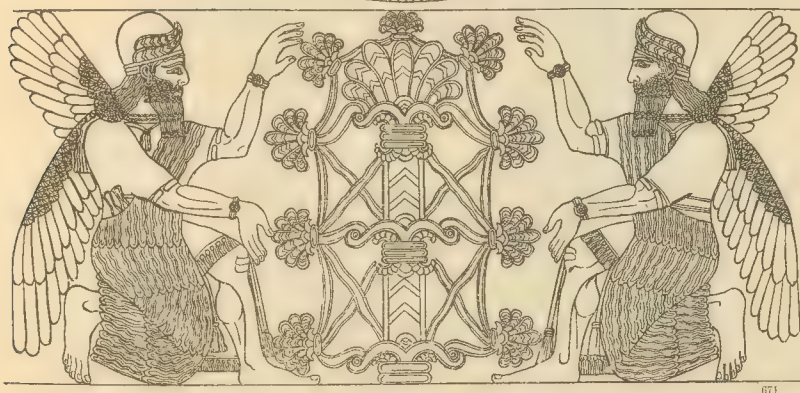
Although this so-called sacred tree is distinctly Assyrian in type, the earliest example (fig. 664) of it that we can date is from Babylonia, on the stele of Marduk-iddin-akhi, for which we have a date of 1112 B. C., given us by Sennacherib, who tells us that he recovered two statues of deities, which Marduk-iddin-akhi, King of Babylonia, had captured from Tiglathpileser I., 418 years previously. The stele shows the Babylonian king's garments freely ornamented with the sacred tree, with the palm-tree trunk, and already a conventional arrangement of branches with

fruit-like cones. Although Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art*, II, 509) have the tree also on the king's helmet, with a crouched animal each side, I can see nothing of the sort on the photographs. The other ornaments are rosettes, lines of angles, and curves. While the king was Babylonian, he had relations with Assyria, and his garments look Assyrian.



So far as we can judge, fig. 665 comes from one of the older cylinders which give us a tree of life with figures, in this case a rampant bull on one side and a winged dragon on the other. The wide border of angles (chevrons) belongs to an early period. Here the tree is evidently the date-palm, *par excellence* the fruit-tree

of the Euphrates valley. On some of these early cylinders we have low palm-trees, or palmettes. Such we see in fig. 666 where a worshiper on each side of a palm-tree seizes by the hand the cord from under the winged disk above the tree. We have a star over a crescent, over a second low palm, or palmette. The borders



above and below are of angles, or chevrons after an old style. Here, again, we can not doubt that the sacred tree is the palm. The chevrons deserve particular attention. They represent a style of ornamentation that was a favorite one in the Mycenaean period and they suggest a date from 2000 to 1200 B. C.

Though somewhat modified, we can still recognize the palm in fig. 667, also of the older type. It has the winged disk over the tree and the worshiper seizing the

cord which connects him by its divine influence with the supreme deity, and who is repeated for symmetry. We also find the star and two small trees. As the palmette represents the palm-tree just started in growth (for the palm grows of full size from the ground and simply increases in height, but not in girth, each year), so in fig. 667 we have the palm while still a low tree. Of the same type is fig. 668 with its border of angles. The palmette is seen many times in bas-reliefs. We have the same in fig. 669, where the upper register gives two worshipers before a tree of the older Assyrian type, surmounted by the divine disk, and a third worshiper



before a stand with a vase. The lower register shows a bull, a worshiper before a cow and calf attacked by a lion, and other emblems. Thus in fig. 670, from a bit of the embroidery on the royal garment of Assurnazirpal, we have a selection from a multitude of representations of both palmettes and sacred trees. It will be noticed that the fruit in these utterly conventional representations looks like pine cones, but it is rather to be thought of as the bunches of dates hanging from the tree. Even bunches of grapes are sometimes drawn with similar cross lines on the bas-reliefs. These "cones" are often seen on the palmettes and equally terminating the branches of the trees of life; and the winged figures each side of the trees carry the same cones in one hand and a basket in the other. In fig. 671 the winged figure kneels with neither fruit nor basket in the hands stretched towards the fruit. In

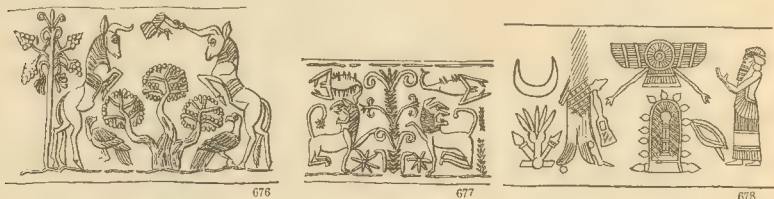
fig. 672 the two winged figures present the fruit to the king, the basket being held in the other hand. In fig. 674 the winged figure (also repeated) presents the fruit to the king, and the basket in his hand is ornamented with the tree and the same winged figures in the same attitude with fruit and basket. In fig. 673 the winged disk of Ashur is over the tree of life and the king stands in worship on each side, and behind him the winged figure holds toward him the fruit, having the basket in the other hand. In fig. 675 the winged figure, with ornamented basket, holds a triple branch with two fruits, evidently before the king. In Layard, "Monuments of Nineveh," I, plate 35, there are two such winged figures, one carrying a palm branch



and an ibex, and the other a five-parted branch of palmettes and a spotted deer. In *ib.*, plate 36, the winged figure has the head of an eagle and carries a basket and fruit. In *ib.*, plate 38, one winged figure carries a three-parted branch ending in rosettes and lotus petals; while another's branch is six-parted, each ending in what looks like the flower of a lily-of-the-valley. In *ib.*, plate 44, we see representations of the sacred tree and before it the winged bull, or the winged human figure ending below in the legs of a bird or a sphinx. For similar designs see Place, "Ninive et l'Assyrie," plates 16, 17, 46, 47; also Botta, I, plates 26, 27, 28, etc.

In these cases it seems generally clear that it is the palm that was the original of the sacred tree, as, indeed, was to be expected. And yet, rarely, we have quite a different type of tree represented somewhat naturalistically. Such a case we have in fig. 676. Here is a triple tree, with round branched heads, and on each side is

a rampant bull, with a bird under each, and between their backs a tall tree derived from the palm. This triple tree, or rather the single, round-headed tree with crooked, short trunk, is characteristic, I think, of a late period coming down to Persian times, but here it is apparently more important than the taller palm. But this form of tree we shall see in figs. 1068, 1070, 1089, 1090. It perhaps represents the fig or pomegranate, beyond question some low-growing fruit-tree, quite other than a palm, pine, cedar, or oak.



In fig. 677 we meet another case in which a lion stands on each side of the conventional tree, while above are two scorpions. Here the rosette flowers at the foot of the tree suggest a late Persian period as in figs. 1069, 1072. In fig. 679 Ashur is over the conventional tree with fruit like alternate acorns and pomegranates, while the winged figures, genii, stand on sphinxes. In 678 we have Ashur over a much conventionalized tree, a worshiper on one side and the divine figure with basket on the other; also a rhomb and the crescent over a plant.

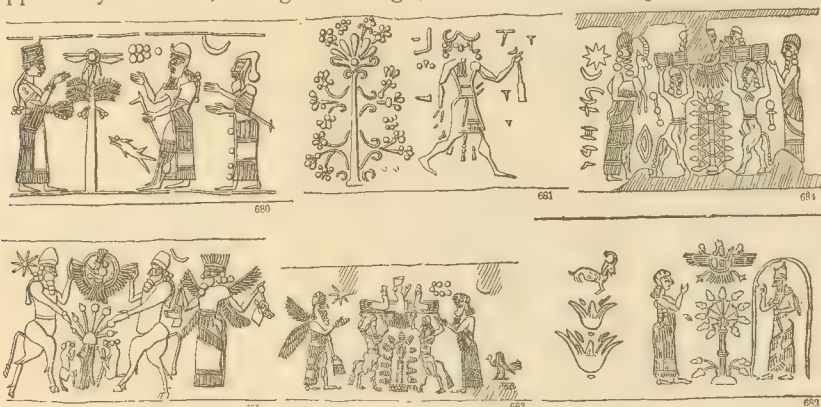
Sometimes it is solely deities that stand before the tree. Such a case is seen in fig. 680, probably a rather late seal, if we may judge from the stone, a blue chalcidony (sapphirine) which came into use near the Persian period. Here, within close border lines, is a winged disk over a naturalistic palm-tree. On one side is a god, apparently Adad with his ax, and on the other Ishtar in her square hat and holding her ring. In the field are a fish, a crescent, and the seven stars, and behind the god stands the worshiper. In this case the two deities seem to lift their hand each toward the winged disk, rather than to the tree, over which the winged disk presides in protection. The tree is both more naturalistic and less important than in many of the earlier cases in which the figure before it holds its fruit.



We have another case of the god before a sacred tree in fig. 681. Here the sacred tree is much developed with fanciful branches, but the main trunk of the tree and the fronds at the top still preserve the palm pattern. There is also on the seal the figure of a running god with face in front view, like Gilgamesh, holding in his hand an object uncertain in the worn condition of the stone. Here it is not clear that the god has any relation to the tree.

In the latter case there was no winged disk over the tree, but that is usually to be expected, and, indeed, is frequently developed into the head and bust of the god Ashur, and at times into the triple heads, one rising from each wing. An interesting case of this sort we have in fig. 682. Here the tree has, as usual, become quite conventional, while retaining the stem of the palm, but the fruit is more like an

acorn. On one side is the figure of a deified king in the niche in which Assyrian kings loved to have themselves sculptured in bas-relief on a rock near their conquests; and on the other side is a female figure in the attitude of worship, probably before the king. Behind her, in the field, is an ibex, over what may possibly be two lotuses. Another case in which we have the triple figures over the winged disk is shown in fig. 683, where the disk, developed completely into the form of the god Ashur (or Ahura-mazda), is supported by two composite figures, half man and half bull. Between them is the sacred tree with fruit like acorns. Behind them on one side is a worshiper and on the other a winged figure holding a basket in one hand and lifting a fruit in the other. This cylinder is reported to have been found in the Hauran, east of the Jordan. Another cylinder with a similar design is given in fig. 1153. Here, however, under the triple symbol of Ashur (or Ahura-mazda) and on each side of the sacred tree, the supporting composite figures have the upper body of a man, the legs of an eagle, and the tail of a scorpion. The tree is



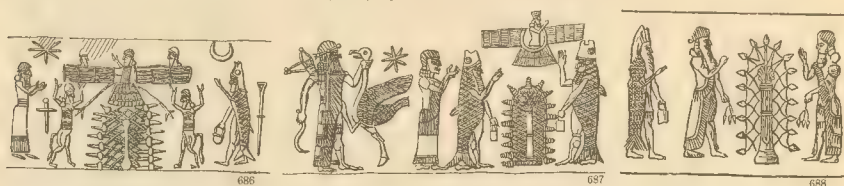
utterly conventionalized into an arch surrounding the trunk. On one side stands the female worshiper with hand lifted, and on the other a male deity. The remaining space of the seal is taken up with a figure of a god carrying in his arms two deer and two ibexes; he is in front view like Gilgamesh. There is a single small star in the field. That this design is not purely Assyrian is clear. It contains an Aramaic inscription, which epigraphically seems to belong to about the fifth or sixth century B. C. and may be read, "Belonging to Midbart," a feminine name. Similar and also with an Aramaic inscription is fig. 684. Here we have the triple Ashur, the sacred tree, the two supporting figures, half man and half bull, a worshiper on one side, and on the other a divine figure carrying an ibex, also a rhomb and other uncertain emblems, and an inscription which Levy uncertainly reads: "Son of Taharan."

An excellent example, which may be regarded as somewhat earlier, appears in fig. 685. Here the figure of Ashur with short wings is of the more Assyrian type, the tree is very simple, and the two man-bulls are of the fullest size on each side, with one hand to Ashur and one to the tree. Behind them stands a single winged god with a star over his feathered hat or crown. This crown seems to suggest a Persian or Elamite origin. In each hand the god holds the head of an ibex by the

horn. On each side of the tree is a small seated animal with one foot raised in the attitude of worship. There is also a star. The winged god with the star in his crown is the same god whom we shall see associated with Ishtar in Chapter XL.

Yet one other seal of this general type we may add (fig. 686). Here the tree is mechanically made, as indeed most of the engraving here is, with the *terebra*, and the fruit is of the acorn shape. Above it is the god Ashur in triple form, under which are the supporting figures, half bull. On one side is the worshiper and on the other a god, or subordinate protecting spirit, clothed in a fish-skin. Other emblems are a crescent, a star, a slender wedge, which may represent Nebo, and a peculiar object like a Roman cross, in which it is not easy to recognize Marduk. For another similar scene see de Clercq "Catalogue," No. 340, where the supporting figures are half bull. In the Syro-Hittite art, as in fig. 949, the bull before the sacred tree became winged and he stands on each side of the sun in a crescent resting on an Ionic column, this column being derived from the date-palm rather than from a lotus.

In a number of cylinders we have a man-fish, or a god clothed in a fish-skin, before the tree. Such a case appears in fig. 687. Here under the winged image of Ashur is a formal tree, and a god in fish-skin each side holding a pail, but not a

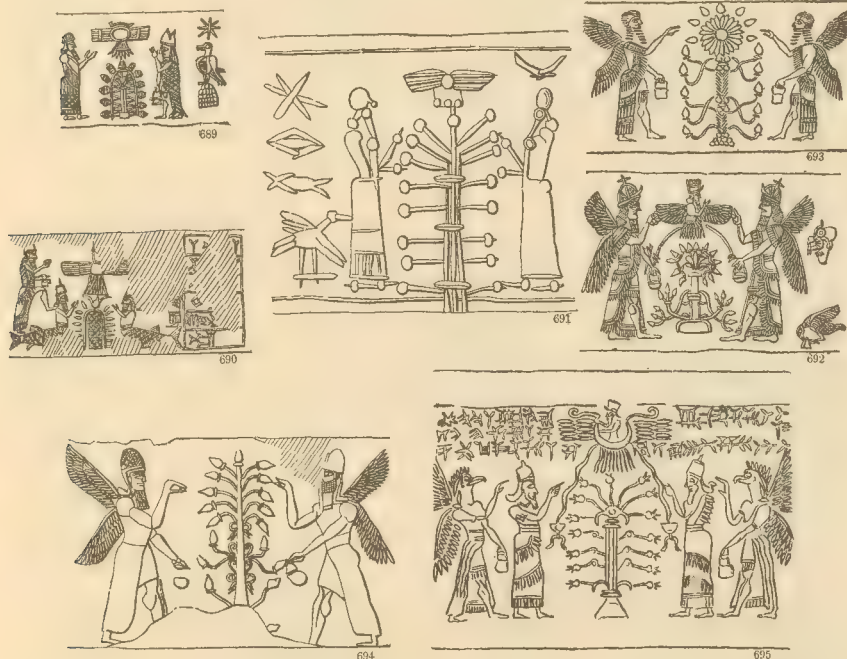


fruit. We have also Marduk, with his scimitar, attacking an ostrich, as shown in figs. 587-595, and with a quiver from his shoulder. In another case (fig. 689) the winged disk lacks the head of the god. On one side of the tree is the worshiper, and on the other the god in the fish-skin holds a pail, but not a fruit. Under a star is a hawk on an eminence. Fig. 688 is interesting for the reason that the duplicated worshiper, behind whom stands the fish-clad genius, holds in one hand a triple branch of fruit, such as we have seen above on the bas-reliefs from Layard's "Monuments," seen also in fig. 696, but which seldom appears on the cylinders. The branch of flowers or fruit on the bas-reliefs is often carried by a winged figure, but may also be carried by the king as already shown. Yet another case (fig. 690) gives the man-fish rather than the deity clad in the skin of a fish. While unfortunately this cylinder is so broken as nearly to ruin the inscription, arranged in an unusual way, horizontally, enough is left to indicate that it begins with the name of the owner. Under the image of Ashur is the sacred tree and on each side of it the man-fish, which we have seen in the last chapter on both Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders, the human body ending in that of the fish. There stands a god with one foot on the body of each fish, and the other on the shoulder of the human portion. Apparently he holds the fruit in one hand, while the other carries the pail.

We have in fig. 691 a large rude cylinder in which the figure of the worshiper simply is repeated on each side of the winged disk and tree, and the space behind the two figures is occupied by a star over a rhomb, over a fish, over a bird.

In a number of cases we have on each side of the tree of life a winged figure with a pail in one hand, while the other may or may not hold a fruit. Fig. 692 has also the emblem of Ashur, the head of a lion or monster, and a vulture feeding. Another like it is fig. 693, and yet another is fig. 694.

A very characteristic example of the relation of the worshiper to the sacred tree is seen in fig. 695, where the worshiper, wearing the royal pointed hat, holds in one hand (omitted in the drawing) the cord from Ashur, while the other hand is lifted in adoration. Behind the king is the eagle-headed winged spirit, with one hand lifted and the other holding the pail. The fact that the inscription is not reversed on the cylinder indicates its value as an amulet. The cords from under the wings of



Ashur end in an object shaped like omega (Ω), or the emblem of Belit-Ninkharshag, here perhaps thought of as the wife of Ashur. In fig. 696 the tree is simple and each branch ends with fruit shaped like a much-elongated acorn. On each side is the winged genius, holding in his hand the three-branched baresma, which might suggest that it is a branch of the tree. The Ashur above has peculiar ends to the cords from below the wings, which remind one of the talons of the eagle of Lagash, or just as much of the hands that terminate the rays from the solar disk of the Heretic King of Egypt.

Certain cases may be given in which simply a mythological animal is in some way connected with the tree and more or less related to it. What appears to be an early case, if we may judge not simply from the angular border and the less ornamental tree, is seen in fig. 697. The main tree is very straggling, and on each side

of it is a winged griffin, while a small tree is behind their backs. In fig. 698 the two "dragons" attacking a bull seem to have no relation to the tree.

Equally little relation to the finely developed tree appears in fig. 699, where a figure like Gilgamesh lifts two griffins by the hind leg. We have already seen another example in which a portion of the design is not related to the tree in fig. 687, where Marduk attacks an ostrich. We have the griffin not rampant, but walking, in fig. 700. Here we have the star, repeated, and the cross as emblem of the sun. In fig. 702 a winged dragon is on one side and on the other an unusual animal, a leopard. But this case is almost unique in the goat over the tree; though in fig. 701 we have two birds



perched on the top of the tree. These are perhaps abnormal conceits on the part of the artist, but, as we shall see later, may be related to a mythological conception. In fig. 703 there is a sphinx each side of the tree above and an ibex below. This cylinder, to be sure, is rather Syro-Hittite, and the seated deity carries an ax perhaps, and an animal headed-figure presents her with a lion.

I now come to a more careful consideration of the meaning of this scene. We observe, first, that over the tree is regularly, although not always, the emblem of the supreme deity. It presides over the tree and is somehow related to it. This winged disk becomes human in form, or even triply human: and it is gracious to the worshiper before the tree, as shown by the cases in which the worshiper holds the cord which falls from its wings. This recalls the various passages in the Hebrew Scriptures in which the worshiper of Jehovah is protected by his "wings" or "pinions," or, as in the case of the Moabite Ruth joining the god of Israel, "under whose wings thou art come to trust." The emblem above is for the worship and protection of the human figure below, but it also presides over the tree, as shown by such a case as fig. 690. In this case I do not regard the figure standing on the fish-man as human, but as a genius, the wings being omitted probably to make room for the inscription. Yet it is to be noticed that usually when the winged disk is omitted there is no human worshiper.



Next we observe in several cases under the winged symbol of Ashur two composite figures, half man and half bull (figs. 683-686), or half man and half eagle (fig. 1153), with both hands raised under the tree until they seem to support the emblem above. But they also stand before the tree and are to be regarded as its protectors as well. In such a case as fig. 700 the griffin seems rather to be protect-

ing the tree against invasion. This instantly suggests to us the dragon, generally pictured on the vases as a serpent, which guarded the tree with golden apples of the Hesperides.

The functions of the winged figures, genii or gods, differ. The two figures we have just been considering, with hands uplifted, have their relation to the winged disk and in part to the tree; the winged genii have their relation to the tree and also equally to the worshiper; not to the disk above the tree. They vary much in form, being sometimes indistinguishable from such a god as Marduk, but more frequently simple winged figures with cone and pail, or at least one of them. Or they may be clothed in the fish-skin, or with the fish body, or with the body of a scorpion, or taking the form of a griffin. Indeed, the artist may take almost any liberty he pleases with these fantastic figures. Only this is clear, that they are kindly, beneficent beings, and in some way relate the worshiper to the tree. It is to be observed that this winged genius is not confined to its attendance on the sacred tree. We observe such a case in fig. 704, in which the attendant spirit stands behind the goddess Ishtar, worshiped by the figure in front of her. Even more instructive



is fig. 705 where the attendant figure, in this case with bird's legs, standing behind the goddess, holds both the cone and the pail, although there is no sacred tree. It is evident that he carries these objects for the benefit of the worshiper rather than to fertilize the blossoms of the tree.

The tree itself deserves some further consideration. As has been said, it was originally and normally a palm, because the palm is the most beneficent of all trees. That it was a palm ought to be clear from the mention of the tree in the Bible. In Ezekiel 41: 18, we read in the description of a temple: "It was made with cherubim and palm-trees, and a palm-tree was between cherub and cherub on the walls"; and we are told, verse 25, "On the doors of the temple cherubim and palm-trees, like as were made on the walls." In I Kings 6: 29, we are told of Solomon's temple: "He carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubim and palm-trees and open flowers." These are plainly the sacred tree between the winged figures on the Assyrian monuments, these winged figures corresponding to the biblical cherubim. To be sure it later ceased to be a naturalistic date-palm and became a mere ornamental and conventional tree, but not losing its fruits, and yet the fruit or bud or flower, whatever it may be, is no longer the pendulous bunch of dates, but terminates the branches. It may take the shape of an acorn,

or of a pomegranate, or a cone, or it may take a purely imaginary shape, but yet it remains a fruit; or if, as in fig. 1153, the fruit itself is lost with the branches, then the winged genius no longer carries the cone and the pail.

The usually accepted interpretation of this design is that the sacred tree is worshipped, that it was a palm, in original intent, of which there can be no doubt, and that the attendant figure with the "cone" in his hand really holds the staminate flowers of the male palms, with which it is necessary to dust and fertilize the pistillate blossoms. This is requisite, and the account of it comes down to us from classical times. But there is absolutely no evidence that this is the meaning of the design. We are indebted to Mr. E. B. Tylor (*Nature*, June 23, 1890; "Proceedings Society of Biblical Archeology," June, 1890) for this really brilliant and fascinating suggestion, which is accepted by Bonavia, in his "The Flora of the Assyrian Monuments," as also by d'Alviella in "The Migration of Symbols," and by many other writers. To be sure, so far as we know from classical writers, it was not the custom to dust the fertile flowers with the sterile, but only to bring the sterile bunches where



706



707

the wind would carry the pollen, but Bonavia finds in the winged genii the symbols of the winds. I can not but think that this explanation, even with its sexual attractiveness which so fascinates some people, is really farfetched, and that a nearer explanation is called for. Similarly I do not find any support for Bonavia's discovery of horns about the trunk of the sacred tree, which horns, he tells us, are attached to trees to ward off the evil eye. The ornamental curves do not particularly suggest the horns of cattle.

There are two seals which have an important bearing on the purpose and meaning of the winged figures which accompany the sacred tree. One of these is shown in fig. 706. This is a beautiful quartz-crystal cylinder, unusually well executed considering the refractory and brittle material. The central tree is clearly of the palm type, although conventionalized. On each side is the composite figure, half man and half bull, which is so often to be met. There are two main branches on each side, terminating in what one may call flower or fruit, and each of the two attendant figures seizes one in each hand. There is also a circle within which are four small nude kneeling figures, each of whom seizes with each hand the branches of the trees which alternate with them. In this case it is absolutely certain that the purpose of the attendant figure is not to fertilize the fruit; it is much more likely that the purpose is to pluck it off.

That such is the purpose is made quite certain by the design in fig. 707, a cylinder which bears the inscription "Seal of Tilasharan, pashishu (exorcizer) of Khalkulsharya" (Price). Here again there is no question that the tree is a modified date-palm. From the summit there arise five clusters of the fruit; and a winged human figure with the head of the eagle, such as is familiar in the Assyrian art, with evident effort is breaking off the bunch of dates, if we may so call it; he has rested his foot on the lower part of the tree, so as to secure a purchase for his pull, and with one hand he holds the fruit, while with the other he bends its stem so as to break it off. We are left here under no reasonable doubt that the purpose is to

gather the fruit, not to fertilize it. We may then conclude that the object of the pail or basket (the occasional weaving would allow either) is to hold the fruit gathered from the tree. This is fortunately one of the few cylinders of which we know the provenance. It was dug up in making a well in the region of Sulduz, a plain south of the Urumia plain, between Lake Urumia and the Kurdish Mountains. The cylinder shown in fig. 714 was found at the same time, and the two came into the possession of the Rev. R. M. Labaree, a missionary in Urumia.

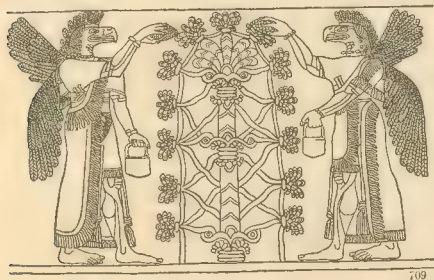
To these two seals should be added the ornamentation on a Phenician bowl (fig. 708). Here two figures standing by the sacred tree hold each the crux ansata in one hand, while the other seizes a flower from the tree.



There is one bas-relief (fig. 709) which has been adduced to support the idea that this is a case of fertilization of the pistillate by the staminate blossoms of the date-palm. Here the cone is crowded into a palmette on a tree of life rather than into a floral cluster. It is evident that the crowded slab did not allow room for the cone without its pressing into the tree.

I do not venture to include in this class of cylinders, in which fruit is plucked from the tree of life, the remarkable cylinder already described in fig. 389, where two women are standing one each side of a naturalistic palm and are plucking its fruit, one handing it to a third woman, who already has a bunch in her hand. This is an old Babylonian cylinder, not Assyrian, and it must be otherwise conceived and interpreted. But I find a memorandum among my papers, made in Paris, that on a fragment of the de Morgan objects from Susa there is a figure, probably half-human, grasping with both hands the stem of the branch of the sacred tree. The branch seems twisted and its end curves the other way from the other branches. He appears to be breaking off the branch for the fruit. De Morgan puts the date of this at "3000 to 2000 B. C.," but it probably comes nearer 1000 B. C. Unfortunately, I have not preserved any reference which allows me to give a figure of it.

But why should the fruit be gathered? I once showed a very large and unusual piece of old Persian embroidery to Rabbi Baba, the most learned of the Nestorians of Urumia, who has prepared a careful and complete dictionary of the Nestorian Syriac dialect. It represented an enormous tree full of branches, and the branches were full of extraordinary conventional fruit. I asked him the meaning of it, and he replied that it typified the fortunes of man. It was then a tree of fortune. Rabbi Baba told me that on a Mosul rug of mine, having a design much



like the Assyrian sacred tree, with its seven pairs of branches and their fruit of different colors, the tree represented the fortunes of life, the lower fruit light-green, meaning the ignorance of childhood, red the stirring of the blood, black trouble, etc. Such I take it is this sacred tree of the Assyrians and their neighbors. The fruits or flowers on the tree represent the life and fortunes which the possessor may enjoy. By the side of the tree may stand the owner in worship. It is not his part to break off the

fruit; that is the function of his protecting spirit, the good fairy of Western story. The fortunes must be stored or produced somewhere—where more naturally than on a tree, and what tree so fruitful as the date-palm? The Latin Fortuna (the word being feminine) was a goddess, and she carried the fortunes already plucked. Her horn of plenty, full of fruits or flowers, represents the pail, or basket, in the hand of the Assyrian Fortunus. Under her various names the Latin Fortuna was much honored, with such titles as Fors Fortuna, Fortuna Panthea, Fortuna Felix, or Isis Fortuna, but regularly with her gathered fruit, usually in a horn, but sometimes in a modius carried on her head. She might also carry ears of wheat in her hand, or a poppy head. It is observed that the Assyrian king, or god, in the bas-reliefs also may carry a three-parted or five-parted branch with fruit or flowers (figs. 669-675); and there are many cases in which the fruit on the sacred tree might as well be a poppy-head as an acorn. Fortuna is often represented with wings, like our Assyrian Fortunus, if we may so call the attendant spirit.

For this attendant figure, under whatever winged shape, human or composite, is clearly not a chief god, but subordinate and beneficent. It is the earliest form we have of the "guardian angel" of later Jewish and Christian religions. It is not feasible to attempt to differentiate these figures standing by the tree; they are all of a lower grade than the gods, and protective, like the winged bulls and lions which the Assyrian kings put at the gates of their palaces. Similar protecting spirits are seen on Hittite seals, as in figs. 956, 960.

We need not detain ourselves with the tree found by Gilgamesh, when he had passed through the darkness for twelve hours and come to this wonderful tree:

It bore precious stones for fruits:
Its branches were glorious to the sight:
The twigs were crystals:
It bore fruit costly to the sight.

No more need we connect especially with the Assyrian tree of life the medicinal plant sought by Gilgamesh for the restoration of youth, growing by a fountain and which a serpent snatched from him as soon as he had grasped it. They are not closely enough connected with the later tree to give us much light on the subject.

But we can hardly hesitate to see in this tree of life the "plant of life" read *shammu balati* by Zimmern ("Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament," p. 523) which King Adad-nirari III. mentions when he says that his god Ashur has "made his rule over the people of Assyria like the plant of life." Asarhaddon uses this same formula; and in a hymn to Marduk, quoted by Zimmern, the god is praised as the dispenser of the plant of life.

We know very little of what was the worship by the Hebrews of their god or gods of Fortune, Gad and Meni, mentioned in the Bible (Isaiah 65: 11). They were evidently not prime deities, like Baal or Ashtoreth. We may imagine that they represent these subordinate gods which are attendants on the tree of fortune and on which the worshiper depends for his kindly fates. But in the orthodox religion of Judea the attendant winged spirits became cherubim.

It is impossible not to raise the question, what was the relation between the sacred tree or, if one may call it so, tree of fortune, on the one side, and the tree of life, or that of the knowledge of good and evil, in the Genesis story of the temptation. In the Genesis story there are thus two trees, as in the Avestan myth, and they

both bore fruit which Adam and Eve might eat. There were also cherubim, as well as a serpent. It would seem as if there must be some mythological relation between the tree and the cherubim of the Assyrian art and the trees and the cherubim of the Eden story. Certainly the interpretation here gives us the sacred tree as a tree of gifts of fortune much more in keeping with the trees of Genesis than is the explanation given by Mr. Tylor, which sees here simply the process of fertilization. In both cases the fruit of the tree is for the man. He eats the fruit of the tree of knowledge and he is driven from the tree of life for fear he might eat of it and live forever. It is a tree of life because its fruit would give large life; and after the man had partaken of the wrong tree the cherubim stood guard over the tree of life that he may not eat of it. Of course, there is a contrast, in that the Assyrian design represents the winged cherubim, as they are called in Ezekiel and I. Kings, as providing the fruit, plucking it off for the worshiper, while it is the purpose of the Genesis writer to show how man lost immortality and the immortal fruit by being deceived into taking the fruit of another tree, and then the guardian cherubim became as hostile as the dragon of the Hesperides. We may then see that the Genesis story and the Assyrian sacred tree throw light on each other.

It is to be observed that in the Kabbala the tree of life represents the *Shiph'ah* or providential supply which man receives from God. It is thus parallel to the horn of plenty of Fortune.

That, in the Oriental imagination, the fruits of the tree of life are considered as being eaten, appears in Revelation 22:2, where we read: "And on this side of the river and on that was the tree of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits, yielding its fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." Certainly the Assyrian sacred tree, as well as the tree of Eden, is connected with this thought of the tree of life transplanted into Heaven. The tree of life is also mentioned in Proverbs. Wisdom "is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her," 3:18, and we are told that "the fruit of the righteous is a tree of life," 11:30; that "an accomplished desire is a tree of life," 13:12; and that "healing of the tongue is a tree of life, and perverseness therein is a broken bolt" (*beriach* for *beruach*, after Ehrlich), 15:4. The tree of life evidently bears fruit.

It may be mentioned that the sacred tree lingers in modern Oriental art, even where its meaning seems forgotten. It is often to be seen on brasswork or rugs. Dr. Birdwood, in his "Indian Arts," says that the tree of life on the Yarkand rugs is a pomegranate, but it may be more formal in Persian and Turkish rugs.

Before concluding this investigation of the sacred tree it may be well to add that there is no basis for the statement made by Schrader, Delacouperie, and others that the number *seven* prevails in the branches of this tree. For an investigation of this matter see Ward, "The Asserted Seven-fold Division of the Sacred Tree," "Journal of the Exegetical Society," 1887, pp. 151-155.

It is also impossible to relate the Assyrian sacred tree to the numerous local sacred trees in Egypt, or to the great heavenly tree, single or double. These are never, I believe, heraldic. One may recall, however, the early text of King Pepi I., on whose pyramid it is inscribed that he sits with the gods at the great lake, and receives from them of the fruit of the tree on which they feed.

While there are mythical trees in the early Babylonian stories, it is not clear that they are closely related to the sacred tree of Assyria. They are either a palm

or a cedar. There was a sacred grove said to have grown in the Paradise of Adapa at Eridu.

In Eridu there grew a dark palm, by a pure place it sprouted up;
 Its appearance was shining as lapis lazuli; it overshadowed the ocean;
 Where is the course of Ea in Eridu, full to overflowing;
 Whose habitation is the place of the Underworld;
 His dwelling-place is the residence of Gur (Bau?);
 Within the shining house, shaded like a forest, where no man dare enter;
 There dwell Shamash and Tammuz
 Between the mouths of two rivers.

Related to this would appear to be the claim by Rim-Sin, about 2200 B. C., to be the "Conjurer of the holy tree of Eridu" ("Keilinsch. Bibl.," III, p. 94).

In the Gilgamesh epic there is a mythic cedar tree. It grows on a mountain of cedars in the sanctuary of Irnina and is guarded by the Elamite king Humbaba. When Gilgamesh and Eabani in their wanderings reach the place we are told:

They stand considering the forest,
 Gazing on the height of the cedars,
 Gazing on the entrance of the forest,
 Where Humbaba is wont to wander about with great strides;
 The ways are laid out, the paths are well made;
 They gaze on the hill of cedars, the dwelling-place of the gods, the sanctuary of Irnini.
 In front of the hill a cedar rises in grandeur,
 Goodly is its shade, full of gladness. . . .
 It produces *santu*-stones as fruit;
 Its boughs hang with them, glorious to behold;
 The crown of it produces lapis lazuli;
 Its fruit is costly to gaze upon.

But these trees are not clearly connected with the Assyrian sacred tree. Indeed, trees could not but enter into the mythical imagination of any people. They must have some Ygdrasil, or Tuba tree, and it will take many forms. There was a tree in Elam the fruits of which produced easy birth for women, as we have seen in Chapter XXII, on "Etana and the Eagle," and it was natural that the fruit of a tree should be health-giving, or life-giving. The desire of man is for long life. "O King, live forever," was the address to Nebuchadnezzar. But this longing was always thwarted. When Gilgamesh had gone on a long quest for the plant of life and had just seized it, it was snatched out of his hand by a serpent. A midrash has the similar story of a man who saw a dead bird on which a second bird laid a branch, when the dead bird came to life. The man picked up the branch and soon came by a dead fox. He laid the branch on it and it immediately came to life again. The man then thought he would apply the branch to the corpses of Israel, but as he passed along he saw a dead lion, on which he laid the branch, when it also revived and ate him up, illustrating the fact that immortality is not for man.

While the references in the inscriptions to the tree of life are not very definite, whether we search both the Babylonian or the Assyrian texts, we may find some further suggestions in the Babylonian art, which may have relation to the Assyrian tree of life. The most important is shown in fig. 419. Here the archaic bas-relief gives a seated goddess in front view, before whom there is a plant in a vase, which a nude attendant is watering from a pitcher. From each side of the spreading plant

falls a bunch of fruit. This may be regarded as a libation, but the plant must have a sacred character. We have much the same scene from a somewhat later period in figs. 1235, 1240, where it seems impossible to regard this as the flame of oil on an altar, as the plant is so fully drawn like the frond of a palm, with fruit like a bunch of dates in one case hanging below it, and in the other real fronds. And these three bas-reliefs compel me to question my earlier view and ask if such scenes as in figs. 31, 32, 421 may not represent a plant of life rather than libations of oil rising in flame and falling down on the side of the altar. We have here, then, the artistic anticipation of the tree of life so fully developed in Assyrian art, just as the Assyrian artists developed the scene of the conflict of Marduk and the Dragon.

Indefinite and uncertain as these literary references are, and while the early Babylonian art leaves much to desire as to their ideas of the tree of life, we seem to find it, or a later development of it, in the Iranian literature. For a reference to these passages I am indebted to Prof. A. V. W. Jackson of Columbia University.

The Gaokena is thus described by Justi in his "Handbuch der Zendsprache":

A plant of the white haoma. It grows by the tree Harvictokhma, in the sea Voumkasha, and is employed for the forming of immortal bodies at the time of the Resurrection. Ahriman created for its destruction a great lizard, but it could not reach its root, inasmuch as 99,999 *fravashis* [guardian angels] and the fish *kara* (or ten fishes, in the Bundeshesh) kept it away.

These two trees are also treated by Windischmann, "Zoroastrische Studien," pp. 165, ff.: "Paradies: die zwei Bäume; die vier Flüsse."

It is instructive to gather here the passages which describe these two trees, for their relation both to the Assyrian tree of life and to the two trees of the Genesis story of Eden.

They are as follows:

The tree of the eagle [the griffin Saena, or Simurgh] that stands in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha, that is called the tree of good remedies, the tree of powerful remedies, the tree of all remedies, and on which rest the seeds of all plants. ("Sacred Books of the East," III, tr. Darmestetter, Avesta, Yasht XII, 17.)

The waters run back again from the Puftika to the sea Vouru-kasha towards the well-watered tree, whereon grow the seeds of my plants of every kind by hundreds, by thousands, by hundreds of thousands. (*Ib.*, Vend-fargard v, 19.)

From that same germ of plants the tree of all germs [or all seeds] was given forth, and grew up in the wide-formed ocean, from which the germs of all species of plants increased. And near to that tree of all germs the Gokart tree was produced, for keeping away deformed decrepitude, and the full perfection of the world arose therefrom. (*Ib.*, Bundahesh LX, 5, 6; tr. West.)

I Ahura-mazda brought down the healing plants that by many hundreds, by many thousands, by many myriads, grow up all around the one Gaokerena [the white haoma, which grows up in the midst of the sea Vouru-kasha. The other is the yellow earthly haoma]. (*Ib.*, Fargard XX, 4; tr. Darmestetter).

We worship the powerful Gaokerena made by Mazda. (Yasht I, 30.)

On the nature of the tree they call Gokart it says in revelation, that it was the first day when the tree they call Gokart grew up in the deep mud within the wide-formed ocean; and it is necessary, for they prepare its immortality therefrom. The evil spirit has formed therein, among those that enter as opponents, a lizard as an opponent in that deep water, so that it may injure the Hom. And for keeping away that lizard Ahura-mazda has created those ten kar-fish, which at all times continually circle around the Hom, so that the head of one of the fish is continually towards the lizard. And together with the lizard those fish are spiritually fed, that is, no food is necessary for them, and till the renovation of the universe they remain in contention. . . . The tree of many seeds has grown amid the wide-formed ocean, and in its seed are all plants; some say it is the proper-curing, some the energetic-curing, some the all-curing. (*Ib.*, Bundahesh XVIII, 19; tr. West.)

On the nature of plants it says in revelation. . . . Ten thousand species among the species of principal plants, and a hundred thousand species among ordinary plants have grown from all these seeds of the tree opposed to harm, the many-sided, which has grown in the wide-formed ocean. When the seeds of all these plants, with those from the primeval ox, have arisen upon it, every year the bird strips the tree and mingles all the seeds in the water. Tishtar [star, probably Sirius] seizes them with the rainwater and rains them on to all regions. Near to that tree the white Hom, healing and wonderful, has grown at the source of the water Aridviosar [Anaitis]; every one who eats it becomes immortal, and they call it the Gokart tree, as it is said that Hom is expelling death. Also in the renovation of the universe they prepare its immortality therefrom; and it is the chief of plants. (*Ib.*, Vendidad, xxvi, 1; tr. West.)

And in its vicinity the tree was produced which is the white Hom [Gaokerena, or Gokart tree] the counteracter of decrepitude, the reviver of the dead, and the immortalizer of the living. (*Ib.*, Zatsparam, Appendix to Bundehesh, viii, 5; tr. West.)

From the Pahlavi literature we also have the following paragraph:

The Hom, which is the preparer of the dead, is grown in the sea Varkash, in that which is the deepest place, and 99,999 guardian spirits of the righteous are appointed as its protection. The kar fish, too, ever circles around it, and always keeps the frog [lizard] and other noxious creatures away from it.

The nest of the griffin bird [simurgh] is on the tree opposed to harm, the tree of all seeds, the white Hom, or Gokart tree of immortality. Whenever he rises aloft, a thousand twigs will shoot out from that tree; and when he alights he breaks off the thousand twigs, and bites the seed from them. And the bird Cinamros alights likewise in the vicinity: and his work is this, that he collects those seeds that are bitten from the tree of many seeds which is opposed to harm, and he scatters them there where Tishtar [the star Sirius] seizes the water. So that while Tishtar shall seize the water, together with those seeds of all kinds, he shall rain them on the world with the rain. (Mainog-i-khirat, tr. West, "Sacred Books of the East," xxiv, p. iii.)

West adds the note:

Originally the angel Amerodad (*i. e.*, Immortality) is said to have mingled the plants with the rain, but afterwards this was done by the mythic bird. This legend was evidently intended to account for the rapid appearance of wild plants after rain in dry climates, when all traces of vegetation often disappear after the summer droughts.

This tree, the Gaokerena, or the Gokart tree, tree of immortality, has a genetic relation with the tree of life of the Assyrian monuments. Like that, it is a mythic tree. It is covered with fruits. It is protected by guardian spirits and also by fish. Indeed, in the Avestan myth there are two trees, as in the Genesis story: one the tree of life, of immortality, and the other the tree of all seeds. They both grew together, the first production of the waters, created by Ahura-mazda in the deepest part of the ocean or the sea Vouru-kash. One is the tree of life, of immortality, the Gaokerena, the Hom, from which is made the white haoma, Vedic soma, which in the resurrection will give immortality to the bodies of the dead. Ahriman tried to destroy it and for this purpose created a great lizard (or frog) which ever tries to get at its root. But Ahura-mazda created ten kar-fishes, which constantly circle about it so that their heads are always facing the lizard. Also 99,999 fravashis, righteous spirits, guard the tree.

Near this tree is also the tree of all seeds, whose branches produce seeds of all sorts. On it sits the griffin, the great Simurgh bird, which strips the branches of the tree; and then another bird, the Camros, comes and gathers these seeds, dropped from the branches, and carries them to the sky where Tishtar pours out the rain. They mingle with the rain and fall on the earth and produce vegetation.

Doubtless, as in all cases where a myth originating in one religion passes into the sphere of another, the Assyrian sacred tree was much changed in entering the Zoroastrian realm. We have a multitude of such cases in the Greek religion. Hercules is like, and yet much unlike, Gilgamesh. In this later Persian story, growing up on the very ground where the Assyrian sacred tree flourished, with which the Persians were perfectly familiar, there had come to be two trees. We have no evidence of two differentiated trees in the Assyrian art, and it is not unlikely that in the Persian mythology there was originally but a single tree, whose functions, of immortality and productiveness, came to be separated. It is a tree of life, and a plant of life is not unknown in Babylonian literature from an early period. From it is made the white haoma. It is not impossible that such a brewage was in the mind of the Assyrian artists, and that the pail carried by the attendant figure was meant to suggest a similar elixir of life to be carried in it. We may also suppose it to be intended to carry the fruit plucked off by the attendants. While sometimes plaited, it is, as has been already mentioned, a pail rather than a basket, as often the design of it implies that it is of metal.



The protecting spirits of the Avestan story seem to be directly taken from the Assyrian prototype. They are both fravashis and kar-fish, and we have both of these on the seals. Sometimes the genii are simply winged human figures or winged composite figures of various sorts. But the fish form is especially frequent and difficult to explain. We can, of course, connect it indefinitely with Nina, a fish-goddess, or with Nineveh, as a fish-city, although the design is older, probably, than the preëminence of Nineveh: but the relation is not at all clear. All we can say is that in some way the idea of a protecting fish-spirit was accepted, and under two forms. Sometimes it was a human figure swathed in the skin of a fish, as in figs. 678, 687-689, and sometimes it was a human figure ending in a fish's body, as in fig. 690. It is quite likely that this protecting fish-like figure, whatever its meaning, was developed into the kar-fish of the Zoroastrian story. We see the lizard seldom on the Babylonian or Assyrian cylinders, but the frog is more common. On one cylinder there are two symmetric lizards under the tree. We may add fig. 710, where a monstrous serpent seems to come out from the tree, while behind are a seated goddess and a bull. The inscription may be sophisticated.

The tree of all fruits has a special Avestan development, with its two birds. May we not suppose that the winged disk, often developed into a human figure of Ashur with wings, was the origin of the Simurgh bird on the tree of all fruits? But if this seems too venturesome, at least we must remember that the griffin—and the Simurgh was sometimes a griffin—is to be found by the tree of life, as in figs. 697, 700. It is perhaps a mere chance that in fig. 701 there is a bird, duplicated for symmetry, on the top of the tree. In fig. 711 we have a single bird over the sacred tree, flanked on one side by a sphinx and on the other by a griffin, while lower

down are two ibexes. The main portion of this fine cylinder is occupied by a short-skirted profile hero, who grasps a lion by the paw on each side. The lions stand each on a prostrate bull, and above are the widely extended wings of Ashur and two eagles swooping down to prey upon the expected carcasses. Perhaps even more suggestive of the Simurgh is fig. 712, from a cylinder which I am assured was found in the Hauran. Here at the foot of the tree, on each side, is a griffin, while above are two symmetric birds, and both griffins and birds seem to be trying to get the fruit. There are also two symmetric human figures, one each side of a vertical



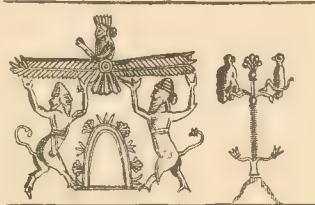
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714

guilloche. There is a bird on one side of the tree, near the top, in fig. 713, an unusually fine cylinder, which shows us a winged god standing on two winged animals and holding two ibexes by the hind legs. The inscription is a dedication to Marduk. We also have two birds on the same side of a palm-shaped tree in fig. 714, one above and one below. On each side of the tree is a winged figure, and the winged disk is above. This cylinder came from Assyria and is rather early. See also fig. 541, which shows the Kassite influence, even if it be of a later period. We have the monkey on the top of the tree in fig. 571 and also in fig. 715.

The comparison of the Assyrian sacred tree with the two sacred trees of the later Zoroastrian religion seems to show such an evident relation between them as one might have expected; and it gives no support to the notion that the design is to represent the fertilization of the palm. Nothing of the kind is to be found in the Persian story, while the protecting spirits and the use of the fruit are essential to it.



715

CHAPTER XXXIX.

SEATED ASSYRIAN DEITIES.

The cylinders to be considered in this chapter comprise some others besides those which represent a seated deity; nor is there in all cases a stand, table, or altar before the deity, and the deity may be either male or female, although more usually the latter. They form a class of their own, which, however, runs into that considered in the succeeding chapter. It is probable that they are not of pure Assyrian origin; or, if so, they come mostly from an early period when the worship was more completely that of such neighboring regions as Nairi or Mitani. The cylinders are usually large, the length from two to three times the diameter, very frequently of soft serpentine. It is seldom that any inscription is found upon them. The large serpentine cylinders seem to form a class by themselves, which represents a rude art which is not skilled in cutting the harder stones and is not very familiar with writing. In one case (fig. 793), as will be seen in our study of the Hittite cylinders, they



716



718

bear a Hittite inscription. The soft blackish-green serpentine is of a texture much inferior to the harder black or green serpentine which was affected by the early Babylonians, but which went nearly or quite out of use from the time of Gudea. We may perhaps conjecture that these Assyrian cylinders were in use as early as from 2000 to 1000 B. C. Three such are shown in fig. 1 on a stopper to a jar, made of bitumen.

In fig. 716 it will be noticed also that the sign for *god* is not the later Assyrian, but is the older Babylonian star of four wedges. As connected with the other sign it may represent the god Sin. Equally old, for Assyrian, may we consider the border, a succession of angles sometimes of this shape and sometimes with chevrons, as in fig. 723. Similar is the border ornament shown in Petrie's "Researches in Sinai," plate 147. The god wears a curious, square, perhaps feathered, head-dress, and lifts a cup from the offerings presented to him. These are all drink-offerings. On a stand are three slender vases, and two other single vases are on stands, one above and the other beside the principal stand. The worshiper, who

may be supposed to have provided the god with his accepted offering, waves a fan to keep away the flies. We shall see a number of cases of such a fan, and they are still in common use in the East, a square flap of woven strands of grass or fiber, one edge of which is attached to the side of the wooden handle. The large triangular summit of a column between the god and the stand may probably represent Marduk.

It is a bearded god that sits before a stand in fig. 718 and holds a cup to his mouth. Here we find the characteristic high chair with a square back. No such chair is to be seen in all the previous Babylonian art. There the seat of the gods is usually a square stool with no back; or occasionally a very low back is seen, curved outward in a graceful fashion. We shall see the back of the chair ornamented with stars, or balls, when occupied by a goddess. The worshiper stands behind the god, attending him with a fan, while the same or another worshiper protects the table with a whisk. On the table, with its ox-feet, is food, perhaps a flat loaf of bread. In the field above are the star of Ishtar, an ashera of Marduk, the crescent of Sin, the disk of Ashur, which here shows the sun's disk, so that here the symbol may, as it sometimes does, represent Shamash. We have also the attendant god, or protecting spirit, with a fish-skin over his body and holding a basket;



also the seven dots, probably of the Igigi. There is absolutely nothing to indicate who this bearded god is. While in some points (as in the god arising from the solar disk, although this is unusual) the art seems to be purely Assyrian, in other respects it seems foreign. Such is the braided hair forming a short queue behind the god's head, if it be not rather a tassel hanging from his helmet, with its triple-pointed top.

Perhaps we may include here the peculiar jade cylinder shown in fig. 719. The seated god carries a sort of branch. He is flounced, and a long lock hangs down his back. Before him a worshiper offers a goat in the Babylonian style. The cross-lines on his garment suggest a foreign style. Then we have the god Adad on a bull, and before him a god who appears to be Marduk. Each god holds behind him the curved scimitar of Marduk, and each has his hand on a single Egyptian symbol of stability. Equally there is no indication who is the bearded god in fig. 720, where a worshiper stands before the seated god and an attendant stands behind. This cylinder is peculiar in that the inscription is arranged so as to inclose the design on all sides.

Another more peculiar case of such a seated and bearded god is shown in fig. 721. This would seem to be Adad, if we may give him the Assyrian or Syrian name, but perhaps equally the Hittite Teshub, for he carries the triple thunderbolt. Before him is a stand, or altar, or brazier, with flame, and beyond it, with a little table in front of him and the crescent above him, stands a worshiper with hand lifted

in worship. What the god holds in his other hand is not clear, possibly two axes; and neither is it clear what protrudes in front of him. It looks like the extension of his chair into a lounge or bed. The whole style of the seal is barbarous, the beard of the god, the Phrygian caps, and the fire-altar. It may possibly be that this is very late Parthian, or Sassanian, for the ruder the style the less possible it is to fix a date—but the thunderbolt seems to fix its period as Assyrian. A better-drawn cylinder, but of a similar type, we seem to have in fig. 722. The altar is more accurately drawn, and we see the bearded god, the worshiper with the emblem of Belit on his wrist, and a stand with two vases. A cylinder of special interest is that in fig. 669. It is in two registers, and so rich is its design that it may as well be classed elsewhere. In the upper register the bearded god, holding a bow, stands before a frame on which are not less than three amphoras. The winged disk is over a sacred tree, and on each side of the tree a standing figure grasps the streamer that falls from each side of the winged disk. As is so often the case in other cylinders, there is a small slender tree. In the lower register a lion attacks a cow attended by her calf, and there are a worshiper, a second animal, a star, a crescent, seven dots, and the ashera of Marduk.



Another of those serpentine cylinders which appear to go back to an early Assyrian period is shown in fig. 723. Here are two standing figures, one a bearded deity, with a club, and the other a worshiper. Between them is a high stand on which rests an amphora, over which the worshiper waves his fan. Behind the god are two small trees and a star. The club or a weapon would seem to suggest a very early period, as such clubs are hardly seen in Babylonian art after 2500 B. C. Almost precisely similar is fig. 724, except that the god is seated in a chair and that there is but one small tree. Another male deity appears seated in fig. 725, where with him are simply a standing worshiper and a palm-tree.

The cylinders thus far illustrated have for the most part been cut with the free hand and not with the wheel. One of them, fig. 718, was in part cut with the wheel; it was probably later and was of chalcedony and not of the softer serpentine. In fig. 726 there is seen a chalcedony cylinder chiefly cut with the wheel and probably belonging to a late Assyrian period. We find the stand represented with its four crossed legs and covered with a cloth. On it are a low crater and two flat loaves of bread, while above them is a fish. The chair occupied by the bearded god shows the legs reinforced by cross-sticks, and the back is ornamented with knobs attached, which in some other examples become stars. Behind the seated god we see a goddess with four peculiar, curved rays ending in stars, whom we shall consider in a succeeding chapter. The worshiper stands before the god whose table he has loaded, and in the field are a crescent, the seven dots, and an ibex. It will also be noticed that we have the design framed in narrow lines at the top

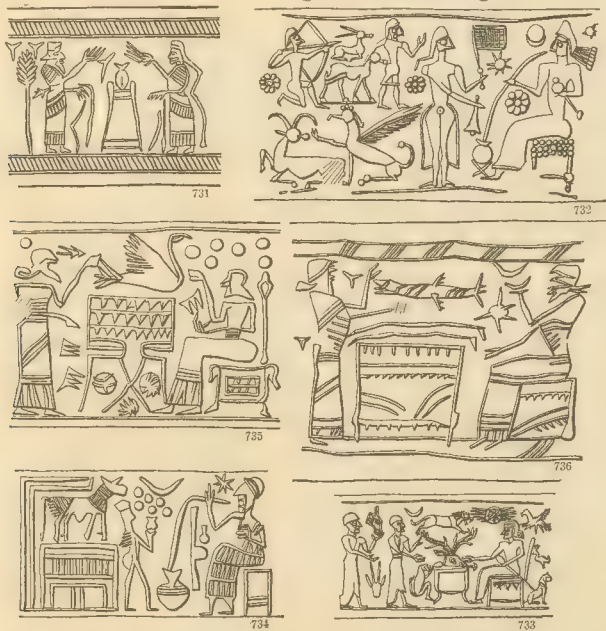


and bottom of the cylinder, a fashion comparatively late. Here, again, we have a single emblem to indicate who the god is. While one hand is lifted in favor to the worshiper, the other holds the triple thunderbolt, for so we must regard it, for it can not be thought a star. We can then connect it with Adad, or Ramman, god of storms, and a chief god of the neighboring people, under his various names.

In cases thus far considered it is a bearded deity that has been observed. Such is the case with the five following cylinders, in which the god is standing (figs. 727, 728, 729, 730, 731). These are of soft serpentine and of the style which I have regarded as early, that is, well before 1000 B. C., and are of course hand-engraved. In two cases there is a border line of chevrons, in another a border of oblique lines, and in two cases a broad border without the chevrons. In two cases a worshiper stands with a fan before a stand on which is an amphora. On the other side is the bearded god with his bow and there are one or more small trees, which may represent that the worship is paid in a grove. In both there is a crescent and in one also a star. In fig. 730, a similar one, we have the chevrons, but the wor-

shiper does not hold a fan above the stand. But we notice behind him, next to the small tree, the Egyptian emblem of the scepter, which would suggest that the cylinder is not earlier than 1500 B. C. Such an Egyptian emblem is unusual and unexpected.

But in the large majority of cases the deity represented on these seals is beardless and presumably a goddess. Especially is this true of the later cylinders with the seated deity. An extreme illustration, which seems to show Hittite influence, appears in fig. 732. Although more probably Hittite, or Mitannian, or otherwise foreign, rather than Assyrian, it is given here as showing the probable foreign source of the type. It is a fair question whether the seated deity, closely clothed, is male or female, although the probabilities favor the goddess. None of the figures is bearded, not even the small one shooting an ibex. The goddess, if we may call



her so, wears a sort of helmet and holds in one hand a club. With the other hand she holds a reed through which she drinks from the vase on a stand before her. A female attendant, with garment drawn aside to expose her nudity, after a style we shall observe on the Hittite seals, holds in one hand a fan and in the other a slender vase. A worshiper leads an animal as victim; another, on his knee, shoots at an ibex. Below them a griffin attacks an ibex. In the field are the sun in the crescent, a star, and three rosettes. We observe the border lines. The whole design, though much freer in composition than is usual on Hittite seals, as well as larger, yet shows abundant Hittite influence, not only in the nudity of the attendant, but in the two registers of half the seal and the appearance of the griffin. The representation of the deity as drinking is what we have found to be not infrequent in the most archaic Babylonian cylinders, and we shall again find it here in those from the Assyrian region.

Another very much finer cylinder is shown in fig. 733. Here the goddess, in her chair, holds in one hand her club, or scepter, while the other hand reaches out to touch the head of an antlered deer laid on a table, or altar, before her. The worshiper presents the offering by resting one hand on the deer's antler, and behind him another worshiper, or the same one repeated, holds in his hand the head of an animal, perhaps a horse. It may be that in both cases the head represents the entire animal. In the field are the winged disk and the crescent, a lion, a monkey, a dog, two birds, and another uncertain object. The disk of the sun, it will be observed, is drawn with the eight rays of Venus, instead of with his own alternate streams, showing the confusion and degradation of the symbolism often noticed as it leaves its original home.

Another case in which the goddess is drinking from a vase before her is shown in fig. 734. This cylinder is of the soft, northern serpentine, but its shape—rather short for its diameter—and some elements in the composition suggest quite an early Babylonian influence, as well as the influence from the north. The goddess wears the flounced garment and drinks through a reed from the vase before her. Near her are the vase, in an old form, and the "libra," which belong together in the older art. A worshiper presents a vase. Behind him, on a high platform and under a canopy, is a bull, probably brought for sacrifice. In the field are a small sun and a shallow crescent, a star, and apparently six instead of the proper seven dots that represent the Igigi. The latter are never found in the old Babylonian art, and there can be no question that this cylinder is northern, although quite early.

Another very interesting early cylinder is shown in fig. 735. This gives us a seated deity, apparently beardless, before an elaborate altar, or table, on which rests a swan. Behind the altar stands the worshiper and above the god are the seven dots. A somewhat similar cylinder is shown in fig. 736, also of the soft serpentine and early. The border at the top and bottom has a series of diagonal lines in place of the chevrons. There is the seated goddess, with the worshiper, and over the table is a fish in place of the swan in the last seal. Not so early is fig. 737, where the goddess, with a ring in her hand, sits before a stand with a fish under the winged disk, while a worshiper stands opposite her, and behind the goddess are a crescent, a rhomb, and an antelope. Another of this general type we see in fig. 738, where the goddess drinks from a vase on a low stand and a worshiper is seen before a high stand which may be an altar of unusual shape. Perhaps we may include here such a cylinder as fig. 739, where the goddess holds a branch, and we see a worshiper, the naked goddess, and probably Shamash and a worshiper, besides rude animals.

There can be no doubt that the deity represented in fig. 740 is female, for she holds the distaff. Behind her a female servant waves a fan and before her a beardless worshiper presents two fishes.

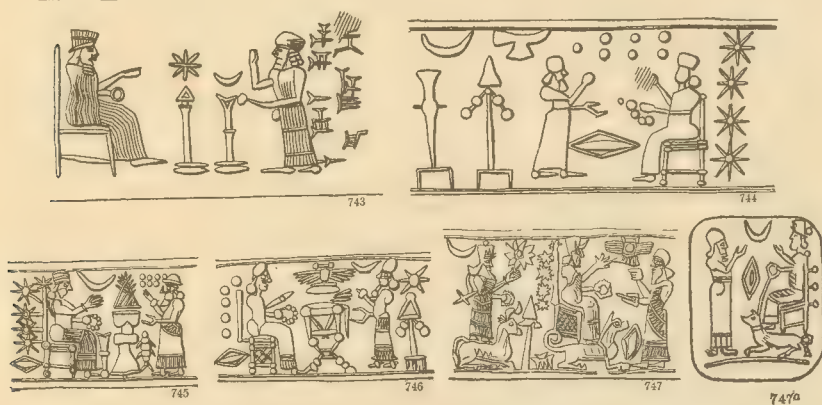
A good example of the more usual kind is given in fig. 741. The deity, unquestionably a goddess, sits on a high chair with a footstool. Before her is a table with crossed legs, covered with a cloth, on which is nothing but a single cup. Behind her a bearded, male attendant actually holds a fringed towel or napkin in one hand and in the other a fan. Before the table a female attendant swings a whisk. In the field are the winged disk, a crescent, a star, and a slender wedge.

In the later cylinders of this type, those cut with the wheel, it is very common to see a series of four dots, or stars, arranged as ornaments behind the back of the

goddess's chair. We see an example in fig. 742. In this case perhaps a duck and a pile of loaves, like showbread, are on the table, under the winged disk. There is also the usual worshiper; besides the star and the seven dots there is the



column with a conical top and streamers, which probably represents Marduk. In fig. 743, between the goddess and the worshiper, are the two asheras of Marduk and Nebo, and above them the star of Ishtar and the crescent of Sin. In fig. 744 we have the same asheras, also the winged disk, the crescent, the seven dots and the rhomb. In this case the four dots behind the goddess's chair become full stars, which indicates very likely the meaning of the seven dots, which may stand for



seven stars. Another case in which the stars are represented is seen in fig. 745. This shows an unusual altar with flame. The goddess holds in her hand a ring, such as is not infrequent. We see it in fig. 746.

An interesting and instructive example is shown in fig. 747. Here the goddess and her chair rest on a dog, as in the Babylonian examples with Bau-Gula. This is no small evidence that the seated goddess from the north was identified at times

with Gula, even if, as I believe, more completely with Belit. Her chair has the stars and before her is the worshiper under the winged disk. We have also the god standing on the bull, the column of Marduk, the crescent, the star and the rhomb, and also a character with a wedge over four vertical wedges. The seated goddess on a dog is very rare; but we have in fig. 747a one such case from a cone seal.

Occasionally we meet with a cylinder, as in fig. 748, in which the deity sits on a seat with no back, after the Babylonian style. But here we have both deities, the god and the goddess, each with a cup in the hand, and before them a stand with a fish.

We have an interesting example in fig. 750, in which the seated goddess seems confused with the standing Ishtar. She sits opposite Adad, who carries his ax and stands on a bull, while she sits over a lion. The needle-like points above the headdress of each deity are to be observed. They seem to anticipate the later Persian crown, and, indeed, this cylinder was obtained from Urumia. It is of a handsome chalcidony, the upper part reddish, and shows the oxidation of the copper cap on one end and the wire which passed through the hole.

In the study of these cylinders we have found two cases in which the bearded god carried the thunderbolt of Adad, who corresponds to the Hittite Teshub. It



would then be probable that in these two cases this was the god represented. In another case the god carried the ax, or hammer; and in other cases a club or a bow. We can not at all assume that the same bearded god is represented in all these cases, and yet we have little in the way of a clue for a further identification. There is absolutely nothing in the way of any emblem or attribute to aid in the identification of the goddess. One would naturally ally her to the Babylonian seated goddess Bau-Gula, but very likely under a different name, certainly so if she has been introduced from the temple of one of the neighboring nations. The four stars which ornament the back of her chair, and sometimes a fifth at the top of its back, would seem to ally her with Ishtar. But apart from the fact that pretty much any goddess may be confused with Ishtar and identified with the planet Venus, we have, as we shall see in another chapter, another goddess, represented as standing, profusely ornamented with stars, who must be regarded as Ishtar, like the standing Babylonian Ishtar. To be sure, we know that the Assyrians worshiped two different Ishtars, one the Ishtar of Nineveh and the other the Ishtar of Arbela, and we have little knowledge how the two were differentiated in art. It may be that one was a standing and the other a sitting goddess. Indeed this need not at all surprise us.

That there were two goddesses especially honored in these northern regions we know from the bas-relief of Maltaya (fig. 749). Here, on one of the rows of figures sculptured on the rock, we see a procession of seven gods, each standing on his characteristic animal, while the king is twice represented in the attitude of

worship, once before and once behind the seven deities. Of the seven, two are goddesses: the second, seated in a high-backed chair, and the seventh, who stands on a lion. The first two, the god and the goddess, seem distinguished from the others by the fact that their square hats are ornamented with a knob at the top and not a star, such as the other five hats carry. We may assume that these are the two principal deities, apparently the chief god and his consort. The first would seem to be related to Marduk, judging from the animal on which he stands, with its lifted tail. The chair of the second rests on a lion. It will be remembered that the animal connected with the seat of Bau-Gula on the kudurrus is a dog. Here the chair of the goddess is ornamented with stars behind, with two scorpion-men and with other supporting, composite figures, such as we see in various compositions, as in the Hittite procession of Boghaz-keui. Their meaning we do not know, but they seem to be upholding the sky. Of the other deities the sixth is designated by the thunderbolt in his hand as Adad-Ramman, while the seventh appears to be Ishtar on her lion.



It is seductive to consider these as representing the Sun and Moon, with the five planets, the latter designated by the stars on their hats, and so they have been treated by Puchstein ("Pseudohethitische Kunst," p. 17); but it is not easy to see the moon in the second deity, as we know that Sin was not a goddess, and no crescent is attached; and equally the first is indicated by his animal to be Marduk, who is the planet Jupiter. With the figure of the seated goddess are to be compared the gods carried on the shoulders of soldiers in Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," I, plate 65, perhaps captured gods, possibly carried in a religious procession. But the fact that of the four deities three are goddesses, two of them alike, makes it probable that we have here the spoil of conquered temples. One is Adad, holding both his thunderbolt and an ax. Another is a goddess *standing* in a chair, which is inclosed like a square bath-chair. The two others are seated, one with face in front-view, the other in profile.

We shall probably be not far from right if we connect these various forms of the seated goddess with the great Goddess Mother, Ma, Cybele, under her various names, whose worship prevailed in Asia Minor and the East. But this northern goddess was equally identified with the Babylonian Belit and also with Gula. Gula was properly a seated deity, and so naturally identified with the seated goddess of the north. But also she was Belit, or Ninkharshag, for in Assyria Bel and Belit came to be, as Dr. Jastrow has shown, mere general terms, and she was the Lady *par excellence*, the Belit, the wife of Ashur, or of Bel Marduk, whichever was thought of as the chief god. But Jastrow seems to be wrong in thinking that she is to be confounded with Ishtar. Such would naturally be thought to be the fact if we were making comparisons only with Babylonian gods; but we have here an entirely different element to deal with, a goddess from the north and west, a really new goddess, for whom the priest theologians had to make a place in the Babylonian pantheon; and so they called her Belit, wife sometimes of Bel, sometimes of Adad, and sometimes of Ashur.

CHAPTER XL.

ADAD AND ISHTAR.

There is hardly a more beautiful and elaborate Assyrian cylinder than one in the British Museum which represents the armed Ishtar, fig. 751. Of the identity of this armed goddess there can be no doubt. Whether the Ishtar of Nineveh differed from the Ishtar of Arbela we do not know, but either one was the great goddess of battles, who directed the king by dreams and protected him in war. She stands on the lion of the Babylonian Ishtar (figs. 414-417) and carries the bow and arrows, a scimitar, and a quiver on each shoulder. Her square headdress, such as is usually worn by a Hittite goddess, is surmounted by a star. There is a star at the upper and lower end of each quiver and one below the scimitar. Her garment is richly embroidered and fringed and one leg is advanced. The animal on which she stands is rather a lioness than a lion. A female worshiper, wearing a similar garment and with a javelin in her belt, stands before her. Behind the goddess is a palm-tree, and next to it are two rampant ibexes crossed. Above is an emblem which we may take to be an unusual combination of the sun and crescent, but only three of the sun's four crossing lines can be given. This representation of Ishtar will guide us in less elaborate and more careless cases.



We recognize the same goddess in a somewhat variant form in fig. 752, a cylinder remarkable for its profuse symbols of gods. Ishtar now stands, as is much more unusual, on a platform; and her body is surrounded by a circle of dots, from which radiate angles ending in stars. It is possible that the circle suggests a shield and the radiating angles are the development of her quivers. She has the square hat surmounted by her star. Before her is a worshiper. There is a multitude of other emblems. Below are a fish, an uncertain object, possibly a vase, a crescent perhaps of Sin on an ashera, a rhomb, and the two asheras of Marduk and Nebo on their characteristic animal. Above are the thunderbolt of Adad, the crescent of Sin, the seven dots of the Igigi, the winged disk of Ashur, with the peculiar, human-headed monster that sometimes supports it, the star of Ishtar, the ram's head of Ea, and an indeterminate column. In fig. 753 we have a single other interesting variation. Before the goddess is an altar, apparently, although rudely drawn, of the shape of which we have an existing specimen from the time of Sargon; on

the altar is an offering, perhaps of cakes, and a flame above it. The worshiper stands behind the altar, and we have the ashera of Marduk, another uncertain object, the crescent, and the seven dots. In fig. 754 the stars, as often, become simple dots; there are two worshipers and emblems, the columns of Marduk and Nebo, the crescent, star, rhomb, and seven dots of the Igigi.

In the examples thus far given we have but a single deity represented, and that a goddess. More usually the goddess is associated with a male deity. Usually he is adorned with rays about his body and stars, much like the goddess. But in fig. 755 he is seated on a goat-fish, and we seem compelled to see in him Ea, whom we would not expect, or a similar deity, possibly Dagon. Before the god stands a



worshiper and a second stands in attendance behind him, showing that he was regarded as superior to Ishtar, who stands on an animal which may be a dog, as in fig. 747. Behind the goddess is an upright object like the back of a chair, with stars as ornaments. In the field are a crescent and eight dots. It is unquestionably the same god seated on a goat-fish that we see in fig. 757, although the cylinder is unfortunately broken. But it is clear that this god, apparently Ea, is distinguished from the god who, on the same cylinder, stands on a bull. There is a worshiper before the seated god, also the "libra" and rhomb and probably other emblems lost with the upper part of the cylinder. This seems to be an excellent example of the presumably early, black serpentine, Assyrian seal. With it may be compared fig. 756, on which over the goat-fish is the divine seat, and over it a figure of a standing god inclosed in a large circle. A worshiper is on each side, one a man and the other a woman, and above are the star and crescent. We notice, as usual, no disk

of the sun apart from the circle about the god. In fig. 758 the god is standing on the goat-fish; before him is Ishtar and behind him a figure in a fish-skin.

But more frequently the goddess stands on a dragon, if on any animal, while the god stands on a bull, but occasionally on a dragon like that of the goddess. Such a case is seen in fig. 759. Here the circle or shield is ornamented with many rays ending in stars, of which the two upper ones are larger and are triangular, representing the original quivers. The god has but two triangular rays, with stars, from his shoulders, but carries a scepter, or club, and perhaps a double ax. The monster on which he stands differs from the dragon of the goddess in that its tail is that of a scorpion rather than of a bird, and it carries the horn of the bull on



which the god usually stands. The worshiper stands before the god as if he were the superior deity. In the field are the winged disk, the star, and the seven dots. A similar cylinder is shown in fig. 760. The animals are the same as in the last case; but while the goddess is encircled with stars and has a star over her hat, the god has but the single star over his hat. Besides the seven dots there is a peculiar variation of the disk of Ashur. The disk, made of dots, is repeated, but not complete, and so is crescent-shaped. Within each is the body of Ashur, and short lines radiate from the dots. The cylinder shown in fig. 761 may be quite late—certainly the inscription is very late. The goddess leads a dog (or lion) and a worshiper faces her. There is also an eagle-headed genius, with basket, before a sacred tree so reduced that it gives only the stem, with the fruit on one side only.

In fig. 762 we have a case of apparently foreign origin. A male and a female deity stand one on each side of a winged sphinx, above which is a winged bull. The god lifts in one hand a club, while his foot rests on the body of the sphinx. The goddess seizes the head of the sphinx with both hands. We have also the crescent and the star. The ample headdress of the goddess is peculiar and is tipped with a star, which the drawing fails to give. This cylinder illustrates the development of the two upper angles which represent the quivers and which are not here tipped with stars. On the Babylonian cylinders they are open, so that the ends of the arrows show; but here the quivers are in their covers or cases, which are all that usually appear in the Assyrian seals. One will recall the expression in Habakkuk 3:9, "Thy bow was quite uncovered"; and equally the quiver was protected.

We have in fig. 763 the god without the goddess, and he holds in each hand the thunderbolts of Adad and stands upon a bull, or here a cow with a sucking calf. We have also the tree of life and the disk with its tassels, each of which is grasped by a worshiper. There are the usual emblems, the crescent and the star (the sun, as often, replaced by the winged disk), the seven dots, a fish, a rhomb, a small tree, and a bull's head. It is noticeable that in such cases the bull, with its short horns, may be, as in the earlier Babylonian seals, the *Bison bonasus*, sometimes the aurochs.



764



765



766

In the excellent and unusually large cylinder shown in fig. 764 the god stands on his bull, but the goddess does not stand on her appropriate animal. This case is interesting because of the weapons represented. There are no rays about the deities except the double-pointed quivers from their shoulders, each tipped not with a star but with a dot; but above the goddess is a large star which takes the place of the usual star accompanying the crescent, the winged disk with human bust of Ashur-Shamash and the seven dots, thus more definitely identifying the goddess with Ishtar. Her only other weapon is the peculiar and slender one which extends behind her back, as also behind the back of the god, which, with its two dots like a dumb-bell near the end, might be taken for a double ax, although it looks more like a curious sort of javelin. But the god carries in his hand a sharply drawn ax, which shows also the loop of cord by which it might be hung up or attached to the wrist. Instead of a star he has a knob, or dot, on the top of his helmet. A beardless worshiper stands before him, and before the goddess is the tree of life.

Another case in which the god carries the ax is seen in fig. 767. He is ornamented with stars, adored by a worshiper, and behind him, carrying a pail, is the composite attendant spirit which we see supporting the winged disk. We have also the ashera of Marduk, the crescent, star and seven dots, and four lines of inscription. The god carries the same ax in fig. 766 and the goddess carries her ring; we observe the ibex, the seven dots, the rhomb, crescent, and column.

An attractive cylinder is shown in fig. 765, where both the god and the goddess are abundantly adorned with stars and quivers, while a worshiper stands before the

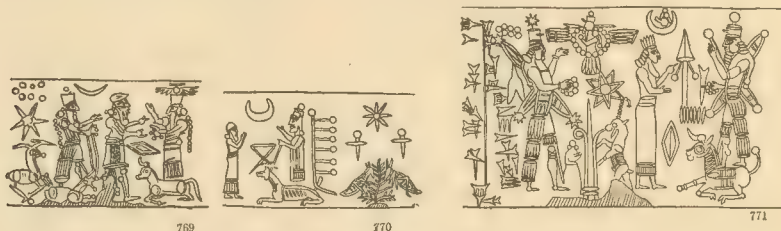
god who holds a scepter. Behind him is the winged disk over the asheras of Marduk and Nebo.

But the more usual weapon of this god is the thunderbolt, although the ax is also his. In fig. 768 he holds the thunderbolt; the bull is before him; there are no knobs or stars above his quivers; before him stands the worshiper, and behind him a female figure, with a branch, whom we may take to be his attendant goddess, although lacking all her stars and weapons. We have already observed that whatever might be her dignity and glory, it was quite inferior to that of the god. Here she sinks into comparative insignificance, like the Shala who accompanies Adad-Ramman, or the Aa who accompanies Shamash on the Babylonian cylinders.



But the remarkable thing about this cylinder is its Sabeen inscription, read by Halévy "Belonging to Barik, son of 'Ar'a" (*"Études Sabéennes,"* p. 182). The inscription is of the ordinary filiary type, but it indicates the general worship of the deities in foreign lands as well as in Assyria.

In fig. 769 we have an interesting variation. The god stands on his bull and the goddess holds her dragon by a cord. But we observe that the winged disk rests as a symbol and ornament on the hat of the god. This indicates him as the supreme god, like Ashur, or, more likely, like Shamash, for the winged disk, we know, may represent Shamash as well as Ashur. The other emblems are the crescent, star, seven dots, rhomb, and a couchant ibex.



In fig. 771 we observe that the goddess is adorned with stars, but the god with knobs. In both the winged disk and the crescent there is the bust of the god. By the ashera of Marduk there is a wedge, which we may take to be the emblem of Nebo. There is also a small sacred tree with its ibex and human figure, the seven dots, a rhomb, and two lines of inscription.

In fig. 770 the goddess stands on her dog with a back like that of a chair behind her, and before her a stand, a worshiper, and a crescent, while behind her are a star, two crosses, and two locusts, one each side of a shrub. This is almost the only case known in which the locust appears on a cylinder. On bas-reliefs locusts are sometimes seen strung for food.

It was about the twelfth century B. C. that the new Assyrian writing came into vogue, the earlier forms being old Babylonian. We have observed the old form of the designation of a deity, *ilu*, by a star, on certain of these purely Assyrian cylinders, showing that they are presumably older than that period (see fig. 716), and from this period their type continues down to the end of the Empire and even later.

The earliest Assyrian texts give us the gods chiefly worshiped. The earliest inscription is that of Shamshi-Adad (Shamshi-Ramman) whose name includes two gods, Shamash and Adad. It thus reads: "Shamshi-Adad, patesi of Ashur, son Igurkakkapu, builder of the temple of Ashur." He was then worshiper of three gods at least, Ashur, the homonymous god of his city, Shamash, and Adad. This king, or, rather, patesi, or viceroy, in the city of Ashur (Kala'at Shergat), is supposed to have flourished about 2000 B. C. Another patesi of Ashur, Iri . . . , in a very brief inscription, offers a dedication to Ashur his god. Pudi-ilu, who reigned at Ashur about 1350 B. C., introduces another deity in the dedication of a temple to Shamash. We have a larger pantheon recorded by Adad-nirari, about 1325 B. C., whose name suggests the high dignity of Adad. He speaks of himself as the priest of Bel, of his father Pudi-ilu as governor and priest of Bel and Ashur, and declares that "Anu, Ashur, Shamash, Adad, and Ishtar" have subdued the conquered lands under his feet. It will be observed that here Anu is put before Ashur; but this does not indicate anything more than the formal convention borrowed from Babylonia, which put Anu, though a half-forgotten god, at the head of the pantheon; for at the end of the inscription Ashur comes to his proper precedence: "Ashur, the exalted god, who inhabits Ekharsag-kurkura, Anu, Bel, Ea, and Ishtar, the great gods, the Egigi of heaven, the Annunaki of Earth." These gods are petitioned to curse any one who should profane his inscription; and then the king proceeds, after this general malediction, to call on Adad separately to destroy any such enemy with storm, flood, and famine. We should judge from this that, while Ashur was the special supreme and national localized deity, probably a variant of Shamash, Adad was the active, working deity who could most bless and curse; and Ishtar is the only goddess mentioned, and named in connection with Adad, after Anu, Ashur, and Shamash.

About 1275 B. C. lived Tiglath-Adar, whose name brings in another god Adar (written Ninib). An inscription of his contains the names of Ashur and Adad: "Whosoever destroys my writing and my name, may Ashur and Adad destroy his name and his land"! From an inscription of Ashurishili (1150 B. C.) we get the names of Ashur, Nusku, also of the triad Anu, Bel, and Ea, and we are told that he fought under the protection of Adar (Ninib). In his long, historical inscription, Tiglathpileser, 1100 B. C., at the beginning of his great Prism Inscription, offers an invocation to the gods in the following order: "Ashur who rules the company of the gods; Sin the wise one, lord of the disk of the moon; Shamash, judge of heaven and earth; Adad, the warrior, who overthrows the country of the foes; Adar, the mighty one, who destroys the wicked; and Ishtar, the goddess of battle, who arrays the slaughter." Again and again in his record of his victories he accredits his success to the might of his national god Ashur; but he brings back his spoils of victory not to any temple of Ashur, but to the temples of Belit, the lofty consort of Ashur, of Anu, Adad, and Ishtar; and prisoners he sets free, with the oath of loyalty, in the presence of Shamash. He mentions Adar and Nergal

as helping him in hunting wild beasts. He built two temples, one of Ishtar "my mistress," the other of Martu (same as Adad); he repaired temples of Anu and Adad; he repaired yet another sanctuary of Adad. He especially prides himself on his temples of Anu and Adad, and it is to these gods that he prays for maledictions on any one who should destroy his memorial. We then gather from his very full inscription that besides Ishtar, goddess of battles, there was an honored goddess Belit, who was now the wife of Ashur, instead of Bel. She must be a goddess of the greatest dignity, less active than Ishtar, however. We have seen her in the seated goddess, just as we find Ishtar in the standing goddess with the stars. It is evident that the god thus far chiefly depended on for active help was Adad. He is most often mentioned and in connection with Ishtar. We have, then, evidence from the texts, as well as from the nature of the engraved figure of the god we have been considering, that it is Adad—whether sitting, as we saw him in the previous chapter with his thunderbolt, or here standing with thunderbolt or ax or both, with quivers from his shoulders, and at times adorned with stars.

The presence of stars affords the one point of evidence that this is not Adad but Adar. Such he has usually been considered, and I myself so regarded him, as Lenormant had taught us. But the further view and weight of both the texts and the nature of his weapons, seem to require us to identify Adad as the companion so often of Ishtar on the Assyrian cylinders.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE PHYSICIAN'S SEAL.

Among the objects brought from Babylonia by de Sarzec were two extraordinary and unique seals. One of these (fig. 772) is an immense cylinder of light-gray limestone, somewhat stratified, 60 mm. in height and 33 mm. in diameter. It bears an inscription:

Edina-mu-gi.
The messenger
The god Girra
Ama-gan-sa-du
Ur-Lugal-Edina,
the physician, his servant.



This inscription is in archaic style and is not easily understood. The fourth line can hardly be translated. The physician would seem to be the servant of the "messenger," although it is not clear what the duties of the messenger were, nor whose messenger he was. Possibly he was servant of the god Girra, of whom we know very little, except that he was identified with Dibbara and so related to Nergal. Girra's picture may be on this seal, as Edina-mu-gi may be the "messenger" of the god. The god Girra is figured, if it be he, in an unusual form. We have a standing god, bearded, *en face*, unusual in a male deity, and not in profile, dressed in the usual flounced garment and the high, horned turban. One hand is lifted and in the other he perhaps carries an uncertain rod or other object. Before him is a slender column from which hang two twisted thongs, and on the top of it is an uncertain object which may be a low vase with two branches rising from it, or a lamp with flames. It may even be the head of a deer with branching horns. The whole object looks like a whip with its handle, but the handle is so exactly like the two other columns and the objects above it are such that it is unlikely that it is a whip with its handle. The two other slender columns have each a vase standing on the top. Oefele suggests that these are instruments for cupping, suitable for a physician's seal, but this is quite improbable. The form is exactly that of the usual vase, and lines of parallel ornamentation are visible on the cylinder. Vases holding medicine are as much a part of a physician's establishment as are cupping instruments. Leeches were not so infrequent in the East that cups would have been necessary, and their use was well known.

CHAPTER XLII.

SYRO-HITTITE CYLINDERS: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

When we come to study the art and mythology of what we may call the Syro-Hittite region and period, we are confronted with peculiar difficulties. This is partly because we are almost entirely without literary sources and partly because various streams of influence are hopelessly confused. The period, or at least the art, from the Hittite side probably antedates, in good part, the emergence of the Phenicians. It originated before the entrance of the Egyptians as a conquering and assimilating power in Asia. Its native language is still a riddle, inasmuch as the few inscriptions we have are not yet satisfactorily read to the agreement of scholars, although Professors Sayce, Jensen, and others have made a fair beginning. A very few inscriptions are found in the cuneiform character, but in one of the native languages of the region. The Egyptian inscriptions giving the account of the conquest of Rameses II. and of the Rameses treaty with the Hittites are of value for names of kings rather than of gods assimilated to Egyptian divine names. Equally there must have been a native art, Amorite, Egyptian, or whatever else, before the emergence of the Hittites to the sea-coast.

In the *American Journal of Archæology*, vol. III (1899), No. 1, I have in a measure treated "The Hittite Gods in Hittite Art," and have attempted, so far as I then could, to connect the Hittite gods with those of Egypt and Mesopotamia. A fuller discussion is now proper. Before discussing the cylinders themselves it will be necessary to gather the information we have of the Hittite gods from the bas-reliefs.

The difficulty in the study whether of the art or the mythology of the Hittites comes from the fact already mentioned, that from their position between the two great empires of antiquity this people was dominated necessarily by the influences of civilization and religion from Babylonia and Egypt. Further, their territory from the south was overrun again and again by Assyria, and from the west by both Assyria and Egypt, until in the eighth century B. C., after a history which we can follow for nearly a thousand years, they were swallowed up in the Assyrian Empire. Nor does this exhaust the elements of confusion. The Hittite power also coexisted with those of other minor but yet influential neighbors, the Phenicians, the Arameans, the Jews, the Vannai, and the people of Mitanni and Nahrina. Of some of these once strong states, with their national gods, we know very little; and we may thus mistakenly ascribe to the Hittites what they may have borrowed from contiguous people with whom they fought and traded. We may not err in considering their borrowings from Assyria or Egypt, or even from the Mycænæan art; but as to other elements there may be great doubt what was their original source. They had their own original art and religion as well as language, but they are not yet disentangled. The confusion with the Syrians is especially intimate; and the most characteristic examples of cylinders are found in Syria and the Hauran.

The gods of Egypt are well known, their names, their attributes, and their conventional representations in statue or painting. On the literary side, the Baby-

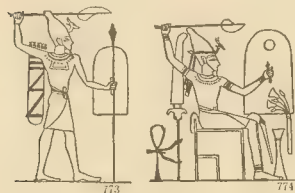
Ionian, or Assyrian, gods also are well known, although the forms under which they were figured are by no means all settled; fully half the principal gods are yet in doubt. The Phenician deities are well enough known by name, the Baals and Baalats, Melkart and Ashtart, and Adonis and Anat, and Tanith and Resheph. Then there were the Syrian gods, Hadad, or Addu, identified by the Assyrians with Ramman; Resheph, again, and Atar, corresponding to Ishtar, Atis, and Atargatis who seems to have been a compound of the last two.

Any or all of the gods of Babylonia, Assyria, or Egypt, or any of the gods of Phenicia or Syria, as these districts were overrun by the Hittites, were likely to be adopted by them and to be confused with their native mythology; just as some of the Semitic deities were very early adopted into the Greek pantheon and so assimilated that even now we find it difficult to disentangle them; and just as, at a later period, the worship of the Persian Mithra was brought from the east to the west. But still closer, perhaps, was the relation between the distinctively Hittite deities and those of Nahrina and Mitanni, and of the Vannai regions, either early occupied by the Hittites, or by people who were the next neighbors to the Hittites in their original seats, and who very likely spoke a kindred language, not Semitic and only doubtfully Aryan. We are so fortunate as to know the names of the gods of Mitanni at an early period in the history of the Hittites, for they are mentioned by Dushrattu in his letters preserved among the Tel el-Amarna tablets. His principal god was Teshub. Other deities are mentioned by him (excluding Egyptian gods) under Assyrian names, such as Ishtar and Shamash. As he mentions a battle with the Hittites in which Teshub has delivered him, we might plausibly assume, but not certainly, that Teshub was not the Hittite name of the god. At the same time we know that Assyria and Babylonia could fight with each other and yet accredit their respective victories to the same Ishtar. Other gods of Mitanni were Sausbe and Zannukhu. Teshub was also the god of the Shu, a kindred people.

At a later but yet early period, say from 900 to 800 B. C., we have the Van inscriptions, which contain long lists of the gods of the Vannai, with the sacrifices offered to each. Some forty-five gods worshiped by these predecessors of the Armenians are mentioned by name, all ending in *s*, which seems to be a nominative termination. The chief was Khaldis, and with him stood two other principal gods, Teisbas (the same evidently as Teshub) and Ardinis. The principal god of Mitani and Shu was thus a secondary god, of high rank, among the Vannai. Yet the name Teshub being found in the chief order of their deities is an indication that the Vannai and the people of Mitanni were closely related to the Hittites, as their inscriptions, so far as read, also seem to show.

Our chief Egyptian source of information for the Hittite mythology is to be found in the great inscription of Rameses II., in which he gives a translation of the treaty made with him by Khetasira, King of the Hittites, whose capital seems to have been the unknown city of Arenena. From the careful copy and translation with notes by W. Max Müller ("Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses' II. und des Chetiter-königs") we gather the following facts: There was a chief "Sun-god, Lord of Heaven, Sun-god of the City of Arenena." We are told—but there seems to be a confusion here—that in the pictorial engraving attached to the silver text of the treaty, the Sun-god was represented as holding in his protecting embrace the princess of the land of the Hittites. It would seem that there is here a mistake made

by the Egyptian scribe in the translation from the text of the Hittite treaty, and that really it was the goddess who protected the princess. But we are told, as the last point in the description of the pictorial engraving of the silver text, that "in-mitten der Umfassung des Skulptur" (W. Max Müller's translation) was the "seal" or "ratification"—whatever the doubtful Egyptian word may mean—of the "Sun-god of Arenena, Lord of all lands." We can conclude with much probability that this was the wide-winged solar disk which formed the upper central border of the



entire design. It would seem as if the Sun-god were considered much in the light of the Assyrian Ashur, also represented as the Sun-disk; and, very likely, the Semitic Assyrians, when they conquered the country, took on the supreme local deity. That he was considered as in a way superior to the localized forms of the Thunder-god is seen from the fact that he is referred to no city except Arenena; and we observe that in the expression (line 7) "May God excite no hostility between them" the deity is spoken of as single and supreme, and apparently the Sun-god is meant.

There is then mentioned a second god, who takes on local forms, "the Thunder-god, lord of heaven, the Thunder-god of the Hittites, the Thunder-god of the city Arenena"; and then follow the designations of the Thunder-gods of other cities. A figure of the Thunder-god, we are told, was engraved with the silver treaty and was represented as embracing the figure of the great king of the Hittites, with an inscription stating that this is the seal (or ratification) of the Thunder-god; and with this was the seal of the great king Khetasira. The meaning of the embrace is clear from fig. 777.

There is also a goddess whose name is translated into Egyptian as Astarte, but who is also given as 'A-sa-kh-ira, or Esakhira, evidently the Ishkara whose name we find on the Ashmolean Museum cylinder of fig. 797 and whom we also know from the cuneiform inscriptions. Unfortunately, the confusion of the text makes us doubtful as to whether one or more goddesses are mentioned; and W. Max Müller suggests doubtfully that a goddess of the lower world is added. She is called "the Lady of the bottom of the earth, the Lady of oaths, the mistress of the floods and hills of the Hittite lands."

It is likely that it was this goddess who was represented as embracing the Hittite princess, and not the Sun-god. We should expect it to be her "seal" and not that of the Sun-god that was affixed. It may be mentioned here, after W. Max Müller and Jensen, that the scorpion-star Girtab is "the Ishkara of the Sea," and we recall that the scorpion is one of the most frequent emblems on the Hittite seals. Other Egyptian inscriptions give us a Hittite Reshpu or Resheph (figs. 773, 774) who is also Phœnician and Aramean; and also a goddess Kadesh (fig. 775) who as figured seems a form of Astarte. The Assyrian inscriptions seem to give us the Hittite gods Sandon, whom we know as the Cilician deity Sandes, and Tarkhu, whose symbol, Sayce says, is the goat's head. These names appear also in Hittite proper names, but so they do, at least Tarkhu, the biblical Terah, perhaps, among the Nairi and the Vannai or Proto-Armenians. We also seem to find in



the Hittite proper names a Mau, to be identified probably with the Phrygian goddess Ma, of Comana. Professor Sayce tells us of Khalan, the chief goddess of Carchemish, and Aramiz, a god "supreme over the Nine."

Passing from a view of these deities of different nations that occupied the regions over which the Hittites extended their empire, we come to our main purpose, which is to consider the way in which the Hittites themselves, in their glyptic art, represented their gods. This introductory sketch, however, will show how difficult it is to tell whether a seal is pure Hittite.

In the study of the mythology of supposed Hittite art, and especially glyptic art, we must begin with what we know to be genuine Hittite art. The best index is the accompanying use of the Hittite hieroglyphic characters. This suffices for a certain number of bas-reliefs and a few seals.

The sculptures of Boghaz-keui (ancient Pterium) are certainly Hittite, and the explorations of H. Winckler have lately found there many Hittite tablets in Assyrian script. They show us two processions meeting each other, the principal figures in which seem to be designated by Hittite hieroglyphs. They are on the vertical walls of a natural hypæthral rock-chamber. The two long sides are substantially parallel and are closed by a short wall connecting them at one end. As the visitor passes up the chamber towards the end wall, he sees on the left side a procession of male figures in high conical hats and very short garments, moving towards the upper end, and on the right side, meeting them, a similar procession of female figures in long robes and with high, square cylindrical hats. The two processions continue on to the end wall, in the middle of which they meet. As we start again from the lower entrance to examine the figures more carefully, we find, on the left-hand side, twelve short-robed figures, then thirteen, all similar in short robes, with one possible exception, walking forward; then two curious figures lifting over their heads a boat, or tray; then four more walking figures; then a figure in a long robe, designated as a king by the winged disk over his head, and carrying as a sign of authority a reversed crook or so-called "lituus"; the king is preceded by five figures, of which two have wings from the shoulders, evidently protecting spirits. This ends the left side wall, but the head of the procession continues on the end wall, consisting of three figures, two of them standing high on columns, and the front one (fig. 776), who faces the head of the opposite procession, stands on the bowed heads of two men; he carries in one hand a symbol, which may be his name, if a deity, and a club over his shoulder, while a battle-ax appears from his girdle, and in front of his legs appear the head and fore quarters of an animal, perhaps a bull, with perhaps a conical cap such as he wears himself. Facing him, at the head of the opposite procession, is a goddess, in a long robe, wearing a high cylindrical or mural hat, somewhat like the turreted crown of Demeter; she stands on a lioness, or leopard, and holds in one hand a symbol similar to that held by the opposite figure, and in the other a staff; while in front of her appears the front of an animal, perhaps a lion, as before the opposite god. It is proper to say that while these two animals are distinctly figured by Perrot and Guillaume, they show very imperfectly on Humann and Puchstein's photograph of the cast of these figures. Behind the goddess is a god, the only short-robed male figure wearing a conical hat in this second procession. He stands on a lion or leopard and carries in one hand a battle-ax over his shoulder, while the other holds a staff and peculiar emblem,

and a dagger hangs from his girdle. He is followed by two female figures carrying staffs, standing over a two-headed eagle. The procession is then continued on the left wall, with some twenty nearly identical female figures. Apart from the procession, on another portion of the wall, a short-robed god, the same as follows the goddess in fig. 776, is seen holding his arm in protection about the king, who is indicated by his battle-ax and "lituus," and by the winged disk over his head, this time resting on columns (fig. 777). The symbol of the god, above his hand, is the same as appears in fig. 776. Yet a third representation of the king (fig. 778), with the same attributes, appears on another face of the rock. He stands on two mountains, as if he were a deity, as very likely he was regarded, and he is again protected by the winged disk over four columns and by a small divine figure.

How many members of these two processions are to be taken as gods is not clear. Certainly on the central end wall, with the heads of the two processions (fig. 776), the two leading figures on the right-hand side, the female figure followed by the male, both on fierce animals, are deities. The front opposite figure, standing on the bowed heads of two men, is doubtless that of a deity; it is not that of the king, who is three times represented wearing a long robe and carrying a "lituus."



There is nothing specially characteristic about this god, except his putting his feet on the necks of his enemies. Other figures, two or three with wings and two on columns, are of minor gods, if gods at all, as their symbols seem to indicate.

The front figure in the right-hand procession facing him is a goddess. Of this there can be no question. Her long robe, her cylindrical hat, her staff in place of a weapon, and her long hair indicate it. That she is a deity and not a queen is indicated not only by her place of honor, but by her standing on a lioness. The figure following her is certainly a god. This appears from his position on a panther, while his weapons, his conical hat, and his short robe indicate the sex. His emblem is the bisected flattened circle placed over the body of a nude man, already spoken of as accompanying the same god when he appears protecting the king (fig. 777).

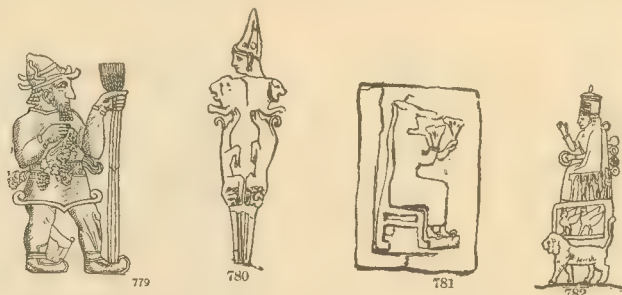
These two deities leading the right-hand procession were evidently assimilated in attribute with the male and female armed deities often figured in Assyrian art, hitherto identified as Ishtar and Adar, but the latter rather Adad. They generally appear together, occasionally one of the two on an animal, occasionally both, Ishtar on a lioness or leopard and Adad on a bull, and often with no animal (Chapter XL). They differ from our figures chiefly in their more elaborate dress and arms and their adornment with stars. It is by no means to be hastily assumed that the

Hittites borrowed their representation of their couple of divinities from the Assyrian gods; indeed the simpler style of the Hittite gods suggests the contrary. It may quite as well be that the Assyrians, who in their earlier history suffered reverses from the Hittites, even to the capture of Nineveh, made the identification of two of their deities, which they had brought from Babylonia, with these Hittite gods, if these were not, indeed, the local deities of the native races antedating the Semitic conquest. In Babylonian art Ishtar, who is fully armed, does not stand above a lion, but usually has one foot on a lion (figs. 415-417), and would be naturally assimilated with a Hittite goddess who stood on a lion; and the combination of the two would give the usual Assyrian goddess, full-armed, adorned with her star and standing over her lion. A similar process of identification and assimilation seems to have taken place with the male deity. We must remember that the Assyrian mythologic art has several other very important elements, such as the winged disk, the sacred tree, the asheras, the goddess in a high-backed chair, the fight between Bel and the dragon (usually a bird or a sphinx rather than a dragon), which it did not draw from Babylonia, but from some other source, either the mythology of the native races, of whom we know nothing, or of the neighboring races, of whom we know nothing until they emerge to sight with the Hittites in the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty.

In fig. 777 we might not have recognized the same god who follows the leading goddess in fig. 776 but for his symbol, the nude man with his head replaced by a bisected and flattened circle. In fig. 777, which gives us the god with his protecting arm about the king, the latter is designated by a winged disk above his head, but much more elaborate than that which designates the king in the procession. The disk is developed and stands on four pillars, and is, perhaps, to be compared with Shamash (also Anu), or Ashur, the god of the heavens, resting on the four pillars of the earth. Between the pillars the god himself, Ashur-Shamash, if we may venture this identification, is seen above the king alone in fig. 778, where we also find the stars or rather the sun, in and above the design, and a figure like the Greek Ω rounded at the bottom, known to us in the Hittite inscriptions, taking the place of the usual central disk. This we have already recognized as the symbol of the goddess Ninkharshag, or Belit, so that it would seem as if the chief god and goddess were combined.

The interpretation of these elaborate temple processions is by no means easy. The interpretation I would give to them differs from that given by other writers, but, like most of them, I make it a religious ceremony. The king (or queen) belongs to the left-hand procession. He is not so apparently important and commanding a figure as might be expected, standing in advance of the middle of his procession and recognized by his winged disk. Both king and disk are, as we have seen, made prominent and fully developed when apart from the procession, as in figs. 777 and 778. We may be sure, then, that the king is the controlling human figure. He is followed, in the rear, by his soldiers running, and nearer are his attendants and attendant spirits, the latter recognized by their wings; and he is preceded by several of his gods, of whom the front one stands on the heads of his conquered enemies. Although this front figure carries no distinctive emblems, I yet agree that it must represent a principal god. We then have, it appears to me, the victorious king of a people allied in race, entering with all his gods into the sanctuary of the native

race and its gods. They are received in welcome by the deities and priestesses of the sanctuary. Their chief gods are two, those standing on the lion and leopard. Those that follow, the two on the double-headed eagle and the rest of the feminine procession, are either goddesses of the local towns, like the unnamed Hittite local deities in the Hittite treaty with Egypt, or are priestesses, such as were held in honor in the land of the Amazons. The men of the conquered people are designated solely by the two chiefs, or kings, on whose heads the victorious god stands in the left-hand procession. The adoption of the conquering king by the gods of the conquered territory is indicated plainly by the embrace in fig. 777. If this interpretation is correct, everything in the right-hand procession is local and belongs directly to the territory of Pterium, especially the two-headed eagle and the two other animals on which the leading gods stand; while the various objects on the left characterize the invaders, as do especially the two representations of the elaborate winged disk over the two Ionic columns and the two other columns (which Perrot and Chipiez think are the fronts of two bulls), the little standing figure of the god between them, and the Ω over his head. Yet the general resemblance between the figures of the two processions and the arms held in the girdle of the male figures



on both sides, as well as their hats, inclines one to believe that they were of allied races. At any rate, the invaders were not Assyrians; that they came from the west rather than the east may be indicated by the fact that they are pictured on the western wall of the sanctuary. Very unfortunately the leading god of the invaders carries no special insignia, so that he can not be as easily identified with other figures of Asianic deities as can the two local Hittite gods; but the winged protecting spirits frequently appear as far west as Cyprus, and instead of the boat over two human-headed bulls, as in Humann and Puchstein "*Reisen in Kleinasien*," p. 57, we elsewhere have the bulls supporting the winged disk, as in figs. 683-686.

This view of two advancing processions need not exclude the interpretation which makes them represent the marriage of the god and goddess. The god may be the Vested God of Chapter XLVII, while the goddess will be the goddess of Chapter I, but here decently clad. There is evidence that these two deities were husband and wife; and we may presume that Teshub was their son, although we have no evidence for it.

Other deities represented in the reliefs at Boghaz-keui, or the neighboring Eyük, need not detain us long. They are the figures with wings rising almost vertically from their shoulders, a sort of guardian spirit, also grotesque winged figures with the head of a lion or dog, with hands raised, guarding the entrance, and one

extraordinary figure of a sort of Hercules or Gilgamesh (fig. 780) in which the head is in a Hittite conical hat, the ears carry earrings, the shoulders are the fore quarters of lions, while the body is made up of two lions with heads downwards and a column takes the place of legs. This figure is closely related to other figures of a similar deity met elsewhere, but probably not of any special preëminence in the pantheon.

Of other representations of deities found in sculpture or bas-reliefs, we may mention the jolly god of Ibriz (779), decked with bunches of grapes and carrying a handful of tall ears of grain. As this figure is well known and has nothing analogous on any other known monument, it need not detain us, and we can not tell whether it was Sandon or some other local Cilician deity that is represented by this figure, half a Bacchus and half a Hercules.

Much more important is the seated goddess of Eyük (fig. 781). Very peculiar is the high-backed chair in which she sits. Such a chair is not known in old Babylonian art, and we may gather that the Assyrian goddess in such a chair, not seldom figured on the cylinders (Chapter xxxix), was borrowed from the Hittites. Mr. Ramsay has noted a second bas-relief of this goddess, found by him at Eyük, before whom a worshiper is pouring a libation. Here compare the seated goddess of Maltaya (fig. 782).



Of the greatest importance for our purpose, hardly second to the figures from Boghaz-keui and Eyük, and more valuable on account of the inscriptions in Assyrian and Aramean which we can date, are the bas-reliefs of Senjirli excavated and described by Humann and Puchstein ("Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli"), of about 700 B. C. The inscription of Bar-rekub on a statue shows the worship of the gods Hadad, El, Rekub-el, and Shamash. Of course, these are Syrian deities, but the Syrian and Hittite arts are utterly confused. The bas-reliefs show us, with various figures of men and animals, in war and the chase, four figures of gods, who are not to be all identified with those mentioned in the inscription, and which may well be earlier. They are shown in figs. 783, 784, 785, 786, 787. Of these the god Adad is easily recognized by his thunderbolt and ax. The seated and the standing goddesses we shall see frequently on the cylinders, and there is a winged deity not easily identified, with a bird or animal head. There are other mythological figures, a winged sphinx, another composite winged animal, a sphinx with two heads, one of a lion and one of a woman; also a lion-headed deity like Nergal (fig. 788) lifting an animal by the hind legs and with a bird over each raised hand. All these sculptures have the Hittite style, the Hittite short garments for the male figures, the shoes with turned-up toes, and the dumb-bell-shaped shield.

It may be well to include in this survey of the Hittite bas-reliefs of their gods two figures from Carchemish, or Jerabis, as they are not well known and the only

photographs of them, I believe, were taken by myself during the Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia. One of them (fig. 789) is reproduced in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, first series, iv, plate 4. The drawing is much softer and finer than the usual Hittite or even Assyrian sculptures, and it doubtless belongs to a very late period of the Hittite art. The goddess, resembling Ishtar, appears to hold a vase in one hand and a basket, or pail, in the other. Still more in the Babylonian style, yet frankly modified in the style of the art of a region further west, is the figure of the naked Ishtar of Zirbanit (fig. 790), on a slab of alabaster, which the men who opened the mound at Jerabis left cruelly exposed to the elements, so that it was nearly ruined and falling to pieces, with cracks all through it, when I saw it in 1884. It is a shame that this and the other goddess just figured and one or two other slabs with inscriptions and figures were not carefully removed. The goddess holds her breasts instead of simply placing her hands before her, as in the Babylonian figures, and she is adorned with the wings from the shoulders which the Hittites so much affected.*



A stele from Babylon, evidently carried there from some Hittite region, inscribed with Hittite characters, which gives us a figure of the storm-god Teshub (fig. 791), is almost a duplicate of another found in Senjirli. The god, in high boots, tipped up at the toes, wears a short close tunic and a peculiar high hat with a bulb at the top. About the tunic is a wide girdle, which holds a stout dagger. In one uplifted hand he carries a thunderbolt and in the other an ax or hammer. The god is bearded, and a long lock or queue falls down behind.

These are, I believe, all the representations of Hittite deities found in their bas-reliefs that require consideration. We now pass to their cylinder-seals.

The difficulty of assigning a seal to one or another of the races and peoples who occupied Asia Minor and Syria during the period from 2000 B. C. to 600 B. C. is even greater than that of assigning a local bas-relief. While the Hittite Empire and art were predominant at one time or another over all the region from Smyrna to Lake Van, and from Nineveh to Sidon, yet the succession of races and rulers has been so various and has been so little disentangled by historical scholars that it is hardly possible to tell what elements of art or mythology were contributed by each people severally; and in the case of seals we do not know where they were made.

This was the period of the Phenicians, the Syrians, the Hebrews, the Mycenæan Greeks, and other races struggling for control or existence. They were none of them independent of the influences of the two powerful empires of the Nile and the Euphrates. Their art and their religion were so permeated with the elements

* See also *London Graphic*, December 11, 1880.

borrowed from these two more ancient sources that it is a task of the utmost difficulty, not yet successfully accomplished, to separate what was native, local, and original, from what was borrowed; and the task is made more difficult by the succession of ruling races in the same territory. A seal uninscribed, even if we know its provenance, may be Assyrian, Hittite, Syrian, Phenician, or Mycenæan, so far as the location where it is found will tell us. Still we may often reach practical certainty. The long supremacy of the Hittites in this region during the period when cylinder seals were in use gives the presumption in their favor in many cases in which the archeological data are not conclusive. Under the Hittite name itself we must include a succession of peoples of the same general race, but which inhabited different sections from Armenia to the Mediterranean, and who waged for centuries equal war with Assyria and Egypt. They are the Mitanni; the people of Nahrina; the Chatti, or Hittites proper; the Lukki, or Lycians; the Kummukh of Commagene; the Kaski; the Tabal, or Tibareni; the Muski (Meschech, Moschians), of Phrygia; the Kumani (of Comana); and the Khilakki, of Cilicia. Messerschmidt sees in the Lydian and Cilician kingdoms the last shoots of Hittite state organization.

And in this connection it must never be forgotten that Egyptian influence must have been very powerful from the very earliest historical period. Snefru, the last king of the third dynasty, about 2900 B. C. sent a fleet of forty ships to Lebanon for cedar wood (Breasted, "Ancient Records, Egypt," I, p. 66); and Pepi I., of the sixth dynasty, invaded Palestine about three centuries later. The age of these dynasties is still contested, and Petrie makes Snefru reign from about 3998 B. C. to 3969. Doubtless Egypt was predominant, or at least influential, in Syria long before the eighteenth dynasty and long before the Hittite predominance. There is no reason why cylinders might not have shown Egyptian influence from the earliest times, for the first six dynasties used cylinders rather than scarabs. Certain it is that Semitic and Asianic elements entered in the aboriginal Egyptian stock in a prehistoric period and with the first dynasty, and we do not know but they may have come as much from Syria as from Arabia. Along the coast of Asia cylinders are likely to have been introduced from Babylonia quite as early as in Egypt.

Possibly fig. 945 may give us an early illustration of the Hittite type as it was seen with purely northern influence, unaffected by that of Babylonia. It belongs to a style of early art of the region, usually to be seen on large cylinders, early Assyrian, of soft serpentine, but in this case limestone. Apparently a goddess in a square hat, like that of the goddess heading the procession of Boghaz-keui, stands on a bull with its tail raised like that of a lion. This is hardly the god Teshub leading his bull. She holds in one hand a circle and she is attended by two bird-headed genii, one of whom, and perhaps both, holds a "cone" and carries a basket or pail. Above and below is a rude guilloche. Such a design is related to those early forms with the attendants before the sacred tree. It is not easy to identify the goddess, but we may relate her to early forms.

A Hittite feature which is very noticeable in the Egyptian representations of Hittites is the long queue worn by them. This seldom appears on the Hittite seals, but an unusual example is shown in fig. 900, where we have the frequent design of two archaic-looking figures drinking through a tube from a vase.

A splendid example of the Syro-Hittite cylinder art is to be seen in fig. 792, which is given here because in a rare way it represents the three principal Hittite

deities whom we shall consider in the succeeding chapters. The goddess, carefully exposing her nudity, is probably Ishkhara, or Khalan (Sayce). Of the two gods, that to the right is Teshub, or Adab, with weapon over his head, and that to the left the more dignified god, perhaps Khaldis or Tarkhu. These deities, with the other personages and objects represented, we shall observe and consider as they appear on other cylinders. For the classical accounts of the deities worshiped in Phrygia, etc., the goddess Ma, the god Men and the youth Attis, as well as the local Greek inscriptions, reference must be made to Roscher and special papers, but these are of a later date and represent an even more syncretistic mythology. It would be beyond the purpose of this work to develop the relations of the later to the earlier conceptions. It is enough here to attempt to gather the artistic material out of which the student of comparative mythology can draw his identifications, as one deity passed into later and often alien forms.



CHAPTER XLIII.

CYLINDERS WITH HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS.

Cylinder seals with Hittite inscriptions are extremely rare. Four of those that are known belong to the Metropolitan Museum at New York. One of these is shown in fig. 793. It is a large cylinder of rather soft black serpentine, the material and shape such as we find with the earlier Assyrian cylinders, and the entire space is occupied with five lines of Hittite inscriptions. They are apparently rather carelessly engraved, and the condition of the cylinder is not such as to make it easy to copy them. Nearly all we can make out of them is an occasional clearly Hittite character. I should presume that the date goes back to a period before the invasions of the eighteenth dynasty. It is very unfortunate that this cylinder is so much battered.



793

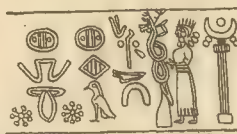
Another is a cylinder silver-plated on copper, shown in fig. 794. It will be remembered that silver seems to have been a favorite material with the Hittites. The famous bilingual boss of King Tarkondemus is in silver, and the treaty between the Hittite and the Egyptian king was engraved on silver. Here, between border lines, both at the top and bottom, is the guilloche. Between the two guilloches is seen the king, recognized as such by the winged disk over his head. He wears a long garment, and perhaps a low close cap, and shoes upturned at the toes, as do the other figures. One hand is lifted in worship to the god before him, and in the other he carries what has been called the priestly lituus, but which is more likely the conventional royal insignia in the shape of a serpent. Facing him, but separated from the king by two vertical lines of inscription of seven characters, is the god,



794



795



796

who is evidently Teshub-Adad. He wears his short garment and a close cap with a horn in front. One hand is lifted in benediction, and with the other he holds, over his shoulder, his triple-pronged thunderbolt. Following the king is an attendant, or soldier, in a long garment and a high-peaked hat, and holding what appears to be an ax. Other objects are a bird, a star, and a wedge.

Another is a broken, dark chalcedony cylinder (fig. 795). It is not pierced, but has one end reduced to form a handle, which is broken off, and a part of the face has also been lost, but not enough to render the design at all uncertain. On

the lower end is a winged disk over three Hittite characters, the same that are repeated on the surface of the cylinder. Here is a rudely engraved sacred tree, on each side of which is a composite, winged figure, with the head, feet, and tail of an animal, an erect body, and a branch in its hand. There are a star, a crescent, and a low tree, and three or four characters, purely hieroglyphic and presumably Hittite. The exaggerated prominence of the Egyptian *shenti* worn by the two monsters is observable.



Yet a fourth extremely interesting cylinder, with a definitely characteristic Hittite inscription, is shown in fig. 796. It gives us an unusual case of ophiolatriy. A serpent adorned with a profusion of horns is supported on a short column. It must be considered as a brazen serpent on a column, such as we are told that Moses set up in the wilderness, and which was worshiped by the Jews later and destroyed by Hezekiah in his reformation. Behind the serpent stands a worshiper, and behind him is a column surmounted by a crescent, as if it were the ashera of Sin. The inscription consists of ten clear characters, arranged in three columns after the style first made familiar by my publication of the four inscribed steles from Hamath in the Second Statement of the American Palestine Exploration Society, 1873, from which Prof. A. H. Sayce drew the material for his first investigation of the Hittite inscriptions.



Another cylinder with a Hittite inscription belongs to the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford (fig. 797), and it has the extraordinary merit of being a bilingual, as besides its column of four Hittite characters it carries three lines of cuneiform inscriptions which indicate that it belonged to "Indilimma, son of Sin-irdama, Worshiper of the deity Ishkhara."

While these five cylinders exhaust the list of those known to carry a Hittite inscription, it is well to include here one other cylinder which, if not Hittite, is yet Asianic and shows abundant Hittite influence, and contains an inscription which is, most probably, from an alphabet allied to the Hittite. It is seen in fig. 798. It is a very elaborate cylinder, crowded with animals, lions, deer, and ibexes, a heraldic bird, and, most noticeable, a cuttle-fish under two crossed ibexes. The eyes are carefully drawn, so that it is impossible to imagine this to be a sacred tree. But the inscription gives this cylinder unique value. There are three characters, over the ibex suckling her kid. Two of the characters suggest derivation from the Hittite, but, what with Cypriote, Cretan, and Lycian scripts, all perhaps derived from the Hittite, it is not easy to place it exactly. The presence of the cuttle-fish fixes this as from a sea-coast region, but we know that the Hittite type of art appears on rock bas-reliefs as far to the west as Smyrna. The cuttle-fish is not frequent on cylinders,

although I have met it on other seals. It is very abundant and more fully developed on terra-cotta objects, as in fig. 799.

In this connection it is proper to call attention to the bilingual silver boss of Tarkondemus (fig. 800), King of Erme. Unfortunately these two bilinguals are so short that they give us little aid in decipherment. There is quite a number of round, pierced objects, of terra-cotta or of hematite, sometimes with several Hittite



characters, which seem to have taken the place of the cylinder seal. Examples are given in figs. 801, 802. Both of these show, on hematite, the elaborate Hittite and Mycenaean spiral; this is absent in fig. 803, which is of terra-cotta. Fig. 804 is of a different type, a rectangular hematite seal, with the four vertical edges beveled and engraved on the four sides as well as the end.

Much labor has been expended by Sayce, Jensen, and others on the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions, and some characters are satisfactorily determined, and yet much remains to be done before scholars can be agreed as to the translation or even the transliteration of the inscriptions.



CHAPTER XLIV.

SYRO-HITTITE CYLINDERS: EGYPTIAN STYLE.

Inasmuch as the lands bordering on the Mediterranean coast were very much controlled by Egyptian culture and religion, we may expect their influence to appear on the seals of this region, and such is the fact. We know that the Syrian coast was overrun by the Egyptian armies in the time of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. Egyptian kings recorded their victories and figured their battles with the Hittites and other tribes. The Tel el-Amarna tablets give us rich historical data and show us that Babylonian influence had preceded the Egyptian, inasmuch as the Babylonian was the language and the script of international intercourse. But certainly commerce had carried Egyptian art motives all along the coast, centuries before the time of Thothmes and Ramses. The multitude of scarabs found in Syria and the neighborhood, as well as in Crete and Cyprus, are further evidences of Egyptian influence. Accordingly we find Egyptian gods on a considerable number of cylinders. The style of the art, in general, is not Egyptian, but it appears that Egyptian figures had been applied to a style that was already native. There is not to be expected a hieroglyphic inscription, or the cartouche of a king. The cylinders are quite unlike those found in Egypt. The reason is clear. The Egyptian cylinder belonged to the earlier period, and was not much affected, except archaistically, after about the twelfth dynasty. Accordingly the Egyptian cylinder would not have been seen by the Syrian or Hittite people, and could not be copied. But on the Babylonian cylinder it was easy to engrave the crux ansata or figures of Egyptian gods, more or less modified for native taste.

Very important, in this study, are two cylinders belonging to the de Clercq Collection, figs. 805, 806. They are inscribed, in Babylonian script, with the names of the owners, father and son, residents of Sidon. We might call them Phenician, except that they come from a period, probably, that antedates the Phenician writing and the characteristic Phenician art. They might belong to a period of about 1500 B. C., when, as we now know from the Tel el-Amarna tablets, Babylonian was the literary language of the Syrian coast; and at the same time they might possibly be some centuries older, inasmuch as the Babylonian must have been the language and the script for one or two thousand years. The script is poor and would seem to follow some other than a lapidary style. It is neither pure Babylonian nor Assyrian, but a special local form of writing, more like what appears on some of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. These seals, with a few others of the same type, form a connecting link with those that we call Hittite, or Syro-Hittite, and they help us to fix the age of the more numerous seals, inasmuch as in style and design they are related beyond question to them. Fig. 805 has four lines, crowded into the space, and gives us the name of "Addumu, of the City of Sidon, his seal"; while fig. 806 allows room for three lines, which read: "Annipi, son of Addumu, the Sidonian." In fig. 805 there are three figures, a worshiper between two gods, and all in the Egyptian style. One of the gods, however, is the Syrian Resheph, or Hittite Teshub,

or Assyrian Adad. He holds a club over his head and in the other hand a shield. The other god is the Egyptian Set, with the head of the animal, and carrying on his hand the forked emblem of serenity. The other cylinder, fig. 806, shows us the same two gods, the Syro-Hittite Resheph-Teshub, and the Egyptian Set; but between them is the god Horus, surmounted with the wingless solar disk and the uræus. It will be noticed that Resheph-Teshub wears a high helmet surmounted by a sort of bulb, such as we shall later see him wear on his head.

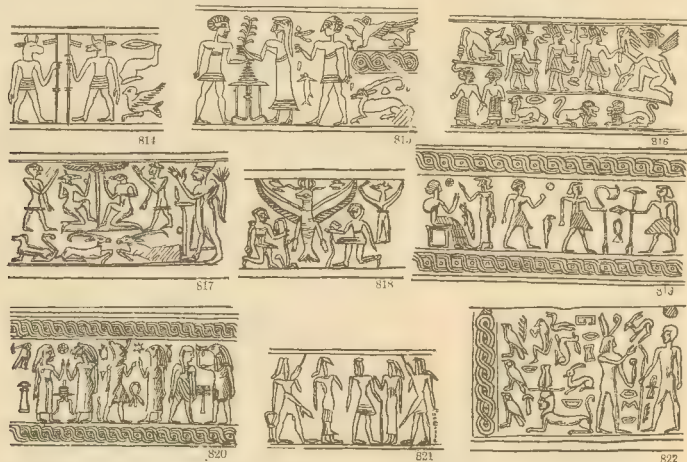
Yet another cylinder of the same general style is seen in fig. 807. Here, again, are three figures, of which one represents the owner of the seal, in the attitude of a king or warrior, between the two gods, Amon-Ra and Horus. The worshiper holds in one hand the shaft of a spear, and wears on his head the *atef* and on his body the short *shenti* reaching forward, as so often in Egyptian figures. The inscription, which is admirably engraved after the Babylonian style, might well be 2000 B. C., and gives us two names which are not Babylonian, and which Oppert reads "Sumuch-mikalu, son of Yamutra-nunnia."



Cylinders of this type may be more Syrian than Hittite. They are characterized by gods with animal heads and Egyptian headdresses. With these will be, perhaps, the peculiar Egyptian garment *shenti*, protuberant in front. These characteristics were mostly lost in the later Syro-Hittite seals, although such elements as the crux ansata and the guilloche, if that be of Egyptian origin, persisted. We see in fig. 808, two such Egyptian figures dressed in the *shenti*, before them a plainly dressed, bareheaded worshiper holding a crux ansata, and behind them the purely Babylonian goddess who takes various rôles indifferently, whether as Aa, wife of Shamash, or Shala, wife of Ramman, or other goddesses. The two Egyptian figures are alike, except that one carries a peculiar staff with two simple wings, or convex crescents at the top, under the winged disk; and each wears the headdress much like that worn by Horus, whether with the human head or the head of a hawk. Here the two figures seem to represent the same god repeated for symmetry.

Another case is a cylinder found in the Hauran (fig. 809). A worshiper, in a simple robe and bareheaded, stands before three figures. The first is a deity holding what may be a papyrus staff, and before him is the emblem of life. Behind the

uncertain god is a figure in protuberant *shenti*, with a lion head like Sekhet; and following is a figure closely swathed in the mummy form of Osiris. In fig. 810 the male worshiper wears the *shenti*, while the winged goddess is closely draped to her ankles. Before her stands the worshiper in a round hat. There is a slender column branching at the top, on each side of which is the same bird-headed deity, holding in his hand what is probably a serpent. This again might be Horus, while the goddess is more Syrian in appearance, as is suggested by her dove. We see the serpents again held in the hand of an Egyptian deity such as Apis, with the head of a bull, in fig. 811. The other objects are a sphinx facing an asp over a lion, also a disk within a crescent. Again in fig. 812 we recognize an Egyptian style in the headdress worn by the two figures between which the worshiper stands, even if



they can not be safely identified with particular Egyptian divinities. We see the dove over the emblem of life and a lion over the guilloche, which is above a sphinx and an ibex.

Figure 813 is another example of the Egyptian style. Two winged female figures face each other and hold each the emblem of serenity. Between them is a worshiper clothed in the *shenti*. There is also a guilloche, above and below which is a heraldic vulture with a long neck like a serpent, looped in a circle. As a simpler design we may notice fig. 814, where two ox-headed human figures face each other, each holding a sort of mace; and there is a rabbit over a bird; also fig. 815, where a long-skirted goddess holds a branch over a table and also holds a branch (omitted in drawing) in her other hand. Before her a figure in the short *shenti* holds his hand on an object on the table, as if presenting it, and behind her a similar bareheaded figure presents a bird. Between them is perhaps a fish, and the guilloche is between a griffin and an ibex. We may perhaps also include with the cylinders showing a preponderant Egyptian influence that seen in fig. 816. Here three figures, each dressed in the *shenti* and in an Egyptian headdress with a curved line each side of the hat, offer Egyptian emblems—the last a serpent—to a kneeling genius with a bird's head and wings. In the register below them are two lions and a third uncertain animal; another portion of the cylinder shows a bull on one knee over

two human figures facing each other. The two naked animal-headed figures seen in fig. 817 kneeling about a winged disk on a column are suggestively Egyptian, and the worshiper standing each side is clad in the Egyptian *shenti*. There is also a larger worshipping figure, with two ibexes and a lion. We may equally see the Egyptian control in fig. 818. Here the Hittite eagle has the head of the ram, surmounted by a vase and feathers, and the smaller eagle has the head of an animal. On each side of the larger eagle is a kneeling, nude personage holding what may be the long stem of a flower—a lotus or a papyrus head, or possibly a serpent. But in the case of fig. 819 it is evidently the papyrus which the middle one of the three figures clad in the *shenti* holds, and we may presume that the one to the right holds the lotus. A worshiper and a small bowing figure stand before the seated deity, and there is an Egyptian asp. The guilloche is above and below, as it is also in fig. 820, where we have three deities, one Horus with the head of a sparrow, the goddess Sekhet with the head of a lion, and a third human-headed and not identified. Before each stands a worshiper. The garments and the emblems are quite Egyptian. There are two altars, one columnar and the other a table, beside the repeated *tat*, emblem of stability. In fig. 821 we have a small seal with five small figures, the female in a long garment, and the male in the short protuberant apron.

The only case I recall in which a Syro-Hittite cylinder has an inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs is shown in fig. 822. The guilloche settles the locality, but the two figures are absolutely Egyptian in their drawing and attitude. The god is Horus, with his worshiper, and the main part of the remaining space is taken up with the Egyptian characters which seem to give the name of the owner and to dedicate him to the god Horus.

This class of cylinders may be expected to be nearly all in hematite, and of the moderately small size that came into use about the time of Gudea, and were replaced by larger ones in the Kassite period, to be even larger in the time of the second empire. The influence which produced Syrian cylinders of this style was as early as the time of Hammurabi. These Syro-Egyptian cylinders differed from the true Babylonian in the border lines close to the edge, in the minute delicacy of the crowded design, and also in the Egyptian elements which were at first predominant with the domination of the Egyptian religion, brought in mainly by conquest and the residence of Egyptian governors of cities or districts who introduced a court religion; but later these elements were largely lost. This would seem to put the date of many of these cylinders as early as 1500 to 1400 B. C., and they might well go back as early as the twelfth dynasty. But Egyptian deities did not long remain in evidence, making room for those that were native or yielding to the more permanent influence of Babylonia. Yet other Egyptian emblems remained, such as the sphinx, the crux ansata, and, perhaps from this source, the guilloche.

CHAPTER XLV.

SYRO-HITTITE CYLINDERS: BABYLONIAN TYPES.

It is evident that the Syro-Hittite cylinders were derived from the Babylonians, and that at a period not of extreme antiquity. Whether they were preceded, accompanied, or followed by the use of the rude round or rectangular seals of soft serpentine, which are so common, is not wholly easy to determine, as these have not yet been fairly studied. On not a few of the cylinders the designs are not specially Hittite, and there may be some confusion among them; certain peculiarities in the cutting or in the pose or clothing of the figures will usually betray them. Such a one is seen in fig. 823. Here is a seated god, much in the Babylonian type, holding a cup, and before him a star, an ape, and the sun in a crescent, all



Babylonian. Before him is a worshiper, still Babylonian, except that he carries in his hand two serpents (hardly lotuses) grasped by the neck. Behind the seated god is Gilgamesh, *de face*, lifting a lion over his head. The remaining space is taken by a worshiper with a cup, a sphinx which is not at all Babylonian in style, and over these a bird, a bull, and a bull's head. There is also a "libra" without its accompanying vase. Here the two serpents, the sphinx's headdress, the headdress of the small worshiper, and the arrangement of the small objects, ally this cylinder with the Hittite art, while the main types are Babylonian. It is to be noticed that the Assyrian motives which came in as early as 900 B. C. are not to be looked for on these cylinders. Their date is then to be placed in the period between 2500 B. C. and 900 B. C., but chiefly in the latter five centuries, as the Egyptian influence will show.

Probably the cylinder shown in fig. 824 should be regarded as Syro-Hittite, although it might be classed as purely Babylonian. Three deities are figured. Shammash does not hold his usual weapon. We know him from his foot on a mountain, but his weapons are peculiar. Over his left shoulder he carries the ax, and in his right hand he holds as a scepter what appears to be a modification of the rod and ring of the Babylonian gods. The ring is but half a circle and seems attached to the rod, and the summit of the rod ends with a surprisingly small crescent, which

makes us ask if this be not the Sin worshiped in Harran. Before the god is a table with loaves. Next stands the goddess Ishtar *de face*, and before the two a worshiper. Then we have Adad, with his foot on a victim, and before him a small worshiper with a branch.

A fine example, but unfortunately broken, is shown in fig. 825. The figures are Babylonian but the style is Hittite. We have a typical Aa-Shala goddess in her flounced garment. The two broken male figures symmetrically facing each other retain only the lower portion. The eagle is Hittite, with its two heads, but old Babylonian in its seizure of the two ibexes in its talons, after the style of the eagle of Lagash. It suggests connection with the early rather than the middle Babylonian Empire. The guilloche is Hittite and very characteristic, even although we have one or two possible examples of it in very early Chaldean art (see figs. 58, 108a).



In fig. 826 the griffins, the hand, and the guilloche indicate the Syro-Hittite origin (this cylinder came from Syria), but the human or divine figures, two standing and two seated, are rather Babylonian. Between the duplicated figures of what we may presume to be the goddess is a columnar altar, or table, perhaps with cakes, possibly with a flame. The purpose of the curved object in the hand of the goddess is not evident; the same implement appears in fig. 827, where two figures stand symmetrically before a columnar altar, but one of them carries a branch, as does also the following figure. There is a "libra" (no vase) and also the guilloche. Fig. 828 is more elaborate and gives us in the upper register the two seated deities with the two bent implements, and between them what may be some sort of columnar altar or standard. Behind one is a worshiper and behind the other the not infrequent procession of four figures. The lower register gives two sphinxes, a star, and a kneeling figure seizing a humped bull by the horns.

We may consider fig. 829 as showing Babylonian influences, although the



weapons are Hittite. The figures are in two couples, all in short garments. In one a figure with an ax over his shoulder takes by the wrist the other, who lifts a weapon over his head. Between them are the vase and "libra," but

their proper positions are reversed. This is one of the rather numerous indications that in copying these two symbols the foreign artist did not understand their meaning. This we gather from the cases in which only one of the two appears. The other couple face each other, one carrying a crook over his shoulder and holding in the other hand the head of a slain enemy. The figure before him, whom we may presume to be the god, lifts an emblem like a cross, which may be meant to represent the Egyptian emblem of stability.

A cylinder which shows the passage from the Assyrian to the Hittite type is seen in fig. 830. It is in two registers, separated by a guilloche. The lower register,

mostly lost by fracture, appears to have contained Hittite sphinxes. In the upper register an uncertain figure, perhaps a deity, stands each side of a Babylonian caduceus, with its central vase between the two serpents. Two figures follow, one with a branch over his shoulder. There are two other figures facing each other, who may represent the principal Hittite deity as seen in Chapter XLVII.

In fig. 823 we have seen Gilgamesh lifting a lion over his head. Gilgamesh is frequent in the Syro-Hittite art, and it is not strange that he was transferred from the Ionian coasts into the Greek mythology as Hercules. In fig. 831 Gilgamesh stands with one foot on the neck of a reversed bull, while under them is the Hittite guilloche and behind him is a lion over a long-haired, nude worshiper. On one side of a strict sacred tree surmounted by a winged disk is a god much in the attitude of the Babylonian Ramman, but holding a curved weapon in his right hand, while on the other side is the goddess Aa-Shala. It will be seen that the disk takes the form of a rosette, which suggests that the rosette when seen alone represents the sun.



A very beautiful cylinder seen in fig. 832 is large and shows Assyrian as well as Babylonian influence. Gilgamesh is duplicated symmetrically, standing on each side of a column, made of small circles, on which rests the symbol of the sun drawn with circles in place of the four alternating streams. Evidently the meaning of the streams had been lost in the transfer to the north and west. But the figure of Gilgamesh is finely drawn. That the sun on the column takes the place of the sacred tree appears from the following figure, which is bird-headed and winged, and carries a pail in one hand and a branch in the other. Behind him is the owner in the attitude of worship, and last in the procession, as frequently, is the goddess Aa-Shala. Under these three figures is an elaborate guilloche.

In fig. 833 Gilgamesh stands nude between two figures of Aa-Shala, while between them, duplicated, is the "libra" under a vase; the remaining space is filled by two rabbits, over a guilloche, over three marching figures.

A most delicately engraved cylinder is seen in 834. Gilgamesh kneels and holds down two bulls by the head, their bodies reversed. Under him is a griffin whose front leg reaches toward a figure which suggests Eabani, who holds an ibex with one hand. Within an angular guilloche two sphinxes face each other, and, below, two lions face each other with a human head between them (omitted in the drawing). A god, much like Ramman-Martu but holding a crook instead of a scepter, occupies

the full length of the cylinder. In this cylinder, while the design and figures are copied from the Babylonian art, the facture and style of engraving are not at all Babylonian but peculiarly Syro-Hittite.

As we have seen in Chapter XI that Gilgamesh is often represented holding a spouting vase, so he is shown also on the Syro-Hittite cylinders. One such example is given in fig. 835. The streams appear to rise from his shoulders, but in Babylonian art his two hands hold the vase against his breast. A female attendant goddess holds a distaff on each side of him, while the Hittite eagle becomes rather an Egyptian vulture and is engraved both above and below a guilloche. Similarly in fig. 836 the vase is still not drawn. On each side of the god is the winged composite figure, part man and part bull, and the field is filled with two stars, two hands, a head, a fish, a bird, an ibex, and a lion. Gilgamesh is duplicated, reduced, and kneeling, in fig. 837, where we have a flounced goddess (not bearded, but with divergent strands of a necklace). She holds a rod and ring, with points. Before her is a worshiper and behind her the figure of Aa-Shala. It is noticeable that the bull above is humped. There are two small figures of Gilgamesh kneeling, with a spouting vase and the guilloche. The figure with a spouting vase from which the streams fall into another vase in fig. 838 appears to be feminine, and another



uncertain goddess faces her, while a male worshiper stands behind the first goddess. The remaining portion is in three registers; a winged sphinx attacking an ibex over a guilloche, which is over a lion and the head of an ibex.

The figure of Eabani is not at all common on these cylinders, although we might suppose that the winged man-bull which we have seen was derived from the idea of Eabani. But perhaps we can see him in fig. 839, where he is symmetrically duplicated on each side of an altar or stand, under the sun in the crescent. Eabani has a rather long garment and bull's ears and in one case flattened horns; and in both figures his head seems to be surmounted by the handle of a crux ansata. He is followed on one side by a female figure holding the crux ansata, and on the other by a similar symmetric figure except that the narrow space does not allow room for the crux ansata. Back of these two figures is a guilloche with a sphinx above it and an ibex beneath it.

More Assyrian than Babylonian in style is fig. 840, where a hero, or god, attacks an ibex, while in the space where in Babylonian cylinders might be expected three lines of inscription there is a vertical row of heads, then a guilloche, and then a peculiar column or ashera, with a conventional human head, draped above and behind, such as forms one of the characters in the Hittite inscriptions.

Rather frequent on Hittite cylinders is the figure of the Ramman-Martu of the Babylonian cylinders, hardly to be separated from the Hittite vested god. We see him in fig. 842. Opposite and also behind the god stands Shala, his wife, duplicated symmetrically, and the worshiper is also duplicated. Besides three animals to fill

the vacant spaces, there are two griffins over a guilloche, under which are a lion and an ibex. The same Ramman-Martu appears in fig. 841, a cylinder from the Hauran, which contains a Babylonian inscription, a winged genius, a bird, and a crux ansata. It is clearly Ramman-Martu and his wife Shala that we see in fig. 843. With them



is another god holding the bident thunderbolt, who would thus be indicated as Ramman-Adad, but who must be differentiated from the Ramman-Martu. He has the long garment of Shamash, and rests his foot on a lion or dragon. In the field are the sun in crescent, the crux ansata, a scorpion, a head in profile, and the head of Belit. The filiiary inscription is in honor of the god Adad.

Among other Babylonian gods we find Shamash, with his foot on a conventional mountain, in fig. 844. He accompanies Ramman-Martu and Aa-Shala. The guilloche appears with a sphinx above it attacking a doe, and below it a griffin threatening a gazelle. Shamash also is the only god recognizable in fig. 845, which is from a cylinder probably of this class and crowded with figures in two registers. Three figures approach Shamash, and two more, with vases, approach a seated deity. In the lower register are various men and animals.



Occasionally Marduk appears on a Hittite cylinder, but not often. We have such a case in fig. 846. But in fig. 847 Marduk, if it be he, carries a waving serpent instead of the scimitar which was developed out of a different kind of a serpent, of the thick-necked asp character. Before him is the conventional goddess of the Aa-Shala type, and behind him, facing the three registers—a sphinx over a guilloche, over two lions—is a female figure with the peculiar garment or veil back of her head, which is characteristically non-Babylonian.

The cylinder shown in fig. 848 is from the Hauran, and so Syro-Hittite, although few of the figures vary from the Babylonian forms. The two registers are not separated by any line. In the upper register is a seated goddess with a worshiper, also Shamash (with no stool for his foot) and two worshipers. In the lower register is a worshiper before a lion seizing a man, and a worshiper before two symmetric gazelles facing a tree. We may presume that the cylinder shown in fig. 845 is of the same period, as also that in fig. 849, which shows in the upper register a crowded succession of gods and emblems and in the lower the man-fish and various animals.

In Chapter XLIX attention will be called to an apparently feminine seated deity, who is to be compared with the Ma, or Rhea, who, we know, was worshipped in later times. In the following cases we have such a seated goddess, but the style is frankly Babylonian, while there are other indications that they were engraved in a more northern region. In fig. 850 we have the "libra" in front of the goddess, and there is a dove as well as a lion over the crossed ibexes. Another example of this seated goddess is shown in fig. 851, where the seated apes (with short tails) before the goddess show Egyptian influence.

Occasionally the goddess in whom we have seemed to recognize Zirbanit appears, as in fig. 852, with Ramman-Martu. Here, as in the later and western art, the breasts and navel are carefully drawn, which is not to be expected in the genuinely Babylonian art. The Hittite character appears in the remaining three registers, where over the guilloche are to be seen a sphinx, a kneeling figure holding a column, another holding a fish by a string, and under the guilloche two winged



dragons and an ibex suckling its young. Unfortunately, the heads in the upper registers are worn. The peculiar figures seem to be presenting offerings to the gods. We have an attractive cylinder in 853, where a goddess, probably, is faced by a worshiper carrying a handsome vase by the handle. Aa-Shala faces Adad, and other objects are the sun in crescent, a monkey, a bird, an ibex, a griffin, and perhaps a jackal.

It is by no means to be assumed that cylinders with a predominant Babylonian influence prove always an earlier period of use. While from very early times, probably as ancient as Sargon the Elder, cylinders began to come into use as far west as the Syrian coast, and even in Cyprus, they would also, even to a late period, and after the Egyptian invasions, be still closely affected by the Babylonian control, and many individuals would worship the Babylonian gods. But it is remarkable that we see so little of what we may distinguish as Assyrian influence. In a more general study of the Syro-Hittite art we would have to include the great number of more purely native seals, not cylinders, but of various shapes, made usually of soft serpentine and rudely engraved, and which seem to have been in use coexistently with the cylinders from a very early period. But that would open a wide field not yet properly investigated. Several of the finer ones, in hematite, we have considered in Chapter XLIII.

CHAPTER XLVI.

SYRO-HITTITE CYLINDERS: THE LOWER WORLD.

Several elaborate cylinders seem beyond reasonable doubt to present to us scenes in the underworld. There is very little in the Babylonian art that we can definitely connect with the underworld. We have one such scene in the conquest of Allat by Nergal, described in Chapter XXIII. But the Egyptian influence with its predominant mythology of the future life must have profoundly influenced all the region that submitted to its rule in the middle of the second chiliad B. C., however much the native mythology may have modified the Egyptian ideas.

An earlier discussion of these cylinders will be found in my article, "Hittite Gods in Hittite Art," *"American Journal of Archaeology,"* 1899, pp. 1-39. The first of them to be considered is shown in fig. 854. In the upper register is a seated deity, bearded, flounced, holding in his hand what looks like a branch, but which



854

may be meant for a spouting vase, from which or about which flow two streams. Before him stands an attendant having two faces, like Janus Bifrons, one directed forward to the deity and the other backward to the figure which follows. This, as explained correctly by Ménant, is a mere conventional device to indicate that this attendant, whom we may call the psychopomp, keeps watch on the following figure while reverent towards the deity. Accordingly, one hand is lifted towards the god and the other is extended towards the figure behind him. This bifrons figure is borrowed from the earlier Babylonian art, where it occasionally appears, as in figs. 291, 294, 297. Behind the psychopomp is a figure, apparently a soul of the dead brought to the deity for judgment. He stands in an attitude of profound respect and is followed by five figures, of which the three first might be apparitors attending or guarding the soul, or assessors assisting the god who sits in judgment. The character of these three attendants is better seen in figs. 855, 857, where their headdresses are better preserved. The fifth figure behind the bifrons is not definitely characterized. The sixth, and last, is the usual form of a goddess consort, whether of Shamash or Adad. She might well be the wife of the seated god. The lower register gives us another scene in the lower world. The same soul whom we have seen presented for judgment in the upper register here stands to the right of a palm-tree, and four composite creatures approach, one kneeling and the others presenting food. The two registers are separated by an elaborate Hittite guilloche.

The next cylinder (fig. 855), also of hematite, is said to have come from Aidin in Lydia and belongs to the Louvre. This is not a pierced cylinder of the ordinary style, but of the shape somewhat affected among the Hittites, in which one end is reduced and extended to form a handle, which is pierced transversely (fig. 855a). In this case the handle is partly broken off. The other end has the Hittite inscription (fig. 855b). It has the same elaborate guilloche as in fig. 854 and another of spirals.

The Hittite deity, apparently beardless, sits in a high-backed chair. Before the deity are two upright lions. The objects above them are not clear, and differ from the corresponding boat on the next cylinder (fig. 857) and also on the Boghaz-keui procession. Then we see the two-faced psychopomp, followed by three figures, each with the Hittite "lituus," or more likely a serpent (see fig. 855*a*). Another scene shows a seated goddess with a winged attendant spirit on each side, a curious half-kneeling figure apparently surrounded by streams, indicated by the fish, and lifting his head as if to drink. Before him stands a figure, apparently with streams from his hand.

The third cylinder (fig. 857) is so closely allied to the last that M. Salomon Reinach, who has described and figured it in the *Revue Archéologique*, Mai-Juin, 1898, says it must have come from the same atelier. It now belongs to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It is of the same shape and has the same guilloche patterns as the last cylinder. Before the god seated in a chair are the two upright lions holding a boat of the coracle or *kufa* style. It is recognized as a boat, and not a crescent, by what seems to be a figure in it and an oar. On the other side of these lions stands the two-faced figure, with three figures approaching, each with a "lituus," two of them, as in fig. 855, in flounced skirts, and the third in a shorter



garment. The rest of the cylinder is occupied by another and very extraordinary scene not figured on any other known cylinder. On a table or bier lies a human figure, apparently in the tall Hittite hat and with the Hittite short-ribbed garment. From his body rise three lines which seem to represent fire. At the foot and head of the bier stands a man in a short skirt, and a woman, perhaps, in a long garment. Below, covering half the circumference of the cylinder, is a series of vases, animal heads, etc., which can hardly represent anything else than the provision of food for the dead. Lying prone among them and grasping an object in his hand, is a naked figure, not easy to explain, although it may possibly represent the figure of the dead taking the food. Other figures, having no definite relation to these two principal scenes, are the small figure of the naked goddess with skirt withdrawn which we shall consider (Chapter I.) standing over a lion or a bull, and the armed god with his foot on a victim, familiar on Babylonian cylinders, who represents Hadad and the destructive forces of nature. There is also the peculiar kneeling figure with head upturned and hands raised, which we saw in fig. 855. In this case there is a vase above his head with water apparently flowing from it, which reminds one of the prayer addressed in the underworld to its queen Allat, "O goddess, may Suchalziku give me water" (Jensen, "Kosmologie," p. 233).

That the heads, vases, and tripod figured in this seal represent food for the dead is proved by the remarkable funerary bronze tablet (fig. 856) described by M. Clermont Ganneau (*L'Enfer Assyrien*, *Rev. Arch.*, xxxviii, plate xxv; also

Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art Chald. et Ass.*, fig. 162), where we have the dead laid out on a bier (but without flames), an attendant spirit (fish-god) at the head and foot, and other objects in the register representing this world, while just below, in the register representing the lower world, are vases, a tripod, feet of animals (not heads), and haunches (?) or provision for the dead. We see from fig. 854 that the monsters of the lower world are not wholly malicious, but may be kindly attendants, bringing food to the dead. The three personages with "lituus," who approach the seated goddess in figs. 855 and 856, it is not easy to explain satisfactorily. They are the same that look like apparitors following the soul in fig. 854. Their attitude, with one hand raised, is one of profound respect; and they are therefore not gods,

notwithstanding an apparent crescent over the headdress of one of them. Yet the presence of the headdress is not usual for human beings in such an approach. They hardly represent the multitudes that enter the realm of Allat Ninkigal. The "lituus," as well as the headdress, indicates a dignity like that of a king. They may correspond to the assessors in the Egyptian scenes of the judgment of the dead, and to Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus in Greek mythology.

At any rate, we are brought in these three seals into the realm of the lower world. We see the judgment, in two cases by Shamash, with his familiar streams, or by some similar western god; in another we see the dead laid on his bier, prepared for cremation, and the provision for his food in the other world. In two we seem to see one of the dead lifting his head and hands to drink; in one a dead person appeared to be seizing food; and we may



conjecture that the boat with a person in it, supported by such lion-headed creatures as we also see on the bronze funerary plate described by M. Ganneau, may have something to do with the passage of the soul.

In this connection attention may be called to a cylinder shown in fig. 858, which shows strong Egyptian influence and which may well be related to the scenes in the underworld. Before a purely Babylonian bearded and flounced god, except that he holds up the *crux ansata*, stands a worshiper in Babylonian style, except that there are bands across his inner garment and he holds an antelope or ibex by the hind leg instead of a goat in his arms. Above them is the winged disk with asps. Behind the god are two registers. The upper one shows two winged genii, one with an ibex head and the other with the head of a bull, carrying a deer slung on a pole, while the one in advance holds a rabbit in his hand, and a vulture rests on the forward end of the pole. In the lower register are two human figures, who carry an ibex slung from a pole, while in front is an ibex recumbent, and behind is the head of a goat. The composite, winged figures carrying food can hardly represent any scenes in this life and may be supposed to be connected with such provision

for the future life as we know was familiar to the Egyptians. The meaning of the design, then, is that the owner worships the god with offerings in this world and is assured of all needed blessings beyond the grave. We may have the same thought expressed in 859, where the worshiper, an owner, is protected behind by a winged figure with a bird's head and is separated by the winged disk from a human-headed



857



858

and an animal-headed figure, who bring him animals for food, probably in the other world. The Egyptian influence is strong in this cylinder from the Hauran.

Attention should be called to fig. 860, also from the Hauran. The upper register shows two lions seated and facing each other, with one paw raised over a human head; also an eagle, a fish, and a small animal. The lower register has three beardless figures supporting on their shoulders a long pole from which three ibexes hang suspended by their feet tied together. We can not be sure that this represents provision for the dead in the lower world, but it much resembles fig. 858.

The value of these cylinders is that they prove to us the prevalence beyond the valley of the Nile of a faith in the future life, in a judgment of the dead according to their deeds while in the body, and in the abundant provision for the happy dead in the other world.



859



860

We seem to have an indication that the god of Hades had three assessors who assisted him or attended to the spirit that was judged, and it is not at all unlikely that the Greeks drew from the Ionian coast their mythology which added three assessors or judges, Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus, to the aid of Pluto, the ruler and judge of the lower world, and thus got it at second hand from the Egyptians. And again we are surprised that the Hebrews avoided the doctrine of the future life. It would seem to be because it was so controlling in the Egyptian religion; and in order to resist and escape the polytheism connected with it the Hebrews rejected the doctrine of the future life entirely, so that it is not clearly referred to in the Old Testament until the doctrine was cleansed of its polytheism by the Persians and had been adopted by the Jews at the time the book of Daniel was written.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE HITTITE VESTED GOD.

At the head of the left-hand procession of Hittite deities at Boghaz-keui (fig. 776), meeting the goddess in the opposite procession, is a god of commanding stature with his feet resting on the heads of two subjected human figures. He is otherwise distinguished from the gods that follow him only by his prominent position as head of the procession and by his height. He carries no special weapon, only in his left hand the club, carried also by others, and the ax in his girdle. He is dressed like them in a short garment and a tall, pointed hat. Before his body is seen the front portion of the high-hatted animal which seems meant to characterize him, such as so often accompany gods on the kudurrus. He is evidently a



Hittite god of special dignity and authority. No god precisely like him is seen on the Hittite seals, but we seem compelled to identify with him a principal deity, who appears to have particular dignity, but carries no especial emblem. This god we have already seen in figs. 794 and 797, and shall see him further, as in figs. 924 to 926, in company with the naked goddess. He appears in numerous other seals. Such a one is fig. 861, where we see the cuneiform designation for *god* immediately behind the god's head. Here the god in a long robe, with a queue and a high, pointed hat, faces the goddess in a square hat such as is worn by the goddess and her female followers on the bas-relief of Boghaz-keui. The god's right hand is raised, and the goddess holds a vase in her right hand. Behind the god is a worshiper. There is a crux ansata to the left of each of the deities, and between them are two crescents. This is a cylinder that might deceive careless examination. Between the two lines of inscription a line appears to have been erased and replaced by a sort of column surmounted by a lotus, surmounted in turn by a Hittite eagle. It would appear that this was an earlier Babylonian cylinder which was recut with Hittite figures and emblems. It is to be observed that the Hittite eagle takes the place of the expected winged disk.

A similar design, but finer and more elaborate, we have in fig. 862. The square-hatted goddess again holds a vase, and behind her is a female worshiper, while

behind the god is a procession of three figures, like those following the god at Boghaz-keui, inclosed above and below by guilloches.

Occasionally the goddess takes the familiar style of the Babylonian Aa or Shala. Such a case appears in fig. 863. Between the god and goddess we have such a column or tree as was seen in fig. 861 surmounted by the lotus and eagle. Here it is surmounted by an extended winged disk. The procession follows the goddess, and above the three figures are a sphinx and an ibex over not a guilloche but a spiral. It is to be considered whether the spiral is not older than the guilloche and the origin of it. Another cylinder similar to the last is shown in fig. 864. Here the god seems to carry a weapon, perhaps sickle-shaped, in his left hand. There is a second couple of figures, a worshiper before a second god, or perhaps the same. There is a guilloche above and below.

In a considerable number of cases this god is duplicated for symmetry. One such we see in fig. 865. The two figures of the god face each other, and between them is a winged disk, over a small naked figure and a bird with two long horns. Behind the god to the left is a standing female figure, and before her is a "libra." The remaining space is filled by the frequent Hittite heraldic eagle, but with the Egyptian vulture's long neck; under which is a guilloche, over a humped ox. The humped ox was introduced at a comparatively late period.

In fig. 866 again we have the god duplicated. Between the two figures are the winged disk, a vase, and a naked seated figure. Behind the right-hand god are a two-handled vase over a column and a female figure who may be a goddess. We then have, in the remaining space, a sphinx over a guilloche, over a lion. In fig. 867, between the two symmetrical figures of the god is the sun in a crescent (taking the place of the winged disk) over a one-handled vase, over a column. Behind the right-hand god, but separated by an eagle over a crux ansata, is a female figure, perhaps a goddess. In the remaining space we have a different combination. Under the guilloche are a seated goddess holding a vase, and a standing female figure before her, with two flattened horns over her head, such as we see in Egyptian figures of deities.

An elaborate instance of this deity repeated for symmetry we see in fig. 868. Here, as in figs. 861 and 863, the winged disk is over a column. In the remaining space there are three registers. In the upper are four rosettes; in the middle one are two wingless sphinxes; and in the lower one a man kneels before a lion. Next to the kneeling figure is another small sitting figure with a bird-like head, which the right-hand god seizes by the hand. This is an entirely unique feature. In fig. 869, between the two figures of the god, is an ibex head over a hand, a rather rare emblem. Behind the god stands the naked goddess, with a branch, or ear of wheat, before her. Two bull-headed human figures face each other, with a deer's head between them, and above is the sun in the crescent. In fig. 870, a much ruder and probably earlier cylinder, we have perhaps the same god repeated before a palm-tree. He has the same hat, but the older, flounced garment. The hat seems to indicate a god rather than a goddess. A fine cylinder is shown in fig. 871. Here the god stands on each side of the column, which we may regard as a variation of the "sacred tree," the trunk of a palm, with the upper, curled leaves developing into the Ionic column. Above it is the winged disk. One god holds in one hand



an interesting object, a sort of scepter, with a looped cord near the top, while the other holds a pitcher. On one side of the column is a scorpion, and on the other a "libra." The remaining design has a braided guilloche, below which are two lion-headed sphinxes wearing a square crown, and above is Adad facing Ishtar, while behind the goddess is a fish. The goddess holds a lion in her arm, and the god holds a rod, on the top of which may be a bird, or it may possibly be an ax.

We seem to have this same god represented in the elaborate cylinder shown in fig. 872, although the hat is shorter than usual. Before the god is a small, naked kneeling figure and a larger standing worshiper, perhaps; and behind him a small nude figure and the full-length figure of the goddess Aa or Shala. In the large space are three registers, a procession of four small figures in the upper one; in the second a guilloche; and in the lower a "libra" and a griffin mounted on a lion. The smaller spaces are crowded with the sun in the crescent, a head, a scorpion, and two birds.

In fig. 873 the god holds a club, or ax, and before him is a winged deity or genius holding a staff, while behind the god is the Babylonian goddess Aa. There



are the sun in crescent, a star, and in the remaining space an uncertain object over a guilloche and a procession of three small figures. A cylinder much similar is seen in fig. 874, but we have the god Teshub in place of the god we are considering. We have treated this god as unarmed, but in fig. 875 it appears to be this god who carries an ax and holds a prisoner by the hair. He is repeated symmetrically opposite and still carries the ax, but without the prisoner. Between the two is a winged disk with a bird, and in the remaining space the three registers are occupied by two symmetrical lions over a guilloche and a procession of four small figures, precisely like the one that is seized by the god. This seems to indicate that the procession that frequently follows the god does not represent worshipers or soldiers as much as captives.

That this is a principal god is clear, but what name should be given to him is by no means equally clear. Inasmuch as the Syro-Hittite deities were interrelated with those of Babylonia and Assyria, we are naturally led to ask the question what Babylonian god may possibly be identified with this deity; and perhaps we have not far to seek. There is one Babylonian god who in his attitude and his lack of symbols much resembles this one. Further than this, he was known as Martu, god of the West. He differs from the god we are considering in carrying a short

scepter in his left hand, held against his body, and in the shortened headdress. We see him in the usual Babylonian style in fig. 876, but the accessories are purely Syro-Hittite in the latter case. Between the two symmetrical figures of the god is the heraldic Hittite eagle over, not a tall column as seen in figs. 861, 863, 867, but a shorter altar. Behind the left-hand figure of the god is the female worshiper, or goddess, carrying what may be a spindle, and between them is the crux ansata. In the remaining space is a bird, over a guilloche and an ibex and a slender vase. Another cylinder, also said to be from the Hauran, is seen in fig. 877, where the god carries in one hand a spear and in the other a club and a boomerang. The vested goddess opposite also has the club and boomerang. There are an altar with cakes, a columnar altar, the winged disk; also a griffin and an ibex over a guilloche, which



is over an ibex. It is not at all unlikely that the Babylonians, at a period succeeding Gudea—for, as we have shown in Chapter xxxi, this god was introduced from the west and was not original in Babylonia—found this to be a principal god among the deities they met in their raids towards the Mediterranean, and called him "God of the West," Martu, Ramman, or Adad. And yet he is not the real Adad; that is another god, also borrowed from the West, the god with hand uplifted holding the thunderbolt or other weapon and leading a bull by a cord, also familiar in both the Syro-Hittite art and in that of Babylonia, following the period of Gudea. These two gods seem confused in Babylonian thought, and we have found it difficult to separate them, however separated completely in their representation.

I have wished that it were possible to call the god with the bull and thunderbolt Adad, and give the name of Ramman to the god with right hand withdrawn and left hand holding the scepter to his breast, and who is called Martu. If we



have no clear evidence as to what name he bore among the Syro-Hittites, we may presume that he is very likely Tarkhu, or Sandu, in the West, or, even more likely, Khaldis, the principal god of Van, while in Syria he would be identical with Baal. In the Egyptian representation of the Syrian trinity the Hittite goddess Kadesh stands on a lioness (or panther) between the two gods, Min (or Amsu) and Resheph. In Resheph we recognized Adad, and in Min we may perhaps recognize our standing vested god, modified to suit the Egyptian taste. He stands upright, nude and ithyphallic.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

TESHUB.

We have found in Chapter xxx the Babylonian Adad to be differently represented from the Babylonian Ramman-Martu. He is a god with a short garment and holding a weapon over his head with one hand, while the other may lead a bull by a cord in its nose. A similar god is a principal deity in the Syro-Hittite art, yet not so generally associated with the bull. Sometimes the bull is given, as in fig. 878. This is marked as Hittite by the general type and by the crux ansata. The inscription, as read by Winckler, shows it to have belonged to one Akhlib-sar. The god holds the bull by a cord and is heavily armed. The weapon in his left hand is very peculiar, as if it were an asymmetrical bow. Such a weapon is figured as Asianic by W. Max Müller (*"Asien und Europa,"* p. 303); and, as von Luschan says (see Winckler in *Mitt. d. Vorderas. Gesellschaft*, 1896, 4, p.



19), such bows are in use in the New Hebrides. The cast shows the bow to be asymmetric, but it is possible that this appearance is due to bad drawing caused by the crowding. There is a worshiper in a square hat, with a vase in his hand, and a third figure who is a goddess's attendant. The interest of this cylinder is especially in the inscription:

Akhlib-sar
Servant of Adad

But instead of "Adad" we should probably read Teshub, as the corresponding Hittite name of the god. As Winckler says, this cylinder appears to be of the middle of the second chiliad B. C. The name Akhlib-sar is parallel to such other Hittite names as Haleb-sar and Cheta-sar, names of Hittite kings.

Very much in the same style is fig. 879. Here the god, like Adad (but we may give him the name of the Hittite god Teshub), wears the same short garment with its transverse lines of folds, or embroidery, the same peculiar helmet with its sharp peak, and with his queue hanging down his back, as in the Hittite figures in Egyptian representations of Hittite soldiers. In his right hand he lifts his club and in his left he carries an ax and an asymmetrical bow, while by the same hand he leads a bull by a cord. Opposite him stands a beardless worshiper, and between them are the seven dots, the sun in crescent, a dove, and a crux ansata, emblem of life. Under the worshiper is the guilloche, but in this case it is not as a twisted rope, nor braided, but in reëntrant curves. This may be regarded as a very early and original form of the guilloche and is very rare in Hittite art. The inscription is of the ordinary filary character, and the owner is a worshiper of the god Teshub. This cylinder would appear to belong to a period not later than the middle of the second chiliad B. C. To much the same period we may assign fig. 880, where

the god holds his club, asymmetric bow, and ax, and opposite him is a female figure, probably a goddess, in a high, square hat. Two figures of Gilgamesh face each other, holding in their hands a spouting vase, the streams of which make two arches about them. Between them is a scorpion. Yet another of similar style and period is seen in fig. 881. In this the upper and lower part are concealed by the heavy gold mounting. The god holds an ax or club above his head with his right hand and grasps a bow and an ax with his left hand. Before him a bearded flounced deity raises a spouting vase in his right hand, one stream of which falls past two fishes to the ground, while a second stream flows to a second vase in his left hand, from which another stream falls behind him to the ground. Behind this flounced god is an antelope, over a hare, a bird, and a scorpion. There are three lines of filary inscription.

Closely related also is fig. 882. Here Teshub-Adad stands on a prostrate victim. In one hand he lifts a club and in the other holds his ax. Before him a god or warrior holds a bow by each hand, over his shoulders. A third figure is like



the Babylonian Martu, and there is a vertical guilloche and the sun is in a crescent. In these seals the sun is simply a circle with no cross lines inserted. In fig. 883 the god stands on mountains and has a weapon in each hand, a club and an ax. Before him is the goat's head which has been supposed to be the emblem of Tarkhu. The naked goddess who is shown in Chapter LI stands on her bull. There are two processions of eight small figures, one led by a somewhat larger figure, while before the other is a seated figure holding a vase. There is a guilloche, also the sun in a crescent and a small bird. The eight small figures have been recognized by Hommel (*Memnon*, I, pp. 83-85) as the Egyptian Ogdoad attached to the sun-god. To the same class of cylinders belongs fig. 884. The god seems to be Adad-Teshub, except that his weapon is not lifted over his head; he carries a not wholly symmetrical bow in his left hand, while his right falls behind him. There falls from his shoulder what might be taken for his queue, if it were not so very long, almost to his ankles. It can hardly be a shield, as we see on comparing with the figure of the other god. A worshiper stands before him. The other deity also has the doubtful queue from his shoulder. He wears the same short garment as does Teshub, but also a second longer one that covers his knee. In his left hand he

holds a shield (or possibly bow), and he has a curved weapon in his right, something like the scimitar of Marduk, with whom he may be assimilated. Before him stands a figure, probably a goddess, in a high, square hat. The only emblem is a star.

Another cylinder in which this god carries the bow is shown in fig. 886. On his shoulder he bears a long club, or spear, and his helmet seems to have a sort of plume. To be sure, it may be that this is not the same god, but it probably is, although he wears with the short garment a longer one falling in a sort of fringe. There are three other figures, one behind the god, in the dress and attitude of the goddess Aa; another, a god in a high hat and with flounced garment, holding a spear; and a third female figure crowned with the Egyptian solar disk and asp and holding, perhaps, a vase in the left hand. A star and a crux ansata are in the field.

Apparently of about the same period is fig. 885. Here the god, in his usual attitude and holding a weapon in each hand, stands on two mountains. The object in his left hand may be taken for a lotus. Before him stands another god, perhaps, and behind him an attendant goddess. The fourth figure, behind Adad-Teshub, is apparently the soldier-owner of the seal, with his spear in one hand and a lance, perhaps, in the other. In the field are an ibex head, an ibex, another small



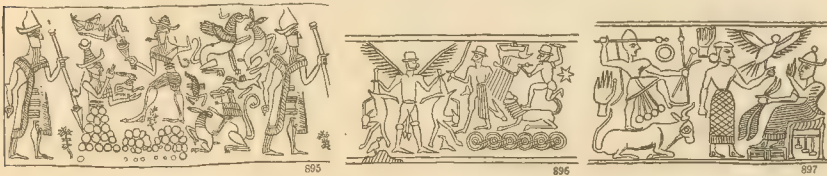
animal, and the sun in the crescent. This cylinder is interesting for comparison with the figures at Boghaz-keui. The god also stands on mountains in fig. 887, holding a spear and an ax, while a worshiper and the goddess stand before him. Another very interesting cylinder is shown in fig. 888. The god, with his helmet and his long queue, holds an uncertain weapon in his *left* hand behind his head, and in the right an ax and another uncertain object which hardly seems to be the upper part of a bow, or, with its small circles, to be a lotus with bent stem, as was suggested in the previous figure. But in this seal the goddess in the square hat, holding a vase, seems to be the principal figure, for it is before her that the worshiper stands. The object before her, under the rosette of seven dots and the star, is not to be taken for the tree of life, but is the cuttle-fish, not often seen on the cylinders, but occasionally, as in fig. 798, and showing that the design had close relation to the Island and Mycenæan culture. There is also a seated monkey. Such a monkey we may see perched on a pole, or column, as if it were a sort of ashera, in fig. 889, which probably belongs to this same Syro-Hittite cycle of art and culture, although the distinctively Hittite motifs are not so characteristic. Adad stands on his bull, while holding it by a cord. The seated god with the approaching figures, the star and the crescent, are quite Babylonian in style, but this cylinder was found in the Hauran and is associated with other more distinctively Syro-Hittite seals.

We may fairly presume that it is the same god Adad whom we see in fig. 890, although the hats of the two figures are different and seem to follow a more Egyptian pattern. Allowing for possible error in Lajard's drawing, the god carries two rods in his right hand and over his left shoulder is an ax. There is a crux ansata, and a sphinx over two figures constituting the procession.

With the god there may appear a winged figure, which we may call a subordinate genius. Such we see in fig. 891. The genius holds a spear, and the god a bow and an ax. There is a goddess holding perhaps a lotus, and also two scorpions and a guilloche. Equally in fig. 892 the winged genius holds a spear in one hand and in the other an uncertain weapon. His helmet is the same as that of Adad-Teshub, and we observe the additional longer garment worn under the short trans-



verse one. Teshub carries a club in his left hand, but the weapon in his right hand is lost in the rubbing of the seal. Before him kneels a conquered enemy, and a worshiper stands with raised hands. Two small branches complete the scene. Yet another such combination we have in fig. 893. The winged genius, who looks much like a goddess without the longer garment, carries a javelin in one hand and a spear in the other. Teshub faces her with a club, or ax, in one hand and a curved weapon in the other. A small naked figure in the attitude of worship stands before a figure of the flounced Aa. There are two birds, which might be doves or ravens, and a crux ansata. Another good example we have in fig. 894, the winged genius, in the longer skirt, wearing the feminine, square hat, so that we may take it to be a goddess, divine or semi-divine. She carries the longer spear and the shorter javelin. The



god Teshub, with his club and his curved weapon, is more generously clad than usual and his helmet is adorned apparently with a crescent. The god facing him also carries a similar curved weapon, perhaps a bow, and also an ax. There is a smaller worshiper, who may be feminine. There is also a crux ansata.

In this connection it is well to call attention to the cylinder shown in fig. 895, the genuineness of which may be in doubt, but which is so elaborate and peculiar that it is sure to attract attention. There are certain questionable peculiarities about it. It is in the best of condition, so far as the design is concerned, although the ends are so worn that the border lines are gone. The main god Teshub, standing on two mountains, is clad in evident armor. While the attitude of the god, swinging an enemy by the hair, is absolutely unique, that fact is not conclusive against its genuineness. The hat of the worshiping figure before the god, carrying a hare,

is very peculiar, with the circle in the crescent above it. But with this may be compared fig. 896, where the god in a running position, standing on an animal, swings an ibex by the horns over his head; below him is the guilloche. Another god stands holding a weapon, and a genius, with wings, lifts two ibexes by the hind leg.

There can be no question that this god is to be identified, or at least related, to the Adad of the Assyrian pantheon. They have the same general features and are connected, at times, with the same bull led by a cord. This god can be hardly any other than the warlike Teshub of Hittite worship. It would be interesting if we could settle whether the god has his origin in the Assyrian or in the Syro-Hittite region; probably in the latter. As he appears in the Babylonian art he seems to be of northern or western origin. He seems to be more at home, more characteristic and interrelated with the Hittite than with the Assyrian worship. While historically we have no definite knowledge of the Hittites, whether from Egyptian or Assyrian sources, until the period of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, there can be no doubt that a considerable civilization and art had preceded that period, and that a somewhat compact civilization had long prevailed, affected both by the Babylonian on the one side and that of the Mediterranean coast on the other, but based on its own indigenous culture and religion; and the races represented by the Hittites gave to the Assyrians and Babylonians something, while they borrowed much.

We may include in this chapter the cylinder shown in fig. 897 and which is mounted in gold caps. Here a god corresponding to Adad, or Teshub, stands on a bull and carries several clubs. Before the seated goddess, with her dove, stands a worshiper, probably female. There are also two hands. This is perhaps Cypriote.

For Teshub in the form of a herm see fig. 1308.

Characteristic of Teshub are his weapons, corresponding to the thunderbolt borne by the Babylonian Adad, the mountains on which he stands, and the bull whose bellowing represents his thunder. These attributes ally him to the Hebrew Yahwe. See Ward, "The Origin of the Worship of Yahwe," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, April, 1909.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE SEATED SYRO-HITTITE GODDESS.

There is a considerable number of cylinders which show us a seated deity, of more northern origin, usually to be recognized as a goddess. One such case we have seen in fig. 703, as also in figs. 781, 782. This is to be expected, since we have found in the Assyrian mythology a prominent seated goddess who seems to be allied to the Earth Mother among the Greeks. Yet in the Syro-Hittite mythology the seated goddess bears no such prominent and distinctive part as we might have looked for. She seems to have no special function or duty; and we can not well identify any seated god, although in fig. 898 the peaked hat suggests the male sex. But we have seen in fig. 718, *seq.*, a male seated deity, who is quite likely to have come from the large Syro-Hittite region. We have another case in fig. 719, the material of which, jade, suggests that it comes from the more northern or western region from which Chantre and others have brought celts of jade. Yet such celts as I have seen are of a less fine quality of jade than that of the jade cylinders. Here a seated flounced god holds a branch as scepter, and a worshiper offers a goat. A god on a bull carries an Egyptian scepter. He appears to be a form of Adad, and



a second god, like Marduk, with a scimitar, also grasps the scepter. There is an evident Egyptian influence, in the headdress of the attendant behind the deity who carries a bird, as well as in the crux ansata. Before the deity are the winged disk, a star, a bird, and a worshiper; and above the guilloche is a winged animal, and below it a rabbit.

We shall see in figs. 1024 to 1027 cases in which a deity holds a spouting vase. Such a vase is held in fig. 899 by a seated goddess, who is symmetrically repeated. The stream falls from the vase in her hand into a vase on the ground. Behind the duplicated goddess are four marching figures and an attendant worshiper. This fine cylinder has a lower register, in which two symmetric sphinxes face a star and a kneeling figure seizes the horn of a humped bull. We may infer from this cylinder that in some way the goddess was the guardian of the upper waters.

Fig. 900 is a cylinder of special value because we know its locality. It is of black serpentine and was found by Miss I. F. Dodd, of the Girls' College in Constantinople, at Kül-tepe, near Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. It appears to be quite archaic. The two seated figures may be either male or female. They seem to be nude and each has a long queue, such as is worn by Hittite soldiers in the Egyptian figures of

Hittite battles. Each seems to be sucking the contents of a vase through a curved pipe. We have seen such a design in archaic Babylonian art, Chapter v, and in early Assyrian art, figs. 734 and 738. There is also a man spearing an animal which may possibly be a lion, from its tail and its open mouth. There are also a simple tree and what we may understand to be a crescent with three rays falling from it. This may remind us of the disk worshiped by the Heretic King

Khuenaten, of Egypt, with its rays ending in hands. There is also a small human figure.



goddess, whom we recognize as Aa-Shala. There are also two stars, a "libra," and an ox's head over a hand. Somewhat similar is fig. 903. The goddess, repeated symmetrically, holds in the hand an object not easy to recognize, perhaps the reminiscence of a lotus, and between them is a stand with loaves. Behind them are two symmetric figures facing each other, and there is a libra, also a hand and a crescent. We seem to discover that here, and elsewhere, the "libra" has a handle at the upper end. In one upper register there is a vase between two griffins facing each other and behind them is a guilloche. In fig. 904 the seated, flounced goddess holds the Egyptian lotus in her hand. Before her are a scorpion, a dove over an Ionic column, and two female worshipers, while behind her are two rabbits. In fig. 902 the goddess holds a vase and before her is a bird; and a worshiper, repeated symmetrically before and behind her, offers a goat. The guilloche is between two rabbits.



More peculiar is the cylinder shown in fig. 905, inasmuch as the seated goddess holds a serpent in her hand, the coil of which forms a ring by her long staff. Before her stands what is probably a female figure with an Egyptian headdress and holding up what may be the papyrus blossom. In the remaining space, above a guilloche, a Hittite eagle grasps in his talons each side an uncertain object and below it is a running oryx. In fig. 906 the seated goddess holds towards the worshiper what is possibly a serpent scepter, perhaps a lotus. Before her is a hand and behind her stands an attendant with a spear. A rabbit, a guilloche, and a bird complete the design. Fig. 907 gives us a seated goddess with face in front view, although it might be easier to regard that it is a bearded god. She (or he) holds a vase in the hand, and above is a running rabbit. A worshiper holds a "libra," and another is behind him, with a vase below, instead of above. The goddess whom we shall see in the next chapter under the arch, or half arch, we here see standing on her bull, and before her are a bird and a gazelle's head.

In fig. 908 the goddess holds a vase and under her seat is a lion. We can not be certain, however, that the lion has any special relation to the goddess. Before her is the sun in a crescent, resting over a column parted at the top; on one side of it is a bird and on the other an animal, while a small figure stands in an attitude of worship each side of the column. A standing deity holds a scimitar, like that of Marduk, and before him (or her) is a worshiper, and between them a



bird over a monkey. In fig. 909 the seated goddess holds the standard surmounted by the sun in the crescent and before her stands a worshiper perhaps. A standing deity, with Marduk's scimitar, receives the worship of a standing and of a small kneeling figure. In fig. 910, before the seated goddess holding a vase are the sun in the crescent and a human head, and behind her is the double-headed eagle. The other objects are two crossed lions, a running gazelle, a rabbit, and a small head, all reversed.

As to the interpretation of all these cylinders there is great doubt. I have presumed them to represent female deities, but the fact that male figures were usually beardless leaves room for question. In a single case (fig. 907), although the deity seemed bearded, I was inclined to think it might be meant to represent a necklace. One can hardly fail to connect this seated goddess with the Assyrian seated goddess of Chapter xxxix.

We know, however, that the Egyptians worshiped a Syrian goddess Anthat (Anat, cf. names of Syrian cities, Beth Anath, Anathoth) who was figured as seated (fig. 911), armed with a club, spear, and shield. She is evidently a warrior goddess, an attribution common to nearly all deities but not definitely marked in the seated goddess as figured in Syrian art.



CHAPTER L.

SYRO-HITTITE CYLINDERS: THE GODDESS WITH ROBE WITHDRAWN.

In the Syro-Hittite pantheon one or more naked goddesses are much in evidence. It may not be easy to decide certainly whether the various forms belong to a single goddess, but they seem to be much allied.

One of these forms is that of the goddess who exposes her nudity by lifting her garment on each side. It is seen in fig. 912. The goddess, standing between two symmetrical figures of a principal Hittite god, might almost equally be conceived as holding a skipping-rope or a garland; but we may suppose that she lifts up the tassels which weight the garment in front. Neither explanation is quite satisfactory. Whether we call it a garland or the edge of her garment, we must account for the dotted line which extends each side of the middle of her body, as if passing behind it. Above her are the star, the crescent, and the winged disk. Under two griffins are a guilloche and four marching figures. These marching figures, two or four, are frequent in the Hittite seals, almost as characteristic as the guilloche.



Sometimes, as in fig. 913, this goddess stands over the bull led by Teshub. The god stands on two mountains, suggesting that he is the god of storms. He holds in one hand a club and in the other two serpents by the neck. Two marching figures are over a guilloche, and under that is a lion. There are also a star, the sun in a crescent, a bird, a minute rabbit's head, and over the serpents' heads a flower like a thistle. This cylinder is especially valuable as indicating that what has often been called a lituus held in the hand of a king is really a serpent.

Another case, in which the goddess stands on a bull, is shown in fig. 914. This cylinder I am assured came from the Hauran. A worshiper kneels before the bull. Two other human figures face each other, one perhaps a god; and between them is the sun in a crescent, over a monkey. The other objects are a star, a rhomb, a hare, and a bird. Another is fig. 915. Here the goddess on the bull (or cow) is protected by an arch like a rope-pattern or guilloche. Before her stands the high-hatted god with a crook, and the remaining space is in two registers, of which the upper represents two deities, presumably male and female, seated before a table piled with what we may call cakes or "shewbread." The lower register has the four figures in procession. This cylinder is particularly interesting for the arch, with a sort of wings, over the goddess, which connects it with another form of the goddess which we shall consider later (fig. 930). Another is given

in fig. 916, with the nude goddess on a bull, before and behind which is a kneeling worshiper. Between the two worshipers is a lion, and above are birds and hares.

But frequently, and perhaps more often, the nude goddess does not stand on a bull. Such is the case in fig. 917. In this elaborate and characteristically Syro-Hittite cylinder there is an upper line of three Egyptian vultures with outspread wings. Under them a worshiper presents a hare to a seated beardless deity who holds in the hand a two-handled amphora. By the side of the nude goddess there is room for but two figures of the frequent procession. Other accessories are the star, the sun in the crescent, and a recumbent ibex. In fig. 918 the goddess occupies the full length of the cylinder and opposite her is a seated beardless deity holding a vase. Each side of her head is a crescent, quite an unusual use of the crescent as an ornament and not simply as the symbol of a deity. There are also a bird over a fish, the head of a sheep, perhaps, and an uncertain small object. In fig. 919 a worshiper stands on each side of the goddess, and below are a fish on one side of her and a bird on the other. There is also a bird, with wing raised, over a hare. In fig. 920 a worshiper stands on one side of the goddess, and on the other, under the extended wings of the solar disk, is a peculiarly Syro-Hittite kneeling genius, with



the head and wings of a bird. We observe also a scorpion. Yet another case is seen in fig. 921. Here a worshiper stands on one side of the goddess and perhaps was repeated in the fracture on the other side. Below is a bird on each side of the goddess and in the remaining space is a guilloche like a horizontal figure 8 between two lions. In fig. 883 we again have the goddess upon a bull and faced by Adad (Teshub) with a club and an ax; over her are her dove and the sun in a crescent. There are a seated deity holding a vase, a standing figure, eight figures in procession in two ranks, an ibex head, and a guilloche.

What appears to be a later development of the form of the nude goddess is shown in fig. 922, from a cylinder mainly wrought on the wheel. The goddess, lifting her garment, as we may suppose, although it looks more like a garland of small dots or a skipping-rope, has wings rising from her shoulders, and she stands on a lion instead of being on a bull. Beside her, on each side, is a winged sphinx-like animal, and under one of them appears to be a man pouring a libation, while under the other are a fish and a swan. There is also a standing figure, with hands uplifted as if to support the two interrelated crescents, just as we see composite figures in the same attitude upholding the winged disk (see figs. 683-686). Although this is a radical variation of the nude goddess we must consider her as identical with the nude goddess on a bull. The wings are a similar innovation and

they suffice to show that the goddess did not have a single differentiated form, but might considerably vary, so that we must not refuse to recognize the same goddess in other nude forms. Another such case we see in fig. 923. Here, unfortunately, the figure of the goddess is very much worn, but sufficient details remain to make certain that we have the goddess with wings, skirt raised, and face in profile. A male figure, probably a god, lifts a serpent, and is followed by a female figure, probably a goddess, in a square hat. A lion and an ibex are over a guilloche, and under it are two small marching figures.

We now pass to the cases in which the goddess stands nearly or quite nude, but does not stand on a bull or lion. Such an excellent example we have in fig. 924. Here the goddess wears a single loose garment which with her hand she draws back from one side so as to expose the navel and one entire leg. In one hand she holds a dove with its wings extended as if trying to escape. Facing the goddess is a god in a low cap with a broad band, after the style of the Gudea figures and deities; and half the seal is taken up with two lions facing each other, over a guilloche, over a griffin attacking an ibex. The dove, apparently in the hand of the goddess, we have seen several times already, and we can not fail to recall the goddess with the dove which Evans has found in Cnossus, not to speak of the later relation of the dove to Venus.



The two same deities we have in fig. 925; but here the goddess stands on a platform and the garment seems to fall on each side from her shoulders. Between the two facing deities is the small figure of a nude goddess like Zirbanit, except that, as in the later seals, her head is in profile. In this large and thick cylinder we have room also for two small seated figures facing each other before a table or altar, loaded with loaves perhaps, over two small kneeling figures each under an arch, such as we shall see in figs. 930, 932-936. There are also a crescent and a crux ansata, and the bird with the long neck which we call the Egyptian vulture. This cylinder is said to have come from the Hauran.

Another large and fine cylinder is shown in fig. 926. Here, as in the previous cases, the goddess's flounced garment covers one leg and is seen extending outside of the other leg. Before her stands a very short-skirted god, Adad-Teshub, with weapons in both hands, a long queue down his back, and walking on mountains. On his head is a pointed helmet. On the other side of the goddess is the other principal vested god in a high hat and a longer robe. We observe that both his hands are closed fists. Again we have two small figures facing each other before a stand, on which is a spouting vase from which they are filling their cups. Under them is a guilloche, over three marching figures. Other small objects are a dove over the goddess's vase, a monkey, a bull's head, a crux ansata, and what are perhaps two hands. This cylinder is remarkable for giving us the three principal deities. Yet another interesting case we have in fig. 927. Here the goddess appears to be entirely nude, but in the usual attitude. On each side of her is the duplicated figure of the

long-robed god. There is a sphinx above a lion, also a dove above a human head, the sun in a crescent, together with some other small uncertain objects. Yet another example is seen in fig. 928, where the worshiper facing her has what may be an Egyptian asp before his hat. There are a second standing figure, two small seated figures facing each other, each holding a crook, over two seated lions. There are also in the field the sun in a crescent, a monkey, a human head with bull's horns and ears, and the head of a goat.

We have already noticed that in fig. 925 we have the figure of the nude Zirbanit as well as this nude or semi-nude goddess. In fig. 929 we must consider the possibility that we have Zirbanit in the nude goddess with exaggerated hips, her arms akimbo, and streams from her shoulders. There is a second smaller figure, between two guilloches, with streams from the shoulders, but the arms are extended to the streams and the face is in front view and the body in a short robe. A long-robed figure, perhaps a worshiper, stands before the goddess, and there is a star. It is impossible to decide with certainty, but I am inclined to think that this is not Zirbanit, but the same goddess that we have been considering.



We now consider the same goddess as she is seen under an arch. In fig. 930 she is quite nude, in the usual attitude, and stands on her bull. In this rare case, as in fig. 915, the arch has two wings at the top. Before her is a worshiper holding an Egyptian asp, below which is a hawk. Behind her are the Egyptian triple cross, the emblem of stability, a worshiper, and a guilloche over two figures of a procession. If we take this goddess under the arch to be the same as the goddess we have been considering, we must also find her under the semi-arch and standing on a bull in fig. 931 (previously shown in fig. 907) although she is decently clad. Before her is her dove, and the approaching figure looks much like Martu of the Babylonian seals. We have also a worshiper approaching a seated deity before whose head is a hare.

The same goddess, here nude and not on her bull, we see in fig. 932, where she holds out her hands to grasp the arch. Beside her is a peculiar column or ashera, which we see in figs. 840 and 1308, a sort of Eastern herm, with a human face rudely suggested at the top. Of the two other figures, one suggests a confusion between Shamash and Gilgamesh, and the other is more like Marduk or Ramman.

With these cylinders should be mentioned some others in which the fully clad goddess stands under an arch or a half-arch or canopy. One of these is seen in fig. 933, where a worshiper stands before the goddess, and an attendant behind her holds a crook. Above her is the winged disk and on one side is a hand and on the other a fish. A heraldic eagle, with perhaps a fly each side, is over a lotus, an ibex, and a hand. Another is given in fig. 934. Here the goddess is duplicated, each in front view under a half arch, but facing each other, as shown by the feet. We must then think of them as a single deity. Beside her stands a single armed figure in a high hat, probably a deity, and a running hare, over a guilloche, over a lion. Again the goddess *en face* is doubled in fig. 935, where she stands under an arch. In the remaining space are three small draped figures and the Hittite eagle, over a kneeling figure attacking a lion. That this goddess *en face* is the same as the naked goddess on the bull is rendered doubtful by fig. 936, where, again duplicated, she stands on a lion, as if corresponding to the Babylonian Ishtar. We have also the god in a high hat, holding what looks like a flower, with a head like a mushroom; also a second bearded figure, probably some other Babylonian deity, in a



931



933



935



932



936



934

flounced garment and a hat of a type familiar in the Gudea figures. Between them is a stand or altar, with food or flame, and various small objects, a guilloche, a two-handled amphora, and a small human figure and a hare over a lion, over a vase.

In these last cases the goddess was *en face*, but in fig. 937 the fully clad goddess, in profile, appears to be the same as the nude goddess. She carries before her a long crook, while behind her a figure, clad in the Egyptian *shenti* and with the *atef* on his head, holds a dove towards her. Before her is a figure like the Babylonian Martu. Other objects are a small bird with wings outspread over a bull, over a guilloche and a lion, the sun in a crescent, the *crux ansata*, and the same with the stem divided, a club, and a crescent. The form of the sun in the crescent explains the origin of the Greek cross on the seal of the Kassite period.

If there is doubt about identifying this goddess, with face in front view, with our nude goddess, we can do so with more likelihood in the case of the nude or semi-nude goddess with wings. Such a case is in fig. 938. Here she holds a lance in one hand. Before her stands a worshiper with a vase, and besides a crescent and a hawk there are two doves, her special bird, over three marching figures.

In fig. 939 the semi-nude winged goddess holds in one hand the weapon of Marduk and in the other hand a staff; and a worshiper presents an antelope held

by the neck. The remaining space is in three registers. In the upper one is an ibex between two lions; in the second are two couchant griffins; in the third a seated figure between two sphinxes. A remarkable example we have in fig. 939*a*. Here the winged goddess, in profile, stands on her cow within a shrine. A bizarre nude figure, like Gilgamesh, in front view, kneeling and with legs bent outward, holds in one hand a sickle-like object and in the other what may be a fan. The remainder of the design is in two registers. In the upper is perhaps an altar inclosed in two rectangles, perhaps the base or steps of the altar, two apes, and a small seated figure under which is the rare cuttle-fish. In the lower register, which is reversed, are crossed lions and other animals. The bird near the goddess may be her dove. One might compare with this cylinder fig. 956 (where the figure is feminine) and figs. 642-646 (the "Gorgons"). In another case (fig. 940) the winged goddess is quite nude. She holds in her hand the same sort of an object which we saw in fig. 936 or in fig. 904, only it looks somewhat more like the Egyptian emblem of serenity. Before her stands another deity holding a bow and behind her are a worshiper and a vertical guilloche. Of two other objects it is hard to say whether they are more like fishes or doves. That they are probably birds of some sort appears



from the bird, whether dove or more likely a hawk, in fig. 1009, a quite unique cylinder, in which the goddess sits in the lap of her consort. There are two worshipers, a guilloche, the hawk over a head, over a hare, also a small vase. All the figures wear long flounced garments. This cylinder seems to connect the goddess with the high-hatted and fully robed god as his wife. We have previously observed her with him, and it is probably this same god whom she follows in fig. 941, a beautiful cylinder, unfortunately badly broken, so that the upper part of the body of the three gods is lost, for they would have been quite characteristic and distinctive. The one in front, behind the sphinx, appears to be Adad-Teshub, and one of the two others, probably the middle one with hand closed and holding a scimitar, is the deity in the high hat, here identified seemingly with Marduk. Here is also a *crux ansata*.

Before concluding the description of the goddess, or goddesses, of the Syro-Hittite art, it is well to include a seated deity, not certainly feminine, who occasionally appears. Two such are in the de Clercq collection, and in both cases Ménant or de Rougé regards the deity as masculine; but to me the goddess is more likely. One of these is seen in fig. 942, where she holds a scepter like the Egyptian *tat*. A worshiper stands before her, and a second worshiper before a god like Adad-Teshub.

There are a guilloche above and below and various other objects. Another case is seen in fig. 943, where the seated deity holds a vase and the remaining space is occupied by four *cruces ansatae* and seven birds.

It appears to be a goddess whom we see in fig. 944, fully vested, in a tall hat, and holding a branch. Her garment is curiously humped behind. Before her is a figure who, if we may judge from the "*lituus*" (or serpent) which he carries in his hand, is rather a king than a god. Between the guilloches above and below are three figures as attendants. One carries a crook, another a spear, and the third, who is kneeling, also carries a sort of crook.

While we know very little about the names and characteristics of the Hittite goddesses from the existing literature, we may presume that this nude goddess corresponds to the Phenician or Syrian Astarte, and to the naked Asiatic goddess figured on Egyptian monuments (see fig. 775), and may be tentatively called Ishkhara.



942



943



944

CHAPTER LI.

WINGED FIGURES IN SYRO-HITTITE CYLINDERS.

In some Syro-Hittite cylinders the most characteristic mythological figures are winged. Indeed, it would seem as if it were from the Syro-Hittite province that wings were adopted in the Assyrian art, as they are not characteristic of the earlier Babylonian art. Both human figures and composite are often provided with wings. We have observed such a case in fig. 920. Fig. 945 would seem to give us a very early Hittite cylinder. The god stands on a bull and seems himself to be winged, as are the two bird-headed genii that attend him, carrying baskets and cones. In the field are a fish and a star, and the guilloche is above and below. In fig. 946 two winged lion-headed figures kneel on each side of a branching column surmounted by a sun in a crescent. Here the column is a variation or development of the sacred tree, and the two figures are to be compared with the winged monsters which in Assyrian art attended the sacred tree and the winged disk above it. We may presume that the attendant worshiper is adoring the sun and moon rather than the kneeling figures. In fig. 947 the winged figure seems to have the neck and head of a bird. A human figure, probably a worshiper and not a god, presents a goat held by the neck, and there is a lion over a griffin and a rabbit. In fig. 948 two similar kneeling winged figures, with a bird's head and neck, follow a female worshiper, who holds a peculiar and undetermined object before a god who is identical in appearance with the Babylonian Ramman-Martu. The headdress of the worshiper has an Egyptian style and she probably has the crux ansata in her hand.



In fig. 949 the sacred tree is replaced by the Ionic column (the early Ionic is to be noticed, derived from a palm and not a lotus) and on each side is a winged figure with the upper part human and the lower part that of a lion. Above the column is the cross of the solar disk in the crescent, and on each side are a goat or ibex head and a rabbit. There is a star, and the guilloche is between an ibex and a lion. In fig. 950 the bird-headed and winged protecting genius seems actually to hold the trunk of the sacred tree with his hands. Under him is a bull and opposite him is Marduk. Then we have the winged disk surmounting a column, with Eabani on one side holding it, and on the other a rampant dragon attacked by a kneeling figure with a spear; while under them is the guilloche.

Sometimes the winged figure is entirely human. Such a case we have seen in fig. 873. Another such case we have in fig. 813, where the *shenti* worn by the worshiper, the staffs in the hands of the two figures, and the necks of the vultures above and below the guilloche indicate the strong Egyptian influence.

Curious are the figures, with wings rising from their shoulders, which we find in fig. 951. Two of the three figures are winged and all are animal-headed. The wingless figure, with the head of an antelope, carries in one hand a branch with a triple end, like the Persian baresma, and in the other a bent rod under a four-rayed emblem of the sun, which suggests the crossed emblem which we have seen in the Kassite seals as in fig. 532. The winged figure with the head of a bird lifts two antelopes by the hind leg and the other winged figure lifts an uncertain animal. There is also a very simple guilloche. With this may be compared fig. 952, where



a winged figure with an Egyptian headdress lifts a gazelle, and facing him is a bull-headed figure. Two other figures face each other, one a winged human-headed bull and the other a bird-headed flounced figure holding a scimitar in his hand. The Egyptian influence is accentuated by the *crux ansata*. Yet another parallel case is shown in fig. 953. Here a winged two-headed figure lifts an animal with each hand, and on each side stands a worshiper, apparently aiding in lifting it. Another figure holds a club in one hand and with the other lifts the head of an animal. I would call attention here to fig. 1212, with its human figures with double animal heads and a Sabeen inscription.



A very peculiar cylinder is shown in fig. 954. Arched in an angular guilloche a beardless figure, duplicated, *de face*, is provided with wings falling from the hips and an extra joint in the legs, so that they may be fantastically twisted. Alternating with this figure, and duplicated, is another in a short skirt and having two heads, one of a stag, the other of an antelope. This extremely bizarre design has hardly any relation to the general art of the region or period, and except for the guilloche might suggest a Gnostic origin, if it were not found on a cylinder. In connection with this we may consider fig. 956a with its three two-headed figures, its tree of life, lion and ibex, and other smaller emblems. But how these cylinders should be classed is not clear. With these may be compared the cylinder shown in fig. 956, where we

have a goddess *de face* with twisted legs (but no supplemental joint) borne on the shoulders of two stalwart naked men, while there is a winged goat-fish each side of her head. A sort of Gilgamesh, with four wings, stands on two winged monsters and lifts with each hand a sphinx by the hind leg. I have no certainty that this cylinder is Syro-Hittite. It may come from quite another race of people, of the wild Arab hunter character, if we can judge from the pose and style of the two naked men who lift the goddess. Just such a one we see in the magnificent cylinder shown in fig. 596, where the hunter is engaged at once with a lion, a stag, and an ostrich. In fig. 955 the female winged figure with twisted legs lifts her hands under the winged disk. She is supported on each side, as in the last case, by a naked male figure. The rest of the design consists of a tree of life, and on each side a deer, a sphinx, and an ibex.



The winged figure in fig. 957 must be a goddess of superior rank, embraced as she is in a guilloche frame. She has the square hat of a goddess and carries in one hand the scimitar borne by Marduk, and sometimes by Ishtar, while a long staff is held in the other hand. In the remaining space two figures of Aa-Shala face each other before the cross of the sun in a crescent, over three scorpions.

In fig. 958 the winged goddess is closely draped, after the style of an Egyptian mummy. A female figure stands in an attitude of respect before and behind her, while there is a griffin above a guilloche and a humped bull below it. In fig. 922 we have observed that the goddess withdrawing her garment is sometimes winged, and it may be that we have the same deity in a very attractive cylinder which is shown in fig. 959. Before the vested god, discussed in Chapter XLVII, stands the winged goddess in a short ribbed garment with a skirt below it; she has the feminine, square hat. In each hand she carries a slender weapon. Under her right hand is a small worshiper. It must not be supposed that she seizes him by the hair of his head, as it might seem. Between a braided guilloche above and below is seen Gilgamesh seizing a lion from behind. One should notice the curved club carried by the vested god, which has been



thought to be a boomerang or throwstick. We have a similar goddess in fig. 960, where the goddess is duplicated before a cypress, with three fishes beside her. There is a single worshiper of full size, and, under a rabbit, three smaller apparently female figures. The same winged goddess we have in fig. 961, where the winged goddess carries what may be a spear and a worshiper holds a vase, while between them is a small stand with an amphora, also a small vase and the sun in the crescent. There are two birds over three marching figures, one of whom carries a weapon or standard. In 961a the winged figure with a square hat is a goddess, and we have the vested god with an ax, the frequent Babylonian, flounced goddess, the small, marching figures, and various emblems.

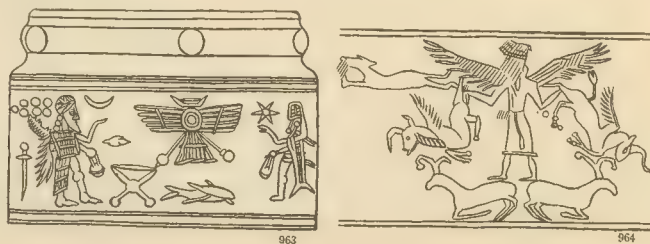


In fig. 963 we have what is evidently a male winged deity. This is one of those peculiar northern cylinders, one end of which is extended to form a handle pierced transversely. The god, or genius more likely, carries a basket and stands in adoration on one side of the winged disk, over a table and a fish, while a fish-garmented genius stands opposite on the other side. There are a star, a crescent, the seven dots, and a short sword.

We may include here such a case as is shown in fig. 962, where we see a winged griffin following an ibex, over which is a bird, perhaps a goose. There is also a single nude human figure, quite in the Egyptian style.

Another cylinder, hard to locate, but which seems to be of northern, perhaps Armenian, origin, is seen in fig. 964. It is of that variegated stone, red and white jasper, which belongs to an outlying province of Assyria. A winged deity, in a garment reaching to the knees, lifts a winged bull with each hand by the hind leg, while he stands on two ibexes, and a running dog fills an upper space.

These winged figures are of various meaning. Those with animal or bird heads represent not deities but mythological genii, like those that we have seen about the sacred tree. But the female winged figure is a goddess, and very likely the same goddess whom we have seen usually displaying her nudity in the preceding chapter, but sometimes partly or wholly clad, and even winged. Where there is the case of a winged male deity he is to be assimilated with the winged genii in human shape attached to the Assyrian Sacred Tree.



CHAPTER LII.

THE BULL-ALTAR.

An altar in the form of a bull is hardly to be expected, and yet what else can we call the object on the cylinders to be described in this chapter? They are also peculiar in the style of the engraving and seem to suggest that they do not belong strictly to the region of Babylonia, although their art is allied to it. We have so seldom any definite information as to the place where seals were found that we are at times left to conjecture on uncertain data as to their origin; such is the case with these cylinders. It is my impression that they come from the region outside of Assyria proper. I purchased one from the neighborhood of Arbela, the modern Erbil, perhaps the only city in the East which is still built on the top of a mound, surrounded by walls, and entered by a long ascent through the gate; and I purchased one or two others near Mardin, and one was from Antarados in Phenicia. The fact that this class of cylinders is rare in the museums and not figured in the published catalogues is evidence that it is not of true Babylonian or Assyrian origin. The Metropolitan Museum has a dozen specimens.



An example is seen in fig. 965. We see, as usual, a very square-bodied bull, the body ornamented with three series of close slanting lines, the legs set with no sense of anatomical position, and, arising from the back of the bull, a triangular object which one may conjecture to represent a flame. Apparently this design is not meant to represent a real bull, but the image of a bull for worship and probably for the offering of sacrifice. We might imagine a cuplike depression on the square back of the bull, into which oil was poured and burned. Before the bull-altar, if such it be, stand two worshipers, and Gilgamesh lifts a lion and rests his foot on its head. Under the bull-altar is a scorpion. All the figured objects are covered with the same slanting lines, showing a peculiar school of art which is not Babylonian; and yet the basis of the design is mostly Babylonian, apart from the bull-altar.

A second illustration is from the Collection of the Louvre (fig. 966). Again we have the two worshipers before the bull-altar, but in place of the lion vanquished by Gilgamesh we have the rampant and victorious lion of Nergal, as in Chapter XXIX, and under the bull is a small human figure, perhaps of a child. This can not but raise the question whether we have here a case of human sacrifice, the bronze bull being possibly prepared for the immolation of the human victim. We know that human sacrifices were practised in Syria and on the western coasts, although there is no evidence of such practice prevailing in Babylonia, so that we need not be surprised at the possible representation of human sacrifice, perhaps child sacrifice, in the region from which these cylinders seem to have come. That we have a case

of such sacrifice in this cylinder is, however, a mere matter of conjecture. With this we may compare fig. 967, where what I call the bull-altar is over a lion and behind the two is an upright serpent, while three worshipers approach.

Another peculiar case of this same "bull-altar," in which we may see something other than the bull, is shown in fig. 968. Here the object has, besides the four legs, two arms and hands reaching out in front, on which, if an altar, an offering could be put, after the style in which we are told that children were placed for



the sacrifice to Moloch. The condition of the cylinder does not allow us certainly to understand what was the shape of the composite animal's head, but it does not seem to be that of a bull. The conical object which seemed like a flame is here so drawn as almost to suggest the turbans, or tiaras, of the principal gods as they are figured over the divine thrones on the so-called "boundary stones." The accessories of this seal are the worshiper in front, a female figure, perhaps the goddess in the form of Aa or Shala behind, a star and another small uncertain object over the animal, and, what is important, the rope-pattern or guilloche under the bull. This definitely connects the seal with the influence of the northern and western region and the Syro-Hittite art, although there is nothing else particularly Hittite about this cylinder.

Another cylinder in which the bull shows the arms in front is seen in fig. 969. Unfortunately the upper part of this cylinder has been broken so that the heads of the figures are lost. Before the bull-altar, which is shaded with unusual care, is a table or stand, and below it a dog (?) and a worshiper. We have then a goddess, probably, whose seat is a quadruped of some sort, and under it are two lions. These rest on a platform which is supported by the hands of two Gilgamesh-like figures, between whom is a Hittite two-headed eagle. Before the goddess we see a vase and perhaps a goat-fish, and behind her two small birds. We then have the god Adad, or Teshub, with his foot on a bull led by a cord, and in his other hand a serpent held by the neck, while before him is a curious animal and a small nude figure. There remains another seated deity, or more likely the same, with her seat supported by two lions. She holds a vase in her hand and before her is a worshiper with a vase and also a columnar altar with a round object on it. This unusually complicated cylinder seems more Hittite than Syrian, and hardly shows Egyptian influence. It is a thick cylinder, and seems to belong to the earlier period of its class.

But more distinctly of the Syro-Hittite origin appears to be fig. 978, which we may probably call fairly Syrian. This we shall have to consider again when we come to treat of the goddess in the chariot. The goddess is drawn by four horses in a four-wheeled chariot. Before her, in two registers, are two "bull-altars" facing each other, with a bird above each, also two bulls crossed and a head or mask, and in the lower register four marching figures, two of them meeting the other two. A succession of such small figures is characteristic of Syro-Hittite seals. The table-altar between the two "bull-altars" is to be observed. If the style of this cylinder suggests that it is Syrian we have other evidence in the case of fig. 970, a cylinder reported to have been found in Antarados, in Phenicia. Here the bull-altar is over an ibex and three worshipers approach a seated beardless deity, before whom is the sun in a crescent. In fig. 971 three worshipers approach the bull-altar, which stands on a platform, as also in the next figure.

We have a slight variation of the usual style in fig. 972 where the two worshipers are kneeling, and there are irregular cross-lines on the "flame." But we have quite a different and important variation on two cylinders, where the cone or "flame" over the bull is replaced by a bird as in fig. 978. One of them (fig. 973) is quite elaborate and gives us two bulls facing each other, with a table, or altar, between them, and three animals below, while also a worshiper approaches a seated deity. The other, fig. 974, also has a seated deity with two worshipers, and under the bull a dog or lion. Another cylinder which we may doubtfully include here is shown in fig. 975. The general style of cutting is the same, but the bull is not the chief object in the design, although there is a worshiper before it and above it is a rabbit. The other objects are a seated beardless deity, before her a lion and two worshipers, and two small figures under the bull.

With the exception of fig. 969, none of these cylinders belong to a good style of art. They are coarsely cut, on hematite, and suggest a comparatively rude period in the district where they were used. It is also noticeable that they carry



no inscriptions, although the cuneiform script must have been the prevailing art. It is likely that they belong to a period of about 1500 B. C., when the shape and size and style of the Middle Babylonian Empire were controlling, but the art was debased in outlying provinces. It is quite impossible to identify the object of worship represented by the bull, or rather the image of the bull, further than to say that it is certainly an image for worship and not an animal that is represented.

The question has been raised whether we have here a representation of a human sacrifice, as suggested by the child (but clothed) under the bull in fig. 966, and also the arms in figs. 968, 969. In a paper on "The Image of Moloch," by Prof. George F. Moore (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xvi, p. 155), a Jewish midrash is quoted, according to which the idol had the head of a calf, on a human body; its arms were extended to receive the victim; the image (of metal) was hollow, and heated by a fire within till the hands were glowing; the priests took the child from the parent and laid it in the arms of the god until it was burned to death; the priests meanwhile beating drums loudly to drown its cries. This story, Professor Moore believes, was derived by the rabbinic midrash from the tale by Diodorus Siculus, of the sacrifice by the citizens of Carthage of two hundred boys of noble birth to Kronos, when the city was besieged by Agathocles. The image of Kronos was of brass and its arms were stretched out in such a direction that the children when laid on its arms would roll off into a pit of fire. It can hardly

be doubted that there was some basis for the report of these child sacrifices at Carthage, and in that case also, very likely, in Phenicia or Syria. We must also keep in mind, in this comparison, the bull of Phalaris, first mentioned by Pindar ("Pyth." I, 185), which was a bronze bull, with an opening by which the tyrant's victim was put within and a fire kindled underneath. This may well have had its origin in a bronze image in which sacrifices of human victims were offered to a god. It is by no means to be positively claimed that we have in these seals a representation of a bronze bull in which, either within its body or on its arms, children were sacrificed by fire, as to Moloch (properly *Melekh*, the King), and yet the representations suggest it. It is somewhat probable that these cylinders were in use in northern Syria and that they represent a cultus not Assyrian, but belonging to the Aramaic people. Almost certainly fig. 978 is Syrian, with its goddess in the four-wheeled chariot, while fig. 970 came from Phenicia. We do not know how far what we may call Syrian, or Syro-Hittite, may have extended to the east, perhaps even across the Tigris.



CHAPTER LIII.

SYRO-HITTITE DEITY IN A CHARIOT.

Probably, like others of the general class which I have called Syro-Hittite, the goddess to be considered in this chapter is more Syrian than Hittite, perhaps Phenician. The cutting of these cylinders is generally rather rude and coarse, their workmanship being inferior to those which show the more Egyptian influence. Indeed the Egyptian influence is lacking and we may regard them as purely native in their idea and execution; but just what country they came from is not clear. We may observe that their facture is much like that of the cylinders containing the bull-altar, in the preceding chapter, and, indeed, we shall see that the bull-altar is on two of these cylinders.

We have a fair example of these cylinders with the goddess in fig. 976. She sits not in a war chariot, which has two wheels and is drawn by two horses, but in a ceremonial four-wheeled car drawn by four horses. She sits alone, on the seat behind, while before her is the much higher portion over which the reins go which fall down till they reach the horses' heads. The dress of the goddess is flounced. The wheels are arranged with a cross, which suggests the symbol of the sun. One



must not think that there is an attempt at perspective in the reduction of the size of the further horses; simply the curvature of the reins did not leave room for the full-sized horse. Before the chariot are two registers, of which the upper contains two crossed bulls and the bull-altar, with the body quite different, in its crossed lines, from the two crossed bulls, suggesting that it does not represent animals, but an image with a flame, perhaps, arising from the back, as shown in Chapter LII. In the lower register two small figures face two others, such as we see in the processions on Syro-Hittite seals.

Another example much like this is seen in fig. 978. Again we see the four-wheeled chariot of state, and also the pole by which the four horses are driven abreast. Four attendants march beside the chariot. The rest of the space is in two registers. First we have, above, two bulls crossed, as before, and below them two crossed lions. Then come, in the upper register, two symmetric bull-altars, with a bird above the angular flame, if such it be, and a table with loaves between them and a worshiper before them. Below are three kneeling figures of Gilgamesh in front view, the middle one holding up his hands and the others holding each a standard on which is the sun in a crescent. One is struck by the extreme symmetrical arrangement of the bull-altars and the figures of Gilgamesh.

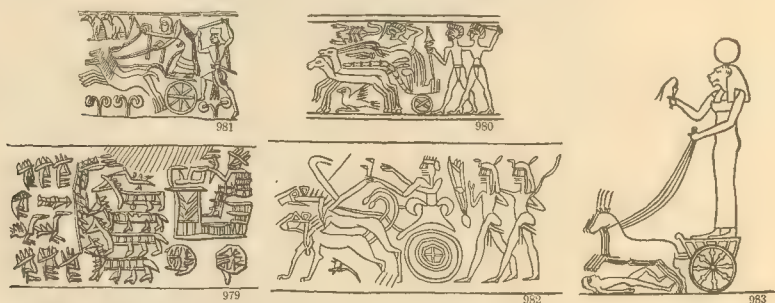
Yet another illustration appears in fig. 977, where there is a certain suspicion that the deity is bearded. There also sits a monkey-like figure in the chariot, and the two attendants walk behind. Again, in fig. 979 before the chariot are heads, birds, and fishes.

In the cases given it is by no means sure that the deity is a goddess who rides in state. We may possibly have here the more Greek conception of the sun-god driving his chariot through the heavens, as, indeed, they are interpreted by Robert Brown, Jr., in *The Academy*, Nov. 7, 1896, who sees here Auriga, and yet I am more inclined to see here an Oriental thought of a goddess in a chariot. In the Babylonian mythology the Sun-god rather rode over the sky or across the under waters in a boat. We seem to have some relation to the figures in our seals in the worship of Anaitis, as we find it described in the *Zend-Avesta*. We read ("*Sacred Books of the East*," III, vol. 2, pp. 56, 57, American Edition):

11. Who drives forward in her chariot, holding the reins of the chariot. She goes driving, on this chariot, longing for men—to worship her—and thinking thus in her heart: "Who will praise me? Who will offer me the sacrifice, with libations clearly prepared and well strained, together with the Haoma and Meat?"

Whom four horses carry, all white, of one and the same color, of the same blood, tall, crushing down the hates of all haters, of the Dævas and men, of the Yâtus and Pairikas, of the oppressors of the blind and the deaf.

The description is accurate, and it may well be that this, from the *Aban Yast*, was derived from just such a figure of the goddess as we see on these cylinders. The Persian Anaitis (Anahita) was identified in the West with the Ephesian Artemis and the Phenician Astarte. If we could only know where cylinders with this design and those with the bull-altar are more generally found, we could more hopefully assure ourselves whether we have here an Anaitis from east of the Tigris or a western Astarte. One cylinder with the bull altar I obtained at Arbela, but I think that was the eastern extreme of its prevalence.



I have said that the two-wheeled chariot was used for war. There are several cylinders which seem to be related in style to those above described, and which give us a deity, or a hero, in battle. The similarity is in the attendants with their marching attitude. One such is given in fig. 980. The two-wheeled chariot is drawn by two horses; and the long-skirted beardless driver, apparently feminine, leans forward, holding the reins with one hand, and with the other brandishes a whip. Above the horses is a scorpion and below them a dove, both emblems of a feminine deity. Behind the chariot are two soldiers carrying one a spear and the

other a short sword. Another of the same type is shown in fig. 981. The rider, the horses, and the chariot are the same, but a single tall warrior follows with a short sword and running swiftly. His is a short garment, unlike the long robe of the presumed goddess. Above are two Egyptian vultures and below are three double scrolls. This is evidently of an Egyptian style and, indeed, in both cases, the workmanship is superior to that in the seals which show the goddess in the four-wheeled chariot, so that these are more closely connected with the better Syro-Hittite style.

That this represents a deity and not a human warrior is rendered probable by fig. 982 where the beardless figure, presumably a goddess, is drawn by lions, which seem to relate her to Ishtar, or Astarte. Behind her chariot are two marching figures with headdresses of asps. The style is Egyptian, and so probably early. In the much later art the Phrygian goddess Ma, or Kybele, the turret-crowned Magna Mater of Pessinus, was drawn by lions, much in this style, in her search for her son Attis (Roscher, "Kybele," cols. 1651, 1671); and in Lucian "De Dea Syria" we are told that the goddess of Hierapolis was drawn by two lions. Ishtar of Nineveh was drawn by seven lions (Boscawen, *Oriental and Babylonian Record*, VIII, p. 137).

For cylinders which give us not deities, but scenes distinctly of history or fighting from a chariot, see Chapter LVIII.

But we have in the Egyptian mythology and art what we may regard as well-nigh conclusive evidence that the goddess in the chariot is the Syrian Ashtoreth, or Ishtar (Astarte). Among the Syrian gods carried into Egypt and worshiped and figured there was Astharthet, called "Mistress of the horses, Lady of the Chariot" (Budge, "The Gods of the Egyptians," II, p. 278), and figured driving in a chariot over prostrate foes (fig. 983). After their manner the Egyptians gave her the head of a lion, and we remember the relation of Ishtar to a lion in both the Babylonian and Assyrian art. Indeed in another form of Ishtar in Egypt she stands on a lion, as in fig. 775. We have seen her drawn by lions after the better Syrian convention in fig. 982.

It may be noticed that we have here in Syria the four-horse team, attached to a four-wheeled chariot. In Ridgeway's "Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse," p. 251, it is said that "the four-horse chariot does not seem to have been employed by any of the peoples of Upper Europe, by Vedic Aryans, Persians, Assyrians, Canaanites, or Egyptians," but was introduced by the Greeks from Libya in the seventh century B. C. But we have here the four-horse chariot used for purposes of state, but with racing horses, at a period probably considerably earlier.

CHAPTER LIV.

RUDE SYRO-HITTITE CYLINDERS.

There is a class of cylinders, usually of hematite or magnetic iron ore, which may be treated by themselves because of the style of their artisanship rather than their designs, although sometimes they are of chalcedony or even agate. They are not found so much along the Syrian coast as they are within the Cilician Hittite region, from Marash and Aintab eastward. Their peculiarity is that they are made entirely with the wheel, and generally very rudely. Three cutting tools may be used, one making a round deep hole, large or small, according to the size of the



burr used; another a disk, the edge of which was applied to make straight lines, generally deeper in the middle where the disk dug deeper; and the third a cylindrical tool which when applied vertically would cut circles, or which if held at an angle would make semicircles or crescents. We may suppose these to represent a rather late period in the Hittite art, and also the cheaper products of the trade, for it was possible to do some very excellent work with the wheel. The designs are of all sorts, but very rude animals, fishes, and birds were frequently sufficient to satisfy the owner.

One of the better examples of this style is seen in fig. 984. Here Teshub leads his bull and lifts his weapon. Before him are a worshiper and the sacred disk. A bird-headed winged figure approaches a seated deity, probably a goddess. Fig. 985 is of interest, as it represents two far-separated periods of art. The cylinder was originally of an excellent old Gudea type, and afterwards fell into the hands

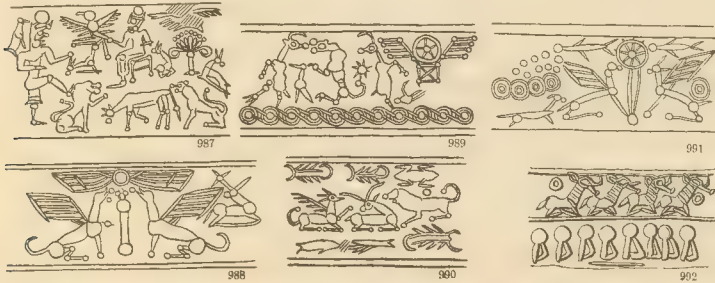


of a man of the late Hittite period, who retained of it the fine seated god and the worshiper and the goddess Aa, and also the sun in its crescent. But the later owner removed the inscription and put in its place meaningless animals and other emblems between the old figures, one of them the Egyptian symbol of stability.

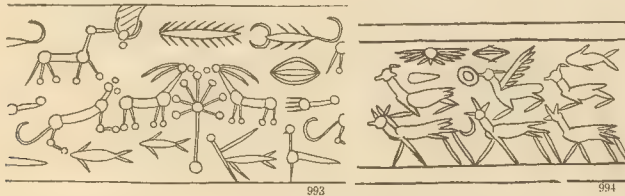
In fig. 986 the seat of the goddess is on a lion and before her are a sphinx and also a worshiper. A winged figure lifts two antelopes. There is a sacred tree. The guilloche is very rude and, as in these cylinders, is wrought with the cylindrical drill. In fig. 987 there is a seated deity, and another god rests his foot on a lion. There are various animals, and it is not quite certain that what looks like a sacred tree is not really a cuttle-fish, as in fig. 798.

The facture of the guilloche will be observed in fig. 896, on which are three figures, one of which is winged and lifts two ibexes; one stands and holds a weapon; and one is on his knee and strikes a spear at the head of a lion below him.

But these are unusually elaborate specimens of this style. Somewhat better than the average is fig. 25, where the sacred tree is quite as likely to be the cuttle-fish. The guilloche can hardly be recognized in its circles, but Zirbanit is clear, as are the sphinx, the ibex, and the scorpion. In place of a deity in human form we have in fig. 988 the winged disk over a column, guarded by winged animals.



It will be observed that the cylindrical drill makes a fine curve to the tail, and always the same. We have in fig. 989 the guilloche and the winged disk, and of the animals a lion is recognizable. Fig. 1046 will give us a study of the guilloche and fig. 990 of a little zoological garden. It may be well to give half a dozen other illustrations, of which a hundred might be chosen. Such are fig. 991, where the solar disk has become a wheel; fig. 993, where the curve of the lion's tail makes him into a dog; fig. 992, a silver cylinder, on which the objects of the lower register are past guessing; fig. 994, with its animals and its winged disk; fig. 995, with its two figures holding a sort of standard; and fig. 996, with its nude goddess.



While these cylinders are of very little value either for their art or their mythology, their number gives them importance and they indicate a general culture which required that men of the humbler positions found it necessary to have a distinctive seal; and it shows the interest taken in animals, which very possibly entered into the name and the worship of the owners. As we have such names as Lyon, Lamb, and Kidd, so a man whose name was Frog might cover his seal with frogs. We shall see in figs. 1030 and 1031 seals entirely covered over with pigs and foxes, and the names of Hogg and Fox are familiar to us.



CHAPTER LV.

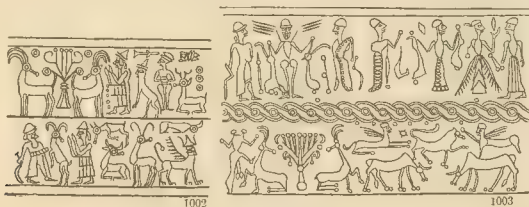
MISCELLANEOUS SYRO-HITTITE CYLINDERS.

In the Syro-Hittite class of cylinders must be put a number quite eclectic and curious, which combine Egyptian, Hittite, and Babylonian characteristics and are therefore, perhaps, as nearly pure Syrian as anything we can choose. They are well cut, largely with the wheel. One of these is seen in fig. 997. On each side of the Assyrian tree of life, below, is a couchant ibex, and on each side above is a griffin. A Hittite goddess in a chair carries the Hittite ax, but has a headdress of horns, and a vase which suggests Egyptian influence. Before her a short-skirted figure, with a bull's head and uptilted Hittite shoes, presents a lion to the goddess, holding it by the head and tail, while the goddess grasps its leg. Above, in the field, are a fish and a rosette, and between them what may be a weapon. Another to be considered is fig. 1000. Here, with a sacred tree, are three bizarre two-headed figures



which lift, between them, a lion and an ibex. The three figures are all flounced, and the middle one has the heads of bulls, while the heads of the others may be supposed to be human, perhaps. There is a bull's head, also rosettes, etc. One that may be quite early, and is at least very rudely scratched on magnetic iron, is given in fig. 999. Before a seated beardless deity holding a vase stand one small and one full-length figure. There are a sphinx and various birds and animals, also the crux ansata; and, in place of the rope-pattern guilloche, there is an unusual returning spiral. One notices both the sun in the crescent and a star in a crescent by the head of the seated deity. While peculiar, the composition hardly looks like a forgery. Of a somewhat later period is fig. 998, engraved with the terebra. There are three Assyrian figures, of whom one may be Marduk. There are various animals, but peculiar are the wheel, nearly or quite unique, and the hand.

There are some cylinders notable for the extreme minuteness and crowded complexity of their design, which we are compelled to regard as from the Syro-Hittite region. They are wrought in part by the point and in part by the wheel. Such a one is to be seen in fig. 1001. It is in two registers. The upper one has two kneeling figures of Gilgamesh facing each other under a winged disk and a large rosette; then a vase and a "libra"; a winged figure with two lion heads; another winged figure with two antelope-heads and holding an antelope by the hind leg with each hand; then two short-skirted figures, each carrying a goat on his shoulder, while an ibex walks by his side. The second or opposite register, for the figures are reversed, is separated from the first by a series of small, close circles, each inclosing a dot, all made with a cylindrical tool, and together forming a guilloche. It contains a seated deity, before which is a rampant ibex (?); an animal-headed figure holding a javelin; a winged figure with two animal heads lifting two antelopes by the hind leg; a short-skirted and a long-skirted figure lifting animals, perhaps one of them a man lifted by his leg; and finally, a lion-headed figure holding a long spear or staff. The short-skirted figures seem to be masculine, while the long-skirted figures seem to be feminine and are winged, except the seated goddess. It is possible that both these scenes belong to the underworld, and so should be connected with Chapter XLVI.



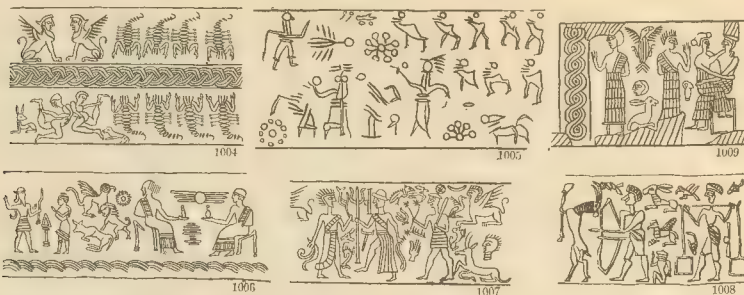
Another of this type is given in fig. 1002. The upper register has a sacred tree with an ibex each side of it, a flounced figure (probably Aa-Shala), a rampant bull with human head and high Hittite hat, the naked goddess, and a deer couchant. In the lower register are Marduk and Aa-Shala, with a rampant ibex between them, a winged sphinx and other animals. One observes, as in the last case, the abundant use of the tubular drill. One would imagine the cylinder shown in fig. 1003 to have come from the same atelier. The tooling and the sacred tree (may it be a cuttle-fish?) are the same, but the registers are separated by a guilloche. In the upper register a naked winged goddess lifts a reversed lion by the hind leg and is flanked on each side by a figure like Marduk; another figure, not winged, similarly lifts two lions, and beside him is a long-skirted figure, probably feminine, with wings covering the legs; and each side of these two figures is a worshiper. In the lower register is the sacred tree (or cuttle-fish) with an ibex each side, one of which seems to be attacked by a man; and there are also a sphinx, a lion, and other animals.

Very much finer in execution is fig. 1004. An elaborate guilloche separates the two registers. In the upper register two seated sphinxes face each other and there are four scorpions. In the lower we have the same four scorpions, with a small couchant gazelle and also, as a very unusual motif, quite Greek in its effect, two nude athletes struggling, and each seizing the other by the ankle. It

would not be very hazardous to conceive of this cylinder as belonging to the late Mycenæan or early Greek period.

Much ruder in its workmanship is fig. 1005. Here the two registers are not clearly separated. The upper one contains a human figure with short trousers and five rampant animals, like ibexes. In the lower register are two human figures, one seizing an animal, a number of rosettes, and various animals. Much is crowded into fig. 1006. Here two seated beardless deities hold each a vase over an altar, while above them is the winged disk. A worshiper stands before Teshub, and a pointed columnar altar is between them. A griffin attacks a lion, which in turn attacks a humped ox. There is also a star, and a guilloche runs along under the figures.

Two peculiar gods are seen in fig. 1007. One of these gods, in a short Hittite garment, carries a club in his left hand over his shoulder, and in his right are two star-like flowers with long stems. The second god is clothed and stands like Shamash, with leg lifted. In his left hand he holds behind him a bent weapon, and in his right he lifts the Babylonian caduceus. Before him is a worshiper, and the remaining space is crowded with a sphinx, a crescent, a rabbit, a vulture, an ibex, etc. This is reported from the Hauran.



Among those which represent a god or hero as an archer may be included fig. 1008, said to have come from Beisan in the trans-Jordan region of the Hauran. With his bent bow he shoots an ibex. There is another standing figure, with hands lifted, carrying, in the attitude of an eastern hamal, weights from his shoulders. Other objects are a rabbit, over a griffin, over a small sitting figure; also a bird, a goat's head, a fish, and a "libra."

There are several peculiar or unique designs on Hittite cylinders that may be here described. One of them is shown in fig. 1009. Here the male figure holds the female on his knees, while a worshiper, or attendant, stands before and another behind, in an attitude of respect. All the figures are in flounced garments. There is a Hittite eagle over a human head, over a rabbit; also a small pitcher and a guilloche. The attitude of the god holding the goddess indicates the Egyptian influence. In fig. 1010, from the Hauran, there are three flounced female figures, the central one apparently Ishtar. Then we have the Hittite eagle over a guilloche, over an unusual stag, in a cramped position to fit the space. We observe also two stars, a fish, and an Egyptian hawk. The cylinder shown in fig. 1011 is also of unusual design. A figure on horseback carries a bent weapon and four marching figures of the frequent Hittite type approach. There are also a crux ansata, a

scorpion, and a small crescent. Another very peculiar cylinder, for which I can find no real parallel, is to be seen in fig. 1012. Here are three figures, each nude except for a girdle, the two ends of which hang down. They have long hair falling over their shoulders, and two of them are apparently fighting with short swords, while the third holds a spear. There is a guilloche with an ibex couchant above and another below it. There is also a *crux ansata*.

It must not be a matter of surprise that, with the paucity of inscriptions and other literary material available for instruction, and the variety of districts from which these Syro-Hittite cylinders come, we find not a few which, while they are interesting, we can not classify or interpret. They represent mythological concep-



tions of which we are still ignorant. We can not be certain who is the god or who the two gods represented as worshiped in fig. 1013. One of them, before whom a goddess like Aa stands in adoration, looks like Marduk. In fig. 1014, a cylinder from the Hauran, there seem to be Egyptian resemblances. The winged disk, with rays in place of a tail, is utterly unlike what we see in any other known cylinder, except a Cypriote cylinder shown in fig. 1168, but it suggests the rays with hands, on the solar disk, as worshiped by the heretic king of Egypt. The seated deity and the figure approaching and offering fish have the head of a dog. There is a second small worshipping figure and also a small simple tree. Fig. 1015 is peculiar, because



two small nude human figures with face turned upward and one arm lifted in petition seem to beg their life of a nude goddess who has her two arms reached above them. She holds in one hand the standard to which one of the small figures seems tied by the wrist, and above which are the crescent and disk. Two griffins, two lions, a bird and two other uncertain objects fill the space of three registers. In fig. 1015a we have two griffins facing each other, with a tree of life above and a prancing lion below. Back of them is the rope-pattern which includes three rosettes, while standing on it are two figures in a definitely Hittite dress and with a Hittite queue, who hold a lotus, apparently, each toward a small flounced figure who stands over the wing of the griffin.

Sphinxes and griffins are very common on these cylinders, but generally they are found in reduced size in the registers. Occasionally they occupy the main space. Such a case appears in fig. 1305c, where below the interlace two seated sphinxes face each other, each lifting a foot, and between them, above, is a winged disk, and below the head of the goddess Belit-Ninkharshag. There is also a star, and the goat's head of the god Tarkhu is under a rabbit. With this may be compared a pyramidal seal of approximately the same age, seen in fig. 1016.

It is worth while to call attention to fig. 1017 for the emblems of the column surmounted by a human head protected above and behind by a covering, as this seems to have entered into the Hittite hieroglyphic system and is occasionally to be seen on the cylinders. A figure somewhat like Shamash stands before the column and two other figures may represent a god and a goddess. Fig. 1018 may be observed for the somewhat rude cutting and the type of the protuberant faces, more like what we find on the Hittite bas-reliefs. There are two gods, one something like Shamash in his attitude, and one more like Teshub, and before each is a worshiper. One observes that the headdress of the worshipers is simpler than that of the gods.

Fig. 1019 is of interest particularly for the shape of the altar, which was in use in Assyria at least to the time of Sargon, for one of alabaster, with his name, is in the British Museum. This is an unusually large cylinder (44 mm. in length) of



hematite. Quite unusual is the design in fig. 1020 where a god—for he carries in the same hand a form of the Babylonian caduceus and an animal—attacks a lion. The four registers which fill most of the space are unusually elaborate. In the upper one are rabbits and heads; in the second an ibex, a lion, a man lying on his back, and a bird; the third is a guilloche; and in the fourth a dragon, a seated female figure, and a kneeling figure carrying an animal on his shoulder.

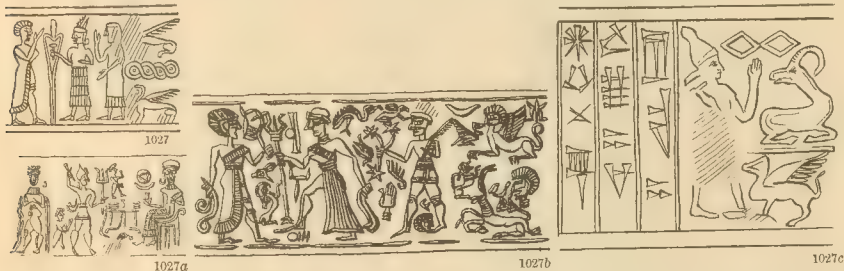
Fig. 1021 is peculiar in the style of its cutting, quite unlike almost anything else. Two such scorpions, cut very deep on the hematite and yet well cut, can hardly find a parallel. The columns, with their crossed pineapple tops and the closely crossed bodies of the goats, are equally peculiar, not to speak of the stars in couples flanking the bottom of the columns. It is impossible to guess with any degree of assurance as to the provenance of this seal. Fig. 1022 may perhaps belong to the same facture. Two lions attack an ibex, and there are two uncertain animals in a heraldic attitude before a column. Fig. 1023 is peculiar in that the design runs around the cylinder instead of standing vertically upon it in the usual way. It is in two registers. In one the short-skirted god is duplicated symmetrically, fighting a lion. His long queue is to be noticed. In the other register we have the winged disk resting on a column, with the worshiper symmetrically standing on each side.

From the earliest times the Babylonian art was familiar with the spouting vase, as we have seen in Chapter XI. It was to be expected that this vase with its streams

would be adopted in the Syro-Hittite art. In fig. 1024 the hand, the rabbit, and the crux ansata make it clear that this is rather Syrian or Hittite than Babylonian, although the influence is chiefly from Babylonia. A seated god rests his feet and his throne on two human-headed bulls, such as we have seen on Babylonian cylinders and in bronze (see figs. 320-322). One of the streams spouts from the vase held in the god's hand and the other from his shoulder, and each falls on the head of the bull below. A worshiper presents a goat and two other worshipers follow. A bird, a star, an ox's head, a hand, and a "libra" with a peculiar handle,



fill the vacant spaces. More usually it is a goddess who is the source of the stream. In fig. 1025 the goddess stands in front view, with earrings, and a very small running antelope is each side of her head. A stream falls from each of her shoulders, with *no* vase visible in her hands. Within the stream is a fish. Each side of the goddess stands Eabani holding a spear with the point down. In the remaining space two monkeys face each other over an uncertain object. The face of the goddess is in profile in fig. 1026, a Hauran cylinder, and the water spouts from the



vase in her hand and is gathered into another vase on the ground. Two human figures (their hats are not horned) stand one before and the other behind the goddess; and above a guilloche are a sphinx and a rabbit, and below a lion and a goat's head. Much the same design appears in fig. 1027 except that the streams fall on the ground and above and below the guilloche is a sphinx. In fig. 880 we have seen Gilgamesh with the spouting vase. We see him perhaps again in fig. 1027a where the standing god with the thunderbolt in the shape of the Greek trident is Adad, and we have the seated goddess with the sacrificial table before her.

Another cylinder, like the last from the fine collection of Mrs. Henry Draper, shows how these Syro-Hittite designs might be confused past all disentangling. In fig. 1027*b* the short-skirted figure to the right, with a possible palm branch over his shoulder and a bunch of flowers in the other hand, may be Teshub. The middle figure, in the attitude of Shamash, carries apparently throw-sticks in one hand and the caduceus of Ishtar in the other. The third figure may be a worshiper, but he seems to have in one hand the scimitar of Marduk and in the other two serpents such as are carried by the Hittite kings. The field is crowded with all sorts of emblems, an Egyptian vulture, a Hittite hare, a Phenician hand, a Babylonian "libra," a sphinx, and various other objects, the artist's only purpose being to leave no vacant spaces.

Another cylinder (1027*c*) may be included here especially for the very rare material, which is glass. Here an apparently worshipping figure stands before an ibex over a griffin, while above are two rhombs. The arrangement of the animals is much like the Hittite style, and yet this might perhaps with as much probability be classed with the Kassite cylinders of Chapter xxxiii.

CHAPTER LVI.

OBJECTS REPEATED.

Certain cylinders give us nothing but animals or other objects repeated. They may be almost any animal, a frog, a fish, a pig, a fox, or other creature, or even a human head. It is difficult to assign the provenance of these cylinders, but we can probably attribute them to the outlying territories of Assyria, the eastern portion of the Syro-Hittite region. A simple example is shown in fig. 1028, where the repeated objects are frogs and birds, coarsely wrought with the wheel. Another is fig. 1029 where fishes are repeated.

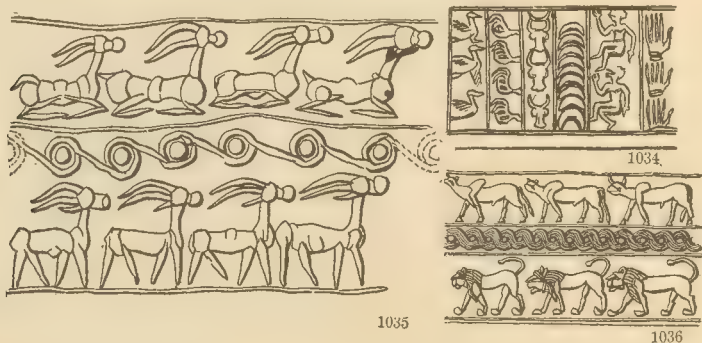
Some of these are very coarsely engraved, and such a cylinder as fig. 1028 might well have been included among the illustrations of rude Syro-Hittite work. But such is not the case with fig. 1030, covered with delicate figures of swine, twenty



in number, in four registers. Equally we have a delicately engraved cylinder shown in fig. 1033, where there are twelve admirably drawn foxes. This is, so far as I recall, the second case in which the fox appears on a cylinder. In fig. 1032 there are two registers of scorpions.

We have a curious case in fig. 1031, where, before a short-skirted man holding a bow, the rest of the field is covered with thirty-three human heads, as if the owner of the seal had put upon it the register of the number of enemies he had slain in battle. To be compared with this is fig. 1034. Here we have six vertical columns

arranged after the style of cuneiform inscriptions; only in place of the inscriptions we have in one column three hands, in the next two seated children, in the next nailmarks, in the next three ox heads under a crescent, in the next four uncertain objects, and in the last three birds. It may be that this cylinder should be classified as Babylonian.



The cylinder seen in fig. 1035 comes down into the late Assyrian or Syro-Hittite influence. It is a large cylinder and contains three registers. The upper one contains four recumbent ibexes, the lower contains four ibexes walking, and between them is a very rude guilloche engraved with the tubular tool.

A very neat cylinder, which we may call Syro-Hittite, is shown in fig. 1036. Here the guilloche divides the field; above it are three humped bulls and below it three lions.

CHAPTER LVII.

GEOMETRICAL DESIGNS.

Among cylinders, as in pottery, the geometrical designs represent the coarser and less skilful workmanship, but we can not certainly say the oldest. They probably belong to rude people, rather than to the more ancient. Indeed they are not found in the early Chaldean, but only in Assyria or the regions about. This might be suspected from the material, which is usually serpentine or a black slaty rock. The cross-lines and angles can hardly be called ornamental, and only occasionally do they take, as in figs. 1044, 1047, any claim to symmetry or beauty.

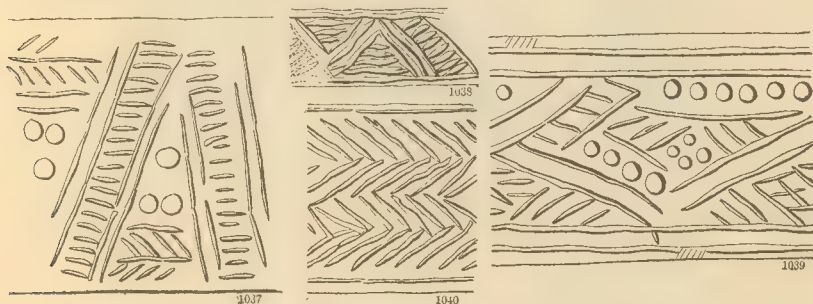
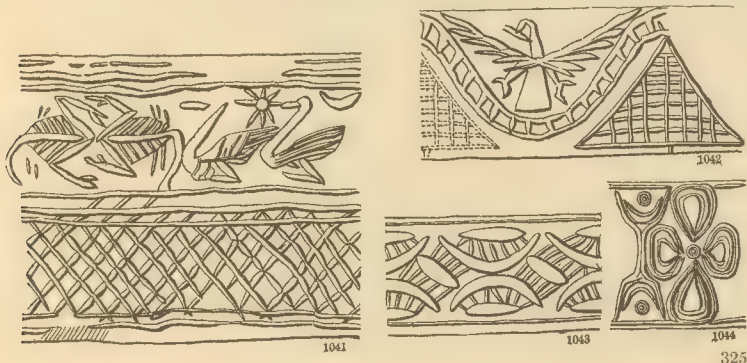


Fig. 1037 gives us alternate acute angles, separated and flanked above and below by a complex of lines. The three dots in each angle hardly represent the Moon-god Sin (Thirty), but merely fill up the space. Somewhat similar is fig. 1038 and fig. 1039, but here the angles are obtuse. In fig. 1040 we have a very simple set of alternating angles.

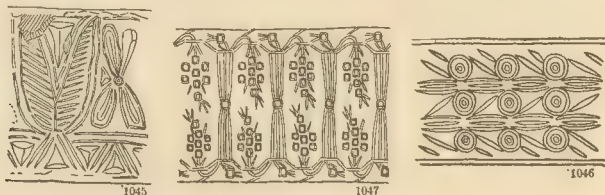
In some of these cylinders the geometrical figure is balanced or reinforced by crude animal forms, as if the untrained artist were trying his 'prentice hand at drawing life. Such an example appears in fig. 1041. This cylinder is in two regis-



ters; the lower broad and filled with close cross lines, the upper showing probably two swans and a scorpion with also a crescent and a star. In fig. 1042, between two angles, pyramid-shaped and with cross-lines, there hangs from the summits a swing-like chain, above which is a heraldic bird with wings and legs spread. Another smaller cylinder, also in the Metropolitan Museum, has identically the same design, but a little smaller.

Occasionally we see a design of coarse curves with little attempt at symmetry, as in fig. 1043. Cylinders of this type may or may not have the little cross-lines that fill up the interspaces.

Occasionally an attempt at a more graceful geometric pattern appears, as in fig. 1044, where we have a sort of conventional flower of four petals, and alternating with the "flower" a sort of handle between two large forks, within which above and below we see a crescent and what may possibly represent the sun. In fig. 1045



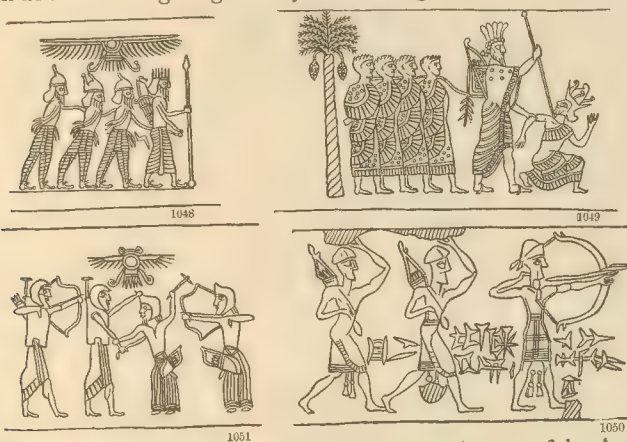
the "flower" is distorted, but the idea is the same; the remaining space is filled with a great double object which suggests a leaf, while a narrower register supplies a wide border of angles. Quite similar "flowers" appear on a vase of the Middle Minoan period from Crete, as may be seen figured in the "Annual" of the British School at Athens, 1903-04, p. 9; *cf.* also a larnax from Præsos, *ib.*, 1901-02, p. 247. The design in fig. 1046 is really a rude variation of the guilloche in three parallel lines. We have a more interesting example in fig. 1047 which almost seems to suggest Christian crosses, made of little squares, hanging down on each end of the open spaces between what we might imagine to be curtains drawn in the middle. This cylinder is of lapis-lazuli and is certainly quite late.

As has been said, rude art may at any period in history exhibit itself in crude geometrical forms; but designs with angles and dots seem to characterize the so-called Early and Middle Minoan period. We may regard it as probable that the cylinders here considered prevailed rather at a time before Egyptian art had invaded the islands and the coasts of Asia very much, and that such cylinders may be as old as 2000 to 1500 B. C.

CHAPTER LVIII.

MILITARY SCENES.

It is often impossible to fix the country from which cylinders come which represent military scenes. They are not usually Babylonian (yet see figs. 97, 98) or Assyrian, but seem to be mostly either Persian or to come from one of the outlying regions in the highlands north or west of Assyria. Something can be gathered from the fact that in these, and in the hunting scenes which seem allied to them, the stone on which they are cut is likely to be peculiar and to represent a quarry about which at some time geologists may be able to give us information.

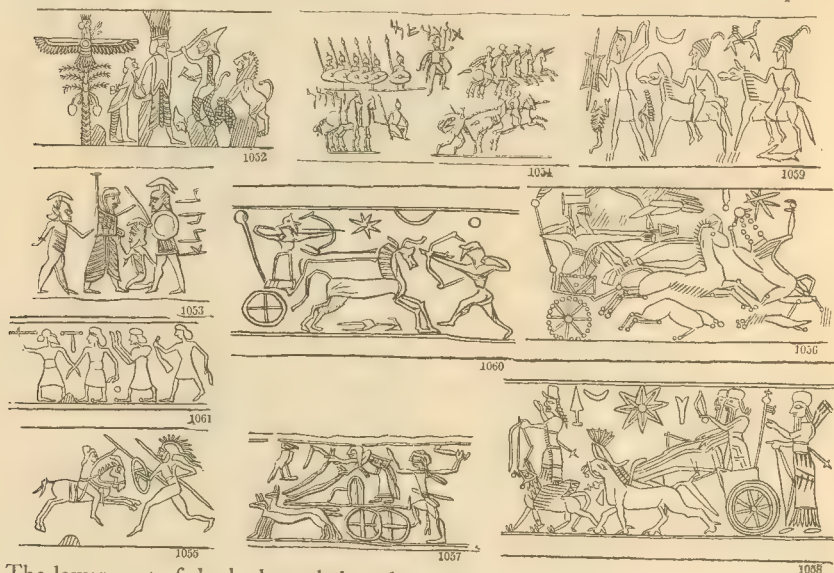


Military scenes are frequent enough on the rock sculptures of the Archæmenian period, but not on the cylinders. A few such, however, there are. One is to be seen in fig. 1048, a beautiful cylinder of banded agate. Here under the winged disk of Ahura-mazda a Persian soldier, holding a spear, leads three prisoners with hands bound behind their backs. The prisoners wear pointed helmets and close trousers, or greaves, while the soldier is in the usual Persian costume.

A purely Persian scene of war we have in fig. 1049. Here the bearded soldier, with Persian garment and a feathered crown, and bow and quiver on his shoulder, strikes a kneeling and appealing enemy with his spear. The latter is elaborately clothed and wears a high helmet. Behind the soldier and before a palm-tree are four prisoners, their hands tied behind them and their necks held by a rope.

The victorious soldier in fig. 1053 is also dressed in Persian trousers. Behind him he leads a helmeted prisoner with hands tied behind his back, and before him he strikes with his spear at a second similar helmeted enemy who carries a round shield; while between them kneels a third figure in the attitude of supplication. The conquered enemies may be Greek. There is an inscription of four or five Aramaic letters which doubtless represent the name of the military owner, Kantan or Kantar.

Another cylinder (fig. 1052) is of quartz crystal, somewhat battered. Under the winged figure of Ahura-mazda is a palm-tree. On the other side a figure in a Persian crown and garments drags a prisoner behind him, while before him he stabs in the head a foe dressed in a long close-fitting jacket, wearing a peaked helmet, holding an ax in his hand, and carrying a bow and quiver at his side. He seems to be dressed in a suit of armor, both body and legs. Behind this enemy is a lion. The dress of both the prisoner and the armed enemy is very peculiar. Under the winged disk in fig. 1051 are two figures fighting. One seizes his foe by the hair or helmet and with the other hand stabs him with a short sword. The other lifts an ax to strike his enemy, but is evidently too late. Behind each is another figure aiming an arrow. Apparently the two figures to the left are Persians. They wear short jackets, in the top of which is held an ax for use, and one of them carries a quiver.



The lower part of the body, to below the knee, seems to have the Persian trousers. The two others do not wear the jackets, but long, loose trousers, and their quivers hang from their belts low down at their side. They represent some other nationality.

The cylinder shown in fig. 1050 may not be Persian. It may represent one of the ruder tribes of north of Assyria or in Asia Minor and be earlier than the time of the Persian kings. A soldier drawing his bow is followed by the other soldiers, each carrying a bow and with one hand lifted over his head. Each is clad in a short garment for marching, held by a girdle whose tassels fall between his knees. There is a Babylonian inscription.

The extraordinary seal shown in fig. 1054 is more probably of the Persian period, although not so certainly from the Persian territory. This is a beautiful carnelian cylinder, unusually slender in shape and with only half of the surface engraved. There are on it two scenes of war, one above the other. In the upper an officer stands in advance of his company of six foot-soldiers and encourages them on to assault a company of four soldiers on horseback, who are fleeing, and

the one behind, as he runs, turns back to shoot. In the next scene, which tells the result of the conflict, two of the horses are captured and held, one is escaping with his rider, and the other is galloping away riderless, while the leader pursues them. There are two short inscriptions in Aramaic characters which read: **אֹחֲדֶשֶׁם** (or **תֹּחֲדֶשֶׁם**) and **זִנְוֹן**, but which it is not easy to translate. They give the name of the owner and perhaps his office. Apparently we have here the pictured story of some proud incident in the life of the owner, who had been engaged as an officer in command of foot-soldiers and had gained a victory over the mounted troops of the enemy.

The question now arises, What is the nationality and period of the cylinder and its figured contestants? The character of the inscription, epigraphically, would make it at least as late as 600 B. C. The art suggests a Greek period, in its freedom. I should presume that it represents a scene in the time of the Persian control of Western Asia.

No less does fig. 1055 appear to belong to a period when it begins to feel the Greek influence, it is drawn with such life. It is again a fight between a horseman and a foot-soldier, but the horseman seems to have the better of it, as his spear seems to reach his foe's body despite his shield. The footman also carries a spear and his helmet is adorned with a horsetail plume. He appears to be closely clad or naked. It would be easy to conceive of the horseman as a Persian fighting a Greek enemy.

It is impossible to fix the origin of the cylinder shown in fig. 1056. The rudeness of the cutting with the wheel suggests that it is late. A soldier in a chariot with a charioteer draws a bow against a foe or beast, while a second lies dead under the horse. We have an interesting case in fig. 1057. Here we seem to see a foot-soldier pursuing, with an uplifted ax, a bending figure in a chariot, speeding his horses. There is also a bird. But this cylinder seems to belong to an earlier Syrian period with Egyptian influence. It is not Egyptian, but Assyrian, influence, which we discover in fig. 1058. Here we have a soldier in a chariot, holding his bow, and a charioteer. His goddess Ishtar goes before him armed with her bow and carried by a winged monster. Behind the chariot is another bowman. Besides we



see the lance of Marduk, the crescent of Sin, and the star of Ishtar. We have another military scene in fig. 1059. Two helmeted soldiers on horseback are followed by another soldier on foot, who carries a shield and spear in one hand, while with the other he swings what may be a sling. Small objects fill up the spaces, a crescent, a man fighting an animal, a monkey, and a scorpion. In fig. 1060 an archer in a chariot is fighting with an archer on foot, while a dead body is under the bull which draws the chariot. It would seem that the horse was not in use when this cylinder was made. It is described as of colored marble, and the border lines indicate that it belongs to an Assyrian rather than Babylonian region, and it may be of a period as much as 2000 B. C. The four spokes to the wheels also suggest an early period.

Another smaller cylinder may be Syro-Hittite (fig. 1061). All the figures are in short garments. One grasps another by the wrist and threatens him with a club. A third figure holds up his two hands in supplication and is followed by the fourth figure whose action is not easy to explain. We have in fig. 1062 a confused battle scene, of an Assyrian period.

CHAPTER LIX.

HUNTING SCENES.

Certain cylinders with hunting scenes are surely Persian, one example being that of Darius, fig. 1104; of others we can not be positive. For such a vigorous cylinder, lacking all Assyrian conventionality, see fig. 597. The student may equally be inclined to assign some of them to the region of the Armenians. It will be helpful to learn from geologists from what region the stone comes of which they are cut; for some of them are like similar military cylinders, of peculiar mottled jasper, such as we do not find in the Babylonian and Assyrian seals.

As might naturally be expected, the dress of hunters is much simpler than that of men in their dignified garments of peace. They are usually short, and fastened with a girdle, such as we have seen in fig. 1059 of the scenes of war. There are about these designs a vigor and life which are unusual and suggest a less conventional art than we find prevailing in ordinary religious scenes.



But there can be no question that fig. 1063 is Persian, and the figure of the hunter is conventional and lifeless enough. He stands motionless, in his long trousers, with his spear held upright before him and his bow and quiver on his shoulders, while a wild boar, quite vigorously drawn, rushes at him. But if he does not protect himself he is protected by the supreme deity, for the winged disk of Ahura-mazda, in the extended Persian style, is before him. Very close to this is fig. 1064, where the hunter is accompanied by a dog.

Equally, fig. 1065 is certainly Persian. The figure to the left wears the Persian crown, jacket, and lower garment, and in the conventional way he lifts a reversed lion with one hand, while the other holds the short sword. But the other figure is

of much slenderer build, and in hunter's dress, as he seizes a bull by the horn, while his other hand has no weapon but a whip. This case may encourage us to see Persian work in other hunting scenes where there is no Persian dress.

In Lajard XIX, 3 is a Persian scene. The hunter, with crown and characteristic garments, aims his arrow at a lion while another lion lies prostrate before him, and a dog, or quite as likely a bull, is between the hunter and the lion. In fig. 1067 an archer pursues and shoots at two fleeing ibexes.

The peculiar tree with thickened trunk, on a mountain, which we see in fig. 1066 and have already seen in fig. 676, appears to belong to Persian art, although this is not certain. Here we have no figure of the hunter, simply a lion pursuing a stag, while an eagle above is watching a chance to feed on the carcass. The smaller, simpler trees, unbranched, are seen growing near the foot of the larger tree. This seal is of a peculiar pink chalcedony. In fig. 1069 the hunter attacks



1068



1069



1070



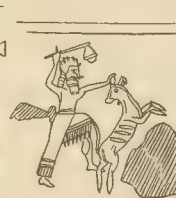
1071



1072



1073



1074



1075

an ibex with a scimitar, while between them is the same tree with a crooked trunk. The reader will notice the peculiar sun, lacking the circle, but preserving the cross and the alternate water-streams. In fig. 1070 the tree, on a mountain, is between the archer and the wild bison at which he directs his arrow. We see in fig. 1071

the same tree, but, although allied to the cylinders previously shown, this is hardly a hunting scene, for the man before the ibex and the tree holds a long standard upright, at the top of which is a trifoliate object. Here the emblem of the sun, like a Greek cross, such as we saw in the Kassite seals, is to be observed. In fig. 1072 there is no



1076

hunter—only the two ibexes on the mountains, before a tree with radiating branches, under the radiating sun, while behind the ibexes is a heraldic eagle. This design might quite as well be interpreted as showing an example of animals before the sacred tree. There may be some question whether fig. 1073 is wholly

a hunting scene, or whether it is not rather mythological; but it may be well to include it here for the sake of showing the form of the ax with which the hero hunter attacks the bull which he has seized by the horn.

We have again a hunting scene in fig. 1074. The archer on his knee aims at a stag, while an eagle waits for the prey. In fig. 1075, under a Persian disk of Ahura-mazda, with long wings, a hunter on horseback thrusts his spear at an ibex and is aided by a dog. In fig. 1076 a similar hunter on horseback flings his spear at a lion; and in fig. 1077 a horseman spears a bear. This is the only case I know where a bear is figured on the cylinders. The art appears Persian.



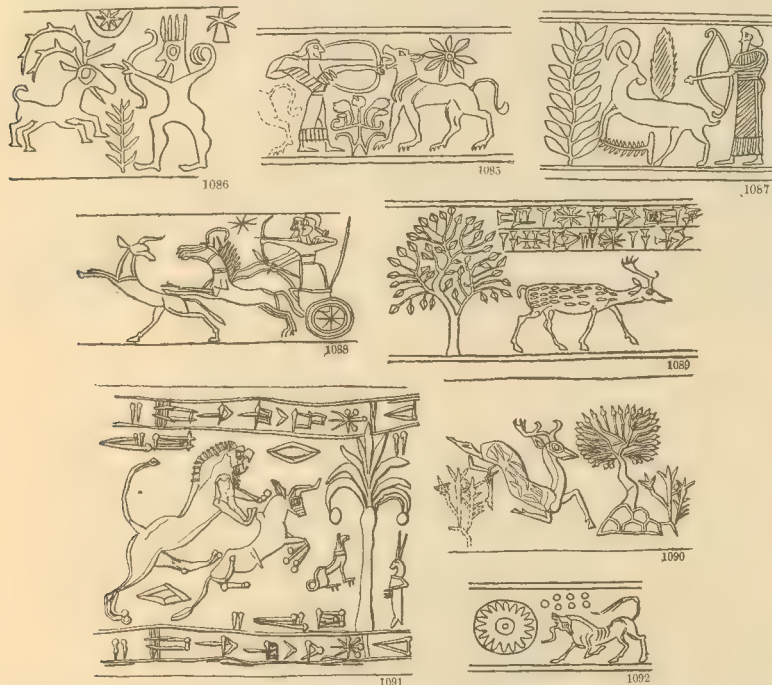
In fig. 1078 the horseman spears an ibex. Both horse and ibex are drawn very stout, as in much of the Persian art. Persian also appears to be fig. 1079, where the hunter on horseback flings his spear at a gazelle. This cylinder is interesting for the unusual arrangement of the inscription.

We have an extraordinary and unique scene in the cylinder shown in fig. 1080. Here a hunter with Persian crown and garments is mounted on a camel and hurls his spear at a lion. I do not recall any other case in which the camel appears on a cylinder. In fig. 1081 the mounted archer shoots at a stag and a similar seal may be seen in de Clercq's "Catalogue," No. 362. In fig. 1082 the hunter has dismounted from his horse and spears a boar. There is an Aramaic inscription of four letters, which Levy ("Siegeln und Gemmen," i. p. 16) reads "Panzuk," which he regards as a Persian form ending in k. In fig. 1083 the hunter has a charioteer and turns back to shoot his arrow at an uncertain animal, while in a lower register are a tree,

a spiral, and a stag. This appears to be a very early cylinder of a northern type. There is unusual vigor in the design shown in fig. 1088, where the archer in his swift chariot pursues a fleeing bull.

We have in fig. 1084 a more elaborate but rudely drawn design. It is in three registers, of which the middle one gives a hunting scene. The hunter is in his chariot and is shooting at half a dozen animals and birds before him. One seems to have fallen under his horse, while an arrow sticks in the body of a bird above. The upper and lower registers are filled with stags.

Some of these hunting scenes are quite rough in execution, but cut very deep. Such a case is fig. 1086, where a hunter in a feathered hat shoots with his bow at an



ibex. The star within the crescent represents the sun, as the star of Ishtar is separately engraved. A similar one, and with much the same design, equally coarse and deeply engraved, is shown in fig. 1087; this is of terra-cotta. Not quite so rude and also probably of the latest period from which cylinders appear, perhaps even of the Sassanian period, is fig. 1085. The archer shoots at a lion. Between them, above, is a star of late pattern, and below is a peculiar and set form of what had its origin in a sacred tree.

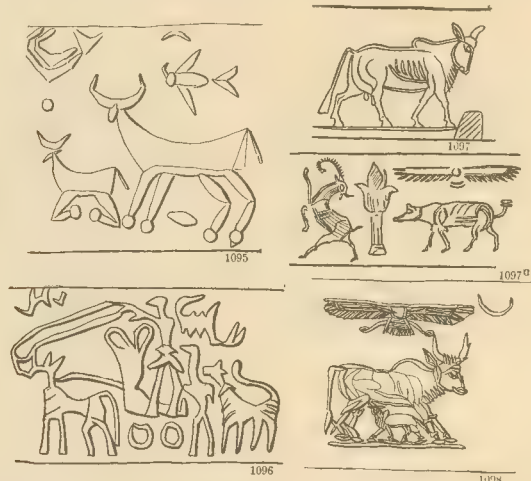
There may be added a few cylinders which give us simply the wild animals with no hunter. An attractive example is shown in fig. 1089. There is a tree, much of the style we have seen in figs. 1066, 1070, but larger and more naturalistic, and a stag walking at ease. Above it is an inscription in Babylonian cuneiform, from which we learn that the owner was devoted to the Assyrian god Ashur. In fig. 1090 we

have, with the crooked trunk of a branching tree on a mountain, a very vigorous representation of a bounding stag. Near the tree are three small branches or plants, with a bird resting on one of them. The vigor and beauty of this design could hardly be surpassed.

The arrangement of the cuneiform inscription, at the top and bottom of the design, is peculiar in fig. 1091. The inscription is not reversed in the cutting, which seems to show that it is an amulet as well as a seal. The design shows a



lion attacking a bull. There is also a palm-tree, on one side of which sits a dog, while on the other is a locust in a human vertical position. There is also the lozenge (Egyptian eye?). In fig. 1092 we have a leaping bull, with long horn, like the aurochs, and a large rayed circle and the seven dots of the Igigi. This is comparatively late. Fig. 1093 shows us two lions, of Persian style, facing each other. Fig. 1094 gives us two lions attacked by four dogs, the figures drawn with considerable rude spirit; this is an unusually thick cylinder. Fig.



1095 is engraved with the utmost coarseness and represents a cow and calf. It is interesting solely because it is of a peculiar light serpentine of the sort of which de Morgan found several larger cylinders at Susa, and of the same shape as this. Another cylinder, extremely rude and very deeply cut, is shown in fig. 1096. This is not clearly a hunting scene, although behind (or before) the chariot is a lion, as well as a man and a scorpion. Fig. 1097 shows nothing but an extremely well-drawn humped bull. In 1097a the Persian winged disk is over a wild boar, and

between the boar and a rampant ibex is the plant which may be the silphium. In fig. 1098 we have a well-drawn figure of a humped cow suckling her calf. This seal is clearly of the Persian period, as shown by the winged disk by the crescent. Another very similar, but without the disk and crescent, belongs to the British Museum. In fig. 1099, which is also drawn with great vigor, we have a lion and bull in fight. The cylinder allows a double action to the bull, which, fallen on one knee, is attacking the lion before him, while it kicks at the same lion behind. This cylinder is of variegated red sard and chalcedony, and I believe came from a northern Armenian region.



1099

It may be allowable to include in this chapter several cylinders on which we see mythological, winged creatures fighting wild animals, probably not Persian, but belonging to one of the more northern outlying countries. One such is seen in fig. 1100, where a composite "dragon" has forced a bull down on its knees. Over a kneeling worshiper is a winged disk, apparently not Persian, also a six-pointed star and another of many points. What the square object is under the winged disk it is not easy to say.



1100

Fig. 1101 gives us simply a winged lion fighting a bull; and in fig. 1102 we have it reversed, a winged bull fighting a lion.



1101



1103



1102

We may conclude this series with fig. 1103, where an archer with his youthful attendant aims at a mark. This reminds us of the biblical story of Jonathan, with a lad as armor-bearer, aiming at a mark to give information to his friend David of Saul's attitude to David, as the story is told in I Samuel 20: 20-24. This is an unusual instance to show the construction of the arrows, as five of them are fully drawn.

CHAPTER LX.

PERSIAN CYLINDERS: MYTHOLOGICAL AND HERALDIC.

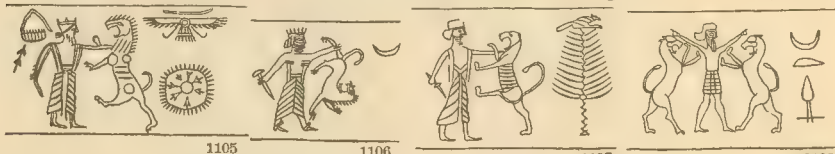
The remains of the Achæmenian period are numerous enough to make it easy to recognize most of the cylinders that belong to it. In the archaic period the art of Elam was precisely the same as that of Chaldea; but we know nothing of the art of Northern Persia of that date. But at the time of the Achæmenian kings the seals became numerous and characteristic. Especially peculiar is the dress, with the



1104

garment covering the lower part of the body closed and drawn up in front almost to represent trousers, such as we find worn loose in the period of the Sassanian kings. The crown was a specially Persian headdress, and is worn by the gods and kings. The figures of animals, and to some extent of men, are stout and lack the agile slenderness of the Babylonian art. The designs are also meager. Very few gods are represented. The chief design is that of a god or hero, the Assyrian cross between a Gilgamesh and a Marduk, fighting a lion or other naturalistic or mythological animal; but the lion was the favorite.

In the forefront of any account of Persian seals must always be placed fig. 1104, from the seal of Darius in the British Museum. It is a unique design and shows us the king with his crown, in his hunting chariot with his charioteer driving. Before him is a rampant lion under a palm-tree, at which the king aims an arrow, while



1105

1106

1107

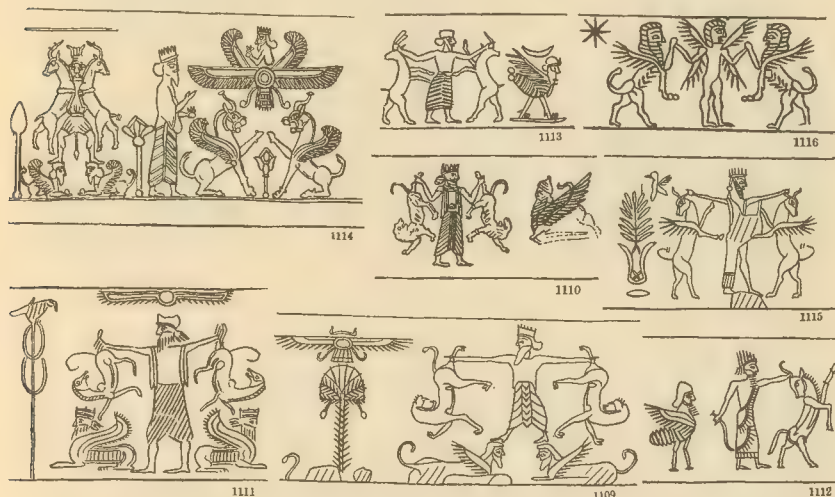
1108

another lion lies under the horse's feet. Above, protecting the king, is Ashur, or, to give the Persian name, Ahura-mazda, with the human bust. The inscription reads, in Persian and Babylonian cuneiform: "I am Darius, the great king." The stoutness of the horse and the lion is to be observed.

But the usual Persian design is much simpler. It may be nothing but the crowned hero, with his short sword and some accessory objects, perhaps. In fig. 1105 the lion is rampant and under the winged disk is a wheel. But in fig. 1106 the hero, or god, lifts the lion by its hind leg. Fig. 1107 is interesting for the peculiar tree. In fig. 1108 the hero attacks two lions rampant (*cf.* Lajard, "Mithra," plate XIX, 9) and in fig.

1109 the same two lions reversed, while underneath are two running sphinxes, and opposite on the seal is the winged disk over a palm-tree. Similar is fig. 1111, except that the winged disk is over the hero and the tree is very simple. In fig. 1110 there are the two lions held reversed, and a sphinx apparently looking on with favor.

Instead of a lion, the hero may attack a bull, as in fig. 1112, where a human-headed scorpion is the spectator. But the fight with the wingless bull is not as frequent as with the lion. Occasionally it is the ibex whom the hero attacks, as in fig. 1113, where one is seized with each hand and a scorpion-man watches over the contest. In fig. 1114 a god like Bes hugs two antelopes to him, while under the winged disk are two composite "dragons."

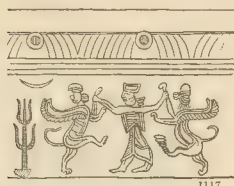


But more frequently the contest is with winged lions or bulls, or composite animals. In fig. 1115 two winged bulls are the object of attack and there is an interesting plant growing from a stand. A similar example will be found in Lajard's "Culte de Mithra," plate xv, fig. 3. More elaborate is fig. 1118, where the god stands on two sphinxes and the space is filled by a small seated archer and a curious design of crescents and hanging branches.

The sphinx is a favorite object. It is the lion-bodied sphinx which we see in fig. 1117 and in fig. 1116. In the latter case the hero has not the usual Persian trousers; but we shall find other cases, as in fig. 1130. We have in fig. 1119 a sphinx with the body of a bull and a peculiar horn or cap, with the additional figures of a worshiper before an altar and a god. Above the altar is a cock, which never appears in the earlier Babylonian art. It is to be noticed that, besides the vase in one hand, the god holds a flower in the other, very much like some of the late Assyrian figures seen in figs. 688, 696. This can hardly be anything else than the *baresma* of the Zend-Avesta, carried in the hand by gods and priests in service. In fig. 1120 the sphinx has the body of a bull and wears the crown, an ibex turns its head to look from the other side of a palm-tree, and we see a crescent and the flower observed in fig. 1114. A remarkable variation we have in fig. 1121, where

the entire design is reversed and duplicated; a winged god seizes two sphinxes, and a bull's head is in the field.

Perhaps more usual is the "dragon," a modification of Tiamat, with a lion's body, an eagle's hind legs and talons, and a bull's horns. Such a case is given in fig. 1122. An almost identical design is shown in Lajard's *Mithra*, plate XIX, fig. 7. In fig. 1123 the "dragons" are rather griffins and the winged disk rests over the crowned hero.



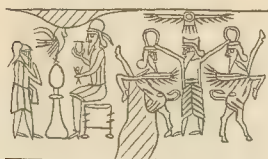
1117



1118



1122



1119



1120



1121

Quite frequently the absolute symmetry is varied, against the older practice, by having the two animals, on the two sides, different. In fig. 1124 there is an ibex on one side and a lion-bodied sphinx on the other. In fig. 1125 a bull-bodied sphinx is balanced by a "dragon" and there is an Aramean inscription which reads: "Parshandat, son of Artadatan" (Levy, "Phön. Stud.," II, p. 40; cf. his "Siegel und Gemmen," I, p. 18). Levy is wrong in following de Vogüé in supposing the last letter is part of the griffin's tail. In fig. 1126 a lion is balanced by an ibex and there is a cock over a tree. We have a somewhat different combination in fig. 1127, where one hero in Persian dress attacks a lion and another in a short garment fights a bull.



1123

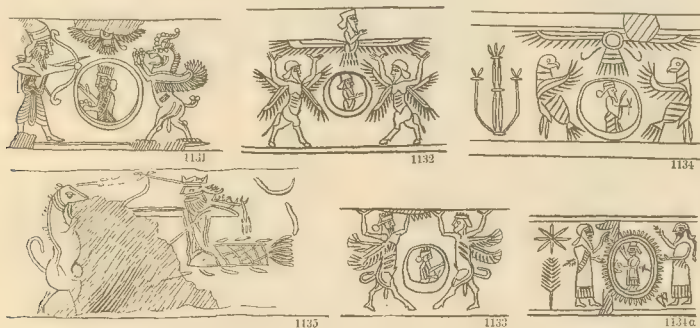
We have observed that where the hero fights a single foe his weapon is the short sword or dagger; but he may also use the bow, as does the king in fig. 1104. We have such a case in fig. 1128, where the hero has slain one lion and aims his arrow at another, while a dog is before him. In fig. 1129 he attacks with his bow a lion which was about to seize an ibex. The contest in fig. 1130 can hardly be called a hunting scene, for there are two rampant ibexes, at one of which the hunter, not in the usual Persian costume, hurls his spear. Above are the sun (which has not yet quite lost its water-streams), the crescent, and the star, while we see a peculiar tree, characteristic of Persian cylinders, but perhaps not found on those of earlier date. It has a thickened trunk and a round mass of irregular branches, and appears to grow on a mountain. We have seen other examples of this tree, particularly in hunting scenes and also in fig. 676.

The design may be made more decorative by including a large circular crescent between the god and the lion. Such is the case in fig. 1131. Here the archer, who

hardly seems to be a principal god, appears doubly protected by the winged disk above him and the figure of the god between the circle of the sun and the crescent. But when the god is thus introduced into the disk as part of the main design, instead of presiding above, the hero usually disappears. Such is the case in figs. 1132, 1133. Here the crescent and the circle of the sun are not separated, but are continuous. Above in fig. 1132 is Ahura-mazda, with the characteristically long Persian wings, which are supported by the arms of the two four-winged, bull-bodied figures. In



fig. 1134 we have the same sort of crescent circle, with the included god and, above, the winged disk; while on each side is a bird, and the remaining space is given to a simple sacred tree. We have a decided variation of this design in fig. 1136, where the crescent circle is reduced to the mere crescent and the included god is developed with four wings and the tail of a bird, as in the winged disk. On each side of the god stands a soldier with spear held upright before him, and bow, arrows, and quiver

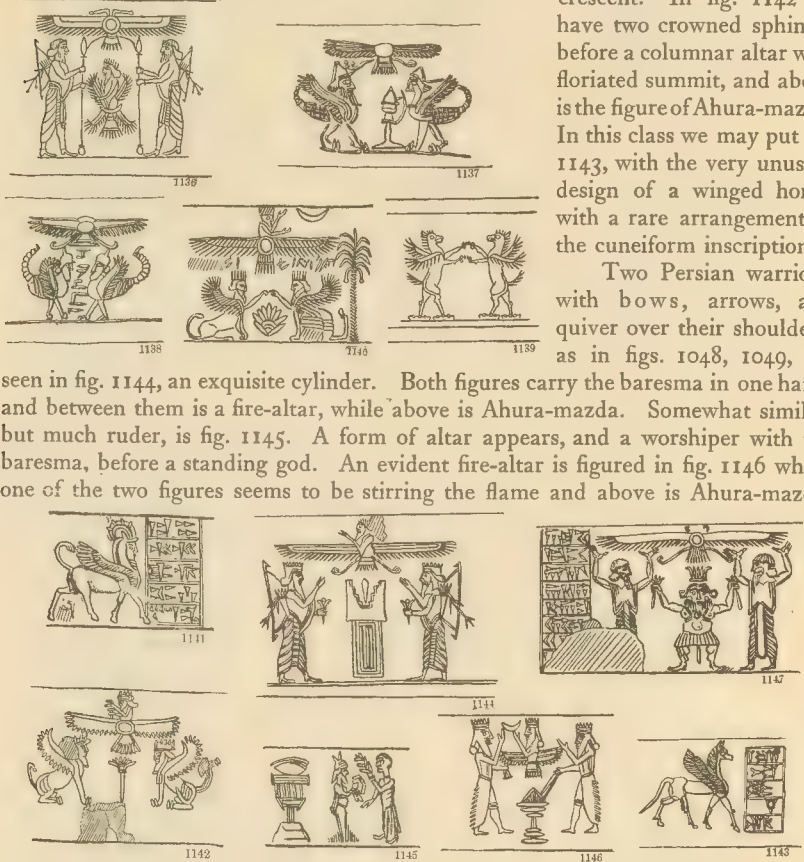


hanging behind his back, while the two spears and the cords from the winged disk above form a sort of recess and arch to inclose the winged god. The design shown in fig. 1134a may belong to this period, although the garments are quite Assyrian. We have a peculiar case in fig. 1135, where the god, as archer shooting a lion, has the lower part of his body that of a fish, perhaps.

In a number of cases there are simply the animals, or sphinxes, etc., in heraldic pose, but with no human figure. In fig. 1137 two human-headed scorpions stand under the winged disk and before a fire-altar. In fig. 1138 the two human-headed scorpions are under the Persian winged disk and between them is a Phœnician inscription. In fig. 1139 two griffins face each other. In fig. 1141 there is a single sphinx, with cuneiform inscription. There is an Aramean inscription under the wings of the disk in fig. 1140 and under the disk are two sphinxes; between them is a small sacred tree or flower, and behind them a palm-tree, while above appears the

crescent. In fig. 1142 we have two crowned sphinxes before a columnar altar with floriated summit, and above is the figure of Ahura-mazda. In this class we may put fig. 1143, with the very unusual design of a winged horse, with a rare arrangement of the cuneiform inscription.

Two Persian warriors, with bows, arrows, and quiver over their shoulders, as in figs. 1048, 1049, are seen in fig. 1144, an exquisite cylinder. Both figures carry the baresma in one hand, and between them is a fire-altar, while above is Ahura-mazda. Somewhat similar, but much ruder, is fig. 1145. A form of altar appears, and a worshiper with the baresma, before a standing god. An evident fire-altar is figured in fig. 1146 where one of the two figures seems to be stirring the flame and above is Ahura-mazda.



We have seen in fig. 1114 what looks like the Egyptian Bes strangling lions. In fig. 1147 we have Bes under the winged disk, in its extreme Persian extent, carrying the baresma in each hand, while on each side is a Persian figure with both hands lifted to support the wings. There is a very rare inscription in Persian cuneiform.

The cylinders considered in this chapter are, with the exception of the first, religious in character. Those of a somewhat different style, which we have seen in the two previous chapters, have to do with war and the chase, but for the most part seem to belong to the same Persian period.

CHAPTER LXI.

CYLINDERS WITH PHENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

We have already seen several cylinders with Phenician, or Aramean, inscriptions—for instance figs. 684, 1050, 1053, 1054, 1082, 1125, and 1141. They belong, for the most part, to the Persian period and might properly be nearly all classified with Persian seals. Inasmuch as the earliest-known Phenician inscriptions do not run back of a period from 900 to 1000 B. C., we can not expect to find any cylinders with such inscriptions of an early period. While such inscribed cylinders may be possibly found which belong to over 600 B. C. they are more likely to be 400 or 500 B. C. Phenician inscriptions have been found in Assyria of the eighth century B. C.

We are here treating solely of cylinders having Phenician inscriptions, from whatever geographical region. The territory of Phenicia had long been under Babylonian or Egyptian control before the prevalence of the Phenician script. We have seen, in figs. 805 and 806, two cylinders inscribed in cuneiform characters



with the names of a father and a son living in Sidon, and doubtless many of the Syro-Hittite cylinders already described had their origin in Phenicia. But there was no peculiar Phenician glyptic art. Phenicia was but a province in great empires which had a general culture. It is therefore impossible for us to differentiate Phenician cylinders by their art, and the purpose in this chapter is simply to gather a number of those which are notable chiefly for their inscriptions.

Among those that are plainly Persian are several which represent scenes in hunting or war. Of such we have already seen figs. 1053, 1054, 1082, 1125. Among those which, clearly Persian in style, represent mythological scenes accompanied by inscriptions may be mentioned fig. 1148, where the god, as a hunter on horseback, spears a griffin. The Aramean inscription reads, "Belonging to Kenatgam."

Other cylinders with Aramean inscriptions show more of the Assyrian than the Persian influence, but may equally belong to the Achæmenian period. The garment of the god in fig. 1149 is Assyrian. The inscription reads: "Hartaka."

The broken cylinder shown in fig. 1150 still carries part of an inscription, of which the letters *kaph*, *daleth*, and perhaps *ayin* seem to appear. The design is of a bull and a lion, rampant, fighting, while between them is an uncertain object shaped like a heart, with the lines at the lower angle crossed. In fig. 1151 the god seizes two sphinxes, and there is also the lozenge. The inscription reads, "Belonging to Elgehab." In fig. 1152 the god in Assyrian dress lifts an ibex by the horn and his other hand holds his weapon. The inscription of six letters reads . . . *melek*.

We have been familiar, in the study of the Tree of Life, with the design seen in fig. 1153. Over a very much conventionalized sacred tree is the triad-winged Ashur, supported by two human-headed monsters. On each side stands the worshiper. Another extraordinary divine figure, in front view, evidently copied after the figure of Gilgamesh, carries two stags and two ibexes. The inscription seems to read: "Belonging to Madbarag." The final letter is not observed by Rawlinson and Levy. Much like this is fig. 684, which lacks Gilgamesh, and one of the worshipers brings a goat. There is a star over a crescent, and also the oval "eye." The inscription may possibly be "Belonging to Achatan."



An excellent cylinder is to be seen in fig. 1154. Under the triad-disk of Ashur a worshiper on one knee grasps in his hands the cords of divine influence which connect him with the god. On one side of the kneeling figure is a modification of the crux ansata, and on the other side a large wedge. On one side of this design stands the same worshiper in the attitude of adoration, and on the other the winged bird-headed genius holding in one hand the cone (modified by the work with the drill) and in the other the basket. There are also a crescent, a dog, and a monkey. The inscription, so far as it is clear, seems to read, "Belonging to Shatach." An interesting cylinder (fig. 1155) shows a sacred tree under the winged disk, with a sphinx on one side and a rampant ibex on the other, and a worshiper on each side. There is the inscription "Belonging to Sargad."

An inscription of five lines is to be seen on the cylinder shown in fig. 1156, where the figure to the right seems to have been later engraved. Of the other two a worshiper stands before a crowned god. The inscription is read by de Vogüé: "Belonging to Akdaban, son of Gabrad, the Eunuch; which he offered to Hadad."

In fig. 1157, in the center, a rude winged disk is over what takes the place of the sacred tree, though it looks more like the thunderbolt of Adad. Close to it stand a small worshiper, and on each side a larger protecting winged genius. There are three lines of inscription which read: "Yarphael, son of Horadad," the name of Yarphael being repeated.

The presence of a Phenician (or Aramean) inscription is a proof of a later age and also a presumption of an eastern origin. On the western coast the cylinder prevailed until perhaps 1000 B. C., about which time it was replaced by the scaraboid on which we have the earliest-known Phenician inscriptions, like that one which bears the name of Shallum, with Egyptian objects (Levy, "Siegel und Gemmen," plate 1, fig. 1). But farther east, where the Assyrian and Persian influence controlled, the cylinder continued in use, generally large in size and made of chalcedony, the Aramean language being much in use, especially in trade. These cylinders are usually rather coarsely engraved with the wheel and the writing is, therefore, somewhat difficult to read.

CHAPTER LXII.

CYLINDERS FROM CYPRUS.

At an extremely early period the Babylonian influence appears to have come into Cyprus. A cylinder with the name of Bingani-Sharali, King of Agade, son of Naram-Sin and grandson of Sargon I., is said to have been found in Cyprus (see figs. 27 and 181). Another cylinder found in Cyprus, of the same early date, if not earlier, is given in fig. 136*b*. Another cylinder with Babylonian inscription, found in Cyprus by General di Cesnola, is given in fig. 1158. The inscription, as read by Professor Craig, is as follows: "Irba-Ishtar, son of Ilu-badu, servant of the god Naram-Sin." The sign for *god* precedes the name of Naram-Sin, the famous conqueror who ruled at Agade. But the cylinder is by no means of the age of Naram-Sin. The principal figures may be as old as 2000 B. C. perhaps, but the smaller objects appear to have been added at a later period. This is one of those cases in which we have two separate figures of the god who seems at different epochs to have represented Adad, or Ramman. With them is the goddess Shala.



In fig. 1159 we have a cylinder of the usual hematite, excavated by Ohnefalsch-Richter near Nicosia in Cyprus. Bezold (*Zeitschr. für Keilsch.* II, p. 191) is inclined to regard the inscription as of about the ninth century B. C., and the cylinder as purely Assyro-Babylonian. It contains the name of the owner and of the god Adad, whom he worships. It may, however, be much earlier than this. The style seems very nearly Babylonian (not Assyrian), but the design of the sun, with an included circle, is entirely foreign, and implies that the meaning of the properly included four rays and alternate streams was not understood. The object, whatever it is, over the smaller rampant animal appears not to be Babylonian. Probably this cylinder had a local origin, or belonged to the Syrian region, although the figures of the standing Shamash, Ramman-Adad, and their complementary goddess are purely Babylonian. We should not, however, have expected the two animals to be thus crowded meaninglessly in between the deities. This cylinder, found in

a grave, mounted after the Cypriote style with gold caps, is further proof of Babylonian influence and control from a very early period and continued for many centuries. It is quite certain that the rule over the seacoast claimed by Lugal-zaggisi and Sargon from a period of three or four thousand years B. C. must have influenced also Cyprus. This cylinder may even go back as far as 2000 B. C.

Equally Babylonian in general style is the cylinder shown in fig. 1160. It shows other than Babylonian influence solely in the object held in the hand of the worshiper, which is probably a lotus flower. This cylinder is probably quite 1000 B. C. Another beautiful cylinder, of a bluish chalcedony, also found by General di Cesnola in Cyprus, is shown in fig. 516. Its material suggests the Persian period, but the inscription in eight lines is in the Kassite style.

A small number of the cylinders said to have been found in Cyprus are, as might be expected, of the Syro-Hittite style. Such is that shown in fig. 1161, where we have sphinxes, and, what is unusual, two bulls fighting. Another such, quite Syro-Hittite in character, is fig. 1162, with two seated deities and a crux ansata



between them, a procession of three figures behind them, and an ibex and two sphinxes in an upper register. Another is to be seen in fig. 1163, with two sphinxes and three figures in procession.

Two cylinders are to be mentioned which seem to have a Cypriote inscription. One is seen in fig. 1164. The inscription is read by Isaac H. Hall as perhaps "Ta-ka-na-e-ro-ti," which may be a proper name. The design is extremely rude and shows three upright figures, an ibex held by one of them, and a dog. Another (fig. 1165) is given by Sayce, who says it is from the bronze-age cemetery at Paraskevi, and therefore very old; he reads it: "Mo-ro-ta-se." On two other cylinders Dr. Hall thinks a single character may appear, but this is too doubtful to depend upon.

But the multitude of cylinders from Cyprus appear to be of a much later date. They have almost entirely lost the distinct Babylonian type and are rudely engraved, with no artistic feeling or nicety; and, what is to be noticed, they seldom have any inscriptions, Babylonian, Hittite, Cretan, Phenician, or Egyptian. This seems to imply a period of long continuance when Cyprus was free from Babylonian control and equally from Egyptian. Indeed one is surprised to see so little Egyptian influ-

ence in the art, which appears to be largely native. A few are to be excepted of the earlier type, such as have been mentioned above, which are either purely Babylonian or Syro-Phœnician. One such with an inscription is given in fig. 1166, which apparently imitates Egyptian signs. It is of terra-cotta and contains an Egyptian human figure with a hawk's head before a lotus. In fig. 1167, which seems to be Cypriote, the figure holding two lotuses to his nose is clearly Egyptian, while the sacred tree is as clearly Assyrian.

As to the date of the Cypriote cylinders we have a remarkable statement by Ohnefalsch-Richter, who says ("Kypros," Text, p. 283, note):

None of these cylinder-seals, indeed, no cylinder-seals at all, have been hitherto found in Græco-Phœnician tombs of the Iron Age in Cyprus. The hundreds of seal-cylinders which have come to light were all (like those I myself excavated) in tombs of the Copper-Bronze Age. L. P. di Cesnola did not find in Græco-Phœnician tombs of the Iron Age at Kurium (still less in a temple treasure) the cylinders he publishes (Cesnola-Stern, plates LXXV-LXXVII) as part of his Kurium find, and A. P. di Cesnola did not find at Salamis the cylinders he publishes as coming from Salamis ("Salamina," plates XIII to xv, 51, and figs. 113-123). As all the cylinders relating to the discovery, of which we have trustworthy information, were discovered in Pre-Græco-Phœnician tombs of the Copper-Bronze Period, we are justified in assigning those published by the two Cesnolas to this early date. The latest specimens can scarcely be later than 1000 B. C.

I am inclined to accept this conclusion as to the date of the Cypriote cylinders. While they have had a local development, they had their origin, of course, on the neighboring continent; and the types from which they were drawn do not seem to have been much developed. In size and shape they are rather Babylonian than Assyrian in style, and so show, like the Syro-Hittite seals, the influence of a period antedating the special Assyrian influence, or, indeed, that of the Kassite period. It is perhaps as much as can be said that they probably belong to the period of from 2000 to 1000 B. C.

The motives employed in the Syro-Hittite art will be found in the Cypriote seals, but rudely engraved in a linear style. They are mostly animals, very poorly drawn, or men, or trees. The occasional heraldic arrangement of two animals in front of a tree, or other object, is in the prevailing style of the Syrian coast. A single cylinder may be mentioned which possibly gives a more exact attribution of time. It is shown in fig. 1168. A couple of personages stand before a disk with rays. These rays shoot out in every direction below the two horizontal ones in a style which finds a parallel only in the Egyptian solar disk introduced as the emblem of the one God worshiped by the heretic king Amenophis IV. It will be remembered that the disk as worshiped by him consisted simply of the circle of the sun, with neither asps nor wings, but with lines of rays, each of which ended in a hand of benediction holding the emblem of life. In this Cypriote seal we seem to have this same idea, and it is the only case known to us in which the solar disk is provided with such rays, unless it be the same in fig. 1014. It is a fair presumption that this seal belongs to the period of Amenophis IV. or is of about that time. We have no knowledge whence Amenophis IV. derived his form of the solar disk with rays. It seems to have originated with him, but it is possible that it came with his mother from Syria, although we do not know of any such form of the disk in that region and no other case is known out of Egypt. Of course it would have been impossible in this cylinder to develop the rays with the hands and the *crux ansata*.

The design, showing a tree with an animal each side of it, is seen in fig. 1169. It is to be observed that one of the two ibexes lifts his foot as if in adoration before the sacred tree, and that a third ibex in the field does the same thing. Among the other objects are the sun in the crescent and the goat's head, both familiar in Syro-Hittite art, the latter characteristically Hittite. In fig. 1170 what we may here call the Tree of Life might about as well be the cuttle-fish, as it sometimes appears on the seals (see fig. 798). Here we see an ibex seated each side of the "tree," under a guilloche. There are also the naked goddess and two figures holding a standard.

Somewhat more frequent is another form of the sacred tree, if we may so call that which has sometimes been called, as by Sayce, the symbol of the Paphian goddess. We have an illustration of it in fig. 1171. The "tree" consists of a column (which has been taken to be phallic, without sufficient evidence), with a pair of curving branches at the bottom and at the middle and surmounted with a crown



of short radiating lines. In this case there is a little cross at the top, but this is the single case. On one side of the "tree" is a griffin with both front hands lifted. There is also a bull's head. Another similar design is given in fig. 1172, where the griffin lifts but one hand. In fig. 1173 the griffin is replaced by a sphinx, and in figs. 1174, 1175, by a lion, and they lift one foot in homage. For other forms of this "sacred tree" see figs. 1176, 1177, 1178. In the last case one will observe the flaring flounced garment of the female figure and compare it with the similar feminine garment worn in the Mycenæan period, as seen often (*cf.* Perrot and Chipiez, "*Grèce Primitive*," figs. 387, 388, and Tsountas-Manatt, "*Mycenæan Age*," figs. 65, 66, 84, 155). We can not fix the date of this style of chiton, perhaps, further than to say that it prevailed in the second chiliad B. C. Other examples of this form of the "tree" may be seen in Cesnola's "*Cypriote Antiquities*," III, cxx, 2, 13.

The griffin and the sphinx are frequent objects, as we have already seen. In fig. 1179 a heraldic lion faces the sphinx which, as is not unusual, has its head

adorned with a tuft. There is also a female figure with a chiton somewhat of the Mycenæan type, although not flounced. In fig. 1180 the griffin is seated and there is a standing female figure, also a bull's head. Almost the same is repeated in "Salaminia," plate XIV, fig. 42. In fig. 1181 the woman grasps the tail of the griffin, as in fig. 1182 she seizes the tail of a lion.

There are some cases in which we meet a seated figure, apparently feminine. An unusually interesting one is that in fig. 1183. There is a high altar or table, on which stands a bird, probably the dove of the Cyprian goddess. On each side is a seated figure, in one case in a high-backed chair and in the other on a stool, as there was not room for the back of the chair. Apparently the two women are in worship, although it is quite exceptional that the worshiper does not stand, and it may quite as well be that the two figures represent the goddess before her emblem of the dove. We have another example of a seated female figure, who seems to be a goddess, in fig. 1184, where the goddess, if such she be, sits behind a griffin. Her toes are turned up after the style of the Hittite shoes.



Occasionally we meet the heraldic eagle, after the Hittite style. One such case appears in fig. 1185; on one side is an ibex and on the other one a fish, and a goose lifts its head in a very characteristic attitude. There is also the "tree" or "emblem of the Paphian goddess." In fig. 1186 the eagle is above a humped ox and there is a worshiper with other emblems. But the bird may be more naturalistic, as in fig. 1187. There are four birds in natural attitudes about a naturalistic tree in fig. 1188, and there are two personages, one of which, carrying a weapon, is probably a god. It is possible, however, that this represents a hunting scene, such as are familiar on Egyptian monuments. An interesting example is that in fig. 1189, where the bird is somewhat in the heraldic attitude, but without legs, and with it are a fish, an ibex, a hand, and six (not seven) dots.

In fig. 1190 two worshipers appear to present a dove to a third, perhaps a deity, who stands between them.

We have observed cases in which a goddess is seated in a chair. In other cases a male figure, which appears to have an animal head, like an Egyptian god, is seated

or standing and holds a short spear, which might rather be compared to a spade. We see it in fig. 1191. There is also a second figure with a similar head. Other objects are a serpent, an uncertain triangular object, and an ox's head over a curious object shaped like a skate's egg. Three other cylinders ("Salaminia," plate XIII, figs. 23, 25, 26) have almost precisely the same design. In fig. 1192 two figures are standing, one each side of a tree, and the spade-like weapon stands beside them. This design is duplicated with slight variations in "Salaminia," plate XIII, fig. 21. It may be the same weapon, although lacking the cross-piece on the handle, with which in fig. 1193 a hunter, accompanied by a dog, spears an ibex. The hand is to be observed.

Mention has been made of a figure like a skate's egg, cushion, or shield, square with concave sides. It is usually connected with a circle. So we find it in fig. 1194. There are not less than three of these objects, and over the largest one are a crescent



and a circle. There are also a tree, an ox's head, and other smaller objects. The crescent and the circle probably represent the moon and the sun, and one might, in this case, suppose the "cushion" to represent the stand on which it rests. But this conclusion hardly agrees with the arrangement in fig. 1195, where the "cushion" is repeated and is between two circles. Perhaps we have a more developed form of the same object in fig. 1196, where it looks more like an altar, or stand. In figs. 1171, 1174, the object, which appears to be the same, appears to be an altar for holding oil, etc. It is hardly beyond question that it is such an altar that we see in figs. 1197, 1198, with a worshiper on each side of it. But when we see a case like fig. 1199, in which the two forms appear, one is left in doubt. We add a single other example (fig. 1200), in which the cushion is accompanied by the crescent over the disk, and with it are a man, an ox's head, and a seven-branched tree, much like

the Jewish candlestick on the Arch of Titus. In fig. 1204, almost exactly repeated in "Salamina," plate XIII, 24, we see the "cushion" on each side of the standing figure, besides the larger one with the disk.

A few miscellaneous cylinders may be added. In fig. 1202 are three bird-headed figures, two of them two-headed, lifting two animals like fawns by the hind leg, and with the hand on a figure like the "symbol of the Paphian goddess," shown in figs. 998, 1001. In fig. 1203 we have the unusual representation of a wild boar, as well as of a lion, a disk with four wings, and an object like a candelabrum. It would be difficult to explain the four hourglass-shaped objects in fig. 1201. In



fig. 1205 we observe two objects, one with two cross-lines and the other with three, which suggest the Egyptian emblem of stability. We have the same in fig. 1026.

The general rudeness of the native Cypriote art is due, in large part, to the material of which the seals were made. It is the soft serpentine, which cuts too easily to encourage slow and careful engraving. There is a sharp contrast between the numerous finely engraved hematite cylinders of Syria and the equally numerous coarse cylinders of Cyprus. It is true that we have a series of rudely cut Syro-Hittite cylinders, cut with the wheel, which may be contemporaneous with these (see Chapter LV). As to the age of these cylinders from Cyprus we have little information. It is likely that most of them belong to the later Mycenaean period and the period immediately following it.

CHAPTER LXIII.

SABEAN INSCRIPTIONS.

It has already been stated, in the discussion of the Syro-Hittite cylinders, that it is at present impossible to classify, by localities, the seals which were used in an extensive territory which was covered by the Syrian and Hittite culture. Indeed, the culture was composite and represents successive waves of population or conquest or trade. Similarly, no attempt can be made to localize the cylinders considered in this chapter. All we can do is to gather the few cylinders which carry a Sabean inscription and observe their peculiarities of art, if they have any, without attempting to say where or when they were used. We have the same difficulty as with cylinders carrying Phenician or Aramaic inscriptions, but which may nevertheless be, in their art, Assyrian or Persian. Their number is so small that we can hardly classify them, but can only figure and describe them separately, remembering that, so far as they represent a Sabean region, there may be many others not so recognized, which carry no inscriptions. Such a one Hommel finds in fig. 1080, where a hunter rides on a camel (see Hommel "Die Südarabischen Altertümer," Eduard Glaser Sammlung, p. 35). The term *Sabean* is used in a general sense, with no exclusion of Lihyanian or other allied forms.

A single cylinder with Sabean inscriptions which has long been known is presented in fig. 1207 and has also been shown in fig. 768. It is of a bluish chalcedony; it was obtained by Felix Jones at Anah, on the Euphrates, and was first described by Rawlinson. There are two lines of inscription, the two words in the second line being divided by two dots like a colon. The inscription has been read by many scholars, of whom the first were Rawlinson, Osiander, Levy, Halévy, and D. H. Müller. In Hebrew letters it reads:

ערעא
בן ברך
'Ar'a'
son of Barik.



Müller says ("Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien") that the characters are rather Lihyanian than Sabean. The design shows us in the center a god, corresponding to the Syrian and Assyrian Adad, in a square hat ornamented with feathers, with a long garment, but with one bare leg advanced, with bows and quivers rising from his shoulders, one hand raised to receive his worshiper, and the other carrying a thunderbolt. At his foot is the bull of Adad. Behind him is a second figure, dressed in precisely the same way, but beardless. We may suppose her to be the corresponding goddess, as Shala accompanies the Babylonian Adad-Martu and Ishtar accompanies the Assyrian Adad. One hand is raised and the other carries what looks like a branch, but may possibly be a distaff. Facing the two is a worshiper dressed precisely like the two deities, except that he wears a

low round hat or turban. On the cylinder the two bearded figures show the strong muscles of the leg and knee, while the leg of the beardless figure is quite unmarked. The style of the figures is much like those of the time of Assurbanipal, and Rawlinson is probably right in ascribing it to about 600 B. C. We may conceive this cylinder as having been engraved in Nineveh for a foreign customer; or the people who used the writing may have lived much nearer to Assyria than Southern Arabia. As it was found in Anah, several days' journey north of Babylon, one is inclined to think that the desert tribes to the west may at this early period have received the Sabean writing.

Unfortunately the cylinder shown in fig. 1208 is broken, but fortunately the more important part is preserved. As it is, it is a most precious monument of the earliest Arabian writing. The inscription consists of twelve letters, besides one vertical stroke which seems to divide words. There is also space, in a little fracture, for one or two other letters. The reading seems to be: כ...מסשרי | דתרקעק



The design shows us a god seizing a lion with each hand, somewhat after the Persian style, but drawn with much more vigor. Between the backs of the lions is a magnificent bird, with the neck of a swan, ibis, or peacock, and with an exaggerated crest and with distinct wattles. One will observe the naked god, quite different from the Persian convention, and the headdress, if it be not intended to represent the hair. It hardly seems square, with feathers, like the headdress in fig. 1207. The bird suggests the mythical phoenix, which had its home in Arabia and which, under the name *ḥōl*, was supposed by Jewish commentators to be mentioned in Job 29:18:

I said I will die in my nest,
I will multiply my days as the phoenix (sand).

Another cylinder showing a Sabean inscription is seen in fig. 1209, which seems to carry the inscription (*not* reversed on the cylinder) ערבריק. The design, however, does not appear to be South Arabian, but such as might have been found in the regions to the west of Assyria or in Syria. A god, in a square hat and a long garment and holding what may be a sheaf of thunderbolts in his hand, stands on a bull. Above are the star, the seven dots, and the crescent. Before him is a worshiper with hand raised. Before and behind them is a bird-headed winged figure, carrying in the lifted hand a fruit and in the depressed hand a pail or basket, such as we so often see before the sacred tree. In such a case as this it is evident that these figures are not fertilizing the flowers of the palm-tree, but more likely carry gifts and fortune for the worshiper at the bidding of the god. The god can hardly be any other than some form of Adad or Ramman; and it would seem likely that the seal was engraved quite under Assyrian influence and from a region neighboring to it.

In fig. 1210, Hommel ("Die Südarabischen Altertümer," p. 32) has recognized a Sabean (Lihyanian) inscription of three letters, which he reads as *Shahr*, the Moon-god of South Arabia. The central figure is, as he correctly explains, the

goddess with quivers from her shoulders, corresponding to the Assyrian representations of Ishtar, and each side of her, as if seizing her hand or in some way supporting her, is a winged male figure of a subsidiary deity, such as we so frequently find in the Assyrian art about a sacred tree, but which we do not expect to see ranged about a goddess. The relation is more like that which we see between winged figures and the winged disk. The other objects are the star, the crescent, and such a plant as is not rarely seen more developed. Hommel puts the date of this seal as from 1000 to 500 B. C. I should incline to the later date. Hommel calls attention to the feathered headdress worn by the three figures, as also to the same kind of a headdress worn by the rider on the camel in fig. 1080. We do not know that such a headdress is peculiar to Arabia. Indeed, it was common to the region east of Babylonia.



Fig. 1211, a small carnelian cylinder, has three long-skirted, bearded personages, of whom two appear to be in adoration before a third, who may represent the deity or perhaps a king. Before him is an inscription of five Sabeen letters, above which is a rude winged disk. The inscription perhaps reads *אדרכש* or *אעלכש*. Apart from its inscription, there is nothing characteristic about the seal which would indicate the land of its provenance.

Very peculiar is the cylinder to be seen in fig. 1212. It shows a beardless figure, with two profile heads facing in the same direction, with wings rising from the shoulders, in a long belted and embroidered garment, which seizes with one hand an ibex by the beard and with the other a lion. Next is a similar figure, except that instead of human heads it has two antelope or goat heads. It seizes the lion by the tail with one hand and with the other grasps by the hand, which also holds a sword, the hand of a composite figure, the lower part of which is a lion and the upper part that of a beardless human figure in a high conical hat and with a queue falling down behind. Next is a third figure with the same garments as the other two, but having two birds' heads and carrying in the arms two lions. They are not, as might at first be supposed from the way they are carried, goats for sacrifice. Besides these figures there is one emblem, that which has been called the libra. There are also what appear to be three Sabeen characters, although it is not easy to identify them. They would appear to represent a more complicated and earlier form of the letters. The design I should imagine to be Syrian and to be connected in style with such cylinders as we have seen in figs. 951-956a, where we find some double-headed figures.



Were we here engaged in a study of the Sabeen remains we might add to these cylinders, which are all I remember to have seen, a number of inscriptions on scaraboids, etc. But that belongs to other students. I would gather from the scanty

material at hand that the use of the Sabeian alphabet (to employ a general term which represents minor varieties of writing from the Lihyanian to the early Aramaic) covered the entire Arabian peninsula and extended far into the desert regions to the north inhabited by nomads, to the south and east of Palestine, and across the waste region to the fringe of the lower and middle Euphrates. Perhaps only fig. 1208, or perhaps also fig. 1212, gives us any fair suggestion as to their peculiar art or religion. The early cylinders from the Hauran may have borrowed from their ideas, and I have been inclined to suspect that to Arabs was due the origin of the prevalent winged figures that came into use in Assyria and the Syro-Hittite region, but which were unfamiliar to the Babylonians of the early and middle empires, whose artistic conventions and mythology came much more from the East than from the West.

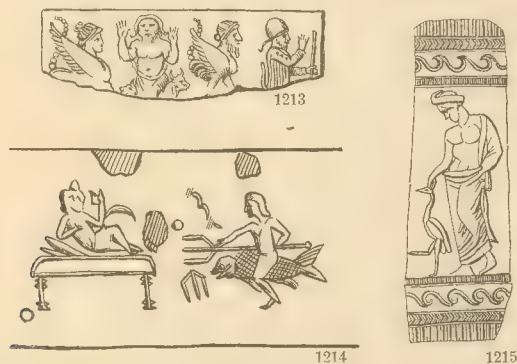
For dubious inscriptions the student is referred to figs. 761 and 1138.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE GREEK INFLUENCE.

Very rarely we meet with a cylinder which seems to show the influence of Greek art. These are so few that they can be considered only independently, and as little more than abnormal, however graceful, variations from the true Oriental types. The Greeks had no use for cylinders. But Greek art penetrated into the East before the cylinders had disappeared and may even have become a fresh and important influence in distant lands, where the cylinder was lingering after it had ceased to prevail in its original homes. There are cylinders that are said to have been found in Greece itself, but these are not at all Greek in feeling, and may have been brought by visitors, or in trade, or even by a Persian invasion of soldiers.

One cylinder which shows Greek influence has been noted in fig. 1054. There the vigorous attitude and especially the flowing garments are evidence of a Greek influence, although the language of the inscription is Aramaic. It probably belongs to a period of Persian control in a country where the art had become in good part Greek.



We can hardly fail to see a similar Greek influence in fig. 1213. Here the broken seal shows us a god apparently seated on two bulls, with both hands raised, also two winged harpies and a worshiper. This cylinder retains the gold looped wire which held it. Another which we may safely take to show Greek feeling is seen in fig. 1214. It gives us two cupids, one reclining on a lounge and one with trident riding on a fish. A very beautiful and exquisite agate cylinder is shown in fig. 1215. This cylinder is mounted in gold, and the rich mounting appears on the drawing, which shows the single figure on the cylinder. It is attached to the central pendant to a gold chain, and I was told that it was found in Afghanistan. A half-draped female figure, presumably a goddess, caresses the head of a heron.

Probably we must include, as showing Greek influence, the cylinder given in fig. 1216, for its style is entirely unlike anything Oriental. A man-fish, with two Egyptian ostrich feathers on his head, lifts a standard ending in a heart-shaped

ivy leaf; and two birds, perhaps vultures, are over a lotus and two ivy leaves. The cylinder, which seems to be Greco-Egyptian, is of soft stone and is unfortunately lost.

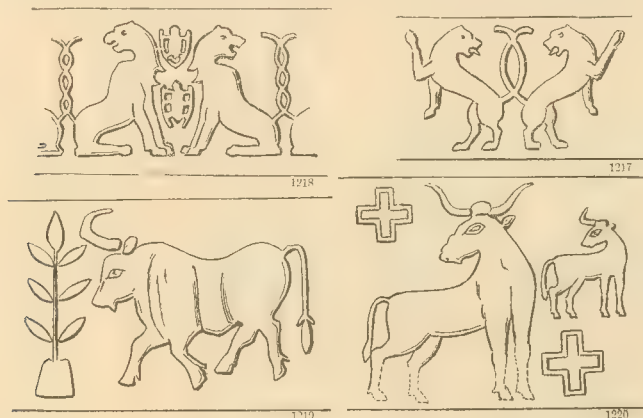
Certain cylinders, such as we see in Chapters LIX and LX, and others that seem to belong to a Persian period, such as fig. 596, suggest a Greek influence. At any rate they exhibit a fresh life, which does not belong to Babylonia or Assyria, but which may have originated in the districts to the northwest, where the Greek civilization and art penetrated, or from the Ionian coasts, or from Cyprus or Crete.



CHAPTER LXV.

SUSIAN CYLINDERS.

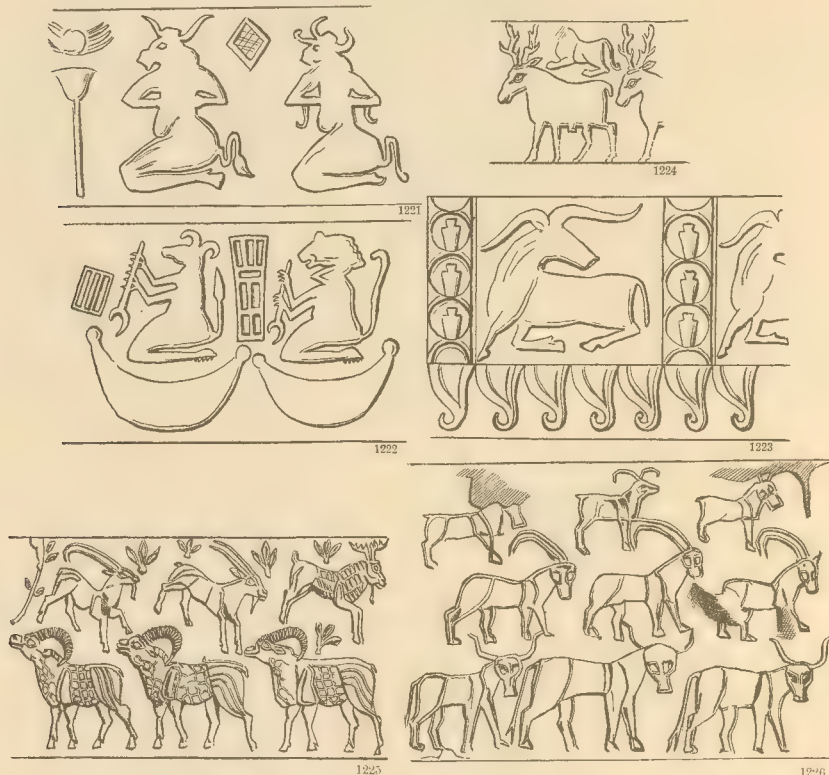
After the rest of this book was entirely written there came to my hand volumes VII and VIII of de Morgan's "Mémoires" of the "Délégation en Perse," which give us our first real knowledge of the character of the Susian seal cylinders. M. de Morgan hesitates to put any definite date on the cylinders that resulted from his excavations; and the fact that none of them contain any writing, with the exception of one with Egyptian hieroglyphics, makes it difficult to fix a date. They are usually rude and show us animals of the country in various postures and some equally rude human figures. They seem to have little relation to the Babylonian cylinders and, in fact, are usually of a different material, a fine white clay, enameled after the Egyptian fashion. The four or five which are purely Babylonian, with figures of Gilgamesh and his companions, may be dismissed as probably not of Susian workmanship. Some of the more characteristic are here given.



In fig. 1217 we have two lions arranged with their tails crossing in a loop. This latter feature is exaggerated in fig. 1218, so as to resemble the arrangement of the two serpents in fig. 95. In fig. 1219 the bull is probably the bison, the horn being drawn at right angles to the head to show its shape. In fig. 1220 we seem to have both the bison and a bull like the aurochs. The cross fixes this cylinder as of probably the Kassite period. In fig. 1221 we have bulls kneeling before a columnar altar under a winged disk, which again shows that the seal is not archaic. The playful character of the art appears in fig. 1222, where we see two animals, a bull (?) and a lion, each in a boat and holding an oar.

In fig. 1223 we see the wild goat, set in a curious ornamented border. On one cylinder, fig. 1224, the deer is figured, which we see only rarely on cylinders from Babylonia. On one very large cylinder, however, we have what seems to be a deer

represented in a menagerie of animals (fig. 1225). This is in two registers, the lower with three rams and the upper with two ibexes and a deer. Similar is fig. 1226, where there are three registers, with three bulls in the lower one, three ibexes in the second, and three wild sheep, perhaps, in the upper register.

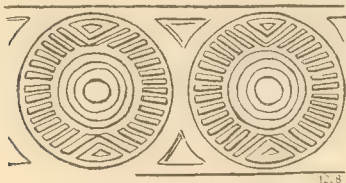


Sometimes we have rude human figures, as in fig. 1227, where are two seated figures within a border of rectangles. We see circles in fig. 1228.

So far as we can judge these are of no extreme antiquity. They are rude enough, but rather unskilled than archaic. The Egyptian influence seems to appear, not only in one with Egyptian hieroglyphics, but in the material, enameled terra-cotta, according to de Morgan. This is certainly surprising and would seem to suggest a date as late as the Persian invasion of Egypt. One or two cylinders, collected by de Morgan in Susa and which I have seen in the Louvre, with a design much like that in fig. 1095, appeared, like that, to be of a very light-green serpentine.

It has been remarked that fig. 1220 can not well be earlier than the Kassite dynasty; but the tablet on which is the impression of a seal shown in fig. 1228a is

supposed by de Morgan to be as early as 3000 B. C. On a large tablet this cylinder is rolled over and over twice on the reverse, while the obverse is covered with an inscription in what de Morgan calls the Proto-Elamite writing. The design is an extraordinary one and can not elsewhere be duplicated. It shows two scenes. In one a somewhat humanized bull seizes two lions and in the other a somewhat humanized lion seizes two bulls. No such scene is to be found on any Babylonian cylinder.



CHAPTER LXVI.

ALTARS AND SACRIFICES.

In an appendix to S. I. Curtiss's "Primitive Semitic Religion To-day," I have treated of the earliest representations of altars and sacrifices on the Babylonian cylinders. In the present chapter the subject will be continued into the later period.

In the most archaic art two forms of altar are to be recognized. One of these is a square altar, reduced on one side near the top by a step, so that it constitutes



two shelves. Perhaps the most archaic example we have of this is seen in fig. 1229, here repeated from fig. 127. On the upper shelf of the altar are what appear to be two cakes or flat loaves of bread, while an object which may be a vase is on the lower shelf. Over the altar a worshiper pours a libation from a cup. A similar



altar we have in fig. 1230, where on the upper shelf there is a cup, or vase, and on the lower a pile of cakes, above which seems to be the form of an animal. Again, in fig. 1231 there is a cup on the lower shelf, in which appears to be burning oil, toward which, and the worshiper, the goddess reaches out her hand. In fig. 1232 we have the altar with no offering upon it. But we here seem to gather its construction, as if not of brick or stone, but of reeds fastened together, or stems of palm-leaves, after the fashion of seats so common at present in southern Babylonia.



The finest example of this form of altar, and the last I know of, is fig. 1233, the famous Rich cylinder. Here again the altar appears to be made of wicker-work, or possibly of brick. On the lower shelf is a vase, with the flame of burning oil rising from it, and on the upper shelf the head of an animal, perhaps representing the whole animal and probably a ram. Here we have a further detail, the

worshiper led by the hand to the goddess and presenting a goat as an offering. The goddess here appears to be one of the forms of Ishtar, and not Gula-Bau, as I called her in my paper previously referred to.

In comparing these five cases of a stepped altar we gather that it was probably a light construction, of reeds or palm-leaf stems, and so not suitable for the burning of a victim. The offering was of cakes and oil, the oil burned in a vessel, to protect the inflammable altar. Portions of the animal offered to the god were placed on the altar, with the cakes and oil, but could not have been burnt there. The goat was brought as an offering to the deity, doubtless to be eaten by the priests.

The second form of altar, which also goes back to the earliest antiquity, is that of the hourglass; that is, a round altar more or less contracted in the middle. A very archaic example of this is seen in fig. 1234. The faces of the figures are almost bird-shaped. Out of the altar arise two objects which look like branches, but are more probably flames, but which yet must be compared with the altar shown in fig. 1235 of a bas-relief from Susa. This looks even more like a plant being



watered in a pot. But for a discussion of the plant of life see the discussion of fig. 419, and the concluding pages of Chapter xxxviii.

We may consider that we have two flames, or possibly branches of the plant of life, from the top of the altar in fig. 1236, an altar of precisely the same shape and which has the ridge near the middle that we see in other cases, as in the bas-relief from Susa. For an excellent, if genuine, example, see fig. 387. We have a quite archaic cylinder shown in fig. 1237, where there seem to be objects on the altar. The interesting thing about this cylinder is that it represents the seated Ishtar with alternate clubs and scimitars, precisely as in fig. 1233, and that this gives evidence that the two kinds

of altars were used nearly or quite contemporaneously. In fig. 1238 there seems to be a flame, or possibly cakes, above the altar. The seated goddess is Bau-Gula. In fig. 1239 there are two such altars, but slenderer, and the worshiper is pouring oil upon them. In this case it is clear that there is no plant that is being watered. We have again the single slender altar in fig. 1240, where I think we see the flames



conventionalized. This is a cylinder copied from its impression on a tablet, and it is probable that it is a goddess and not a god, as here represented. (See discussion of it under fig. 421.)

A variation of this altar gives it contracted near the top instead of in the middle. Such a case is shown in fig. 1241. Here I would like to believe that the worshiper is making a libation of oil and that the flaming oil is falling over the edge of the altar, but it is more probable that we have here the plant of life. This cylinder



is of the age of Dungi, king of Ur, whose name it bears. Somewhat similar, but more elaborately carved, is the altar, also on a cylinder of Dungi, seen in fig. 1242. Yet another case of such an altar appears in fig. 1243, where there seems to be a cloth over the altar and possibly cakes above it, but it may be that it is poorly drawn. Ménant did not find it in the Museum of The Hague, to which Lajard credits it.



Sometimes the altar is contracted below the middle and flares above. Such a case we see in fig. 1244. Here the worshiper is both pouring out the oil and bringing a goat as offering. Here we need to notice the other offerings. One worshiper carries a basket or pail by the handle, and it is of precisely the same shape as the altar. Another worshiper brings a gift held high over her head.

On a bas-relief from Nippur (fig. 1245), imperfectly preserved and of great antiquity, is an altar above which seem to be flames. The seat of the goddess apparently has the body of a bird. A worshiper with a goat is led to the deity from

behind. Unfortunately the personages before her are lost in the fracture. This probably belongs to the very earliest period and shows the primitive use of this altar. A cylinder of quite an early period is seen in fig. 1246, where the altar takes much the same shape and a flame arises from it. The altar stands before the monster usually on later seals related to Marduk; but this is much older than Marduk appears and the animal may originally have belonged to the elder Bel and be a form of Tiamat.

There are three cylinders in which the altar stands before the serpent-bodied god. In one case there is a very thick altar of the hourglass shape (fig. 1247); the worshiper stands before the god. In another case (fig. 1248) the altar flares at the top and there are uncertain objects upon it and a deity sits on each side, probably the god and his consort. We may think of them as enjoying the offerings of their worshipers. Similarly there are the two deities before the altar in fig. 1249, but here the altar, from which arise flames, appears as if made simply of a pile of bricks. For comparison with these altars see those from Sinai, of a very early period, figured in Petrie's "Researches in Sinai," plate 143.

A very peculiar altar, of a quite early period, is seen in the remarkable cylinder (fig. 1250) which shows the conquest of Nergal over Allat. The altar consists of a large deep bowl resting on a tripod of oxen's feet. The goddess sits before it and seems to be reaching out her hand to the smoke of the oil, or incense, and enjoying its sweet savor.

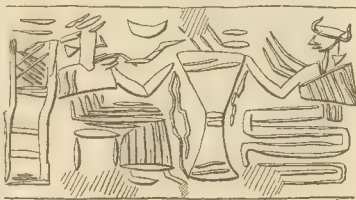
These are the principal cases known to me in which the altar, in any form, appears in the early Babylonian art. I have not included the cases in which there



1246



1247



1248

is a stand before the seated deity, or between the two deities, on which is a vase from which they seem to be drinking through a tube.

The literary sources, which tell us much of the sacrifices, give us very little information as to the nature of the early Babylonian altars. A large stationary altar is described in Hilprecht's "Old Babylonian Inscriptions," Vol. 1, part 2, p. 24, but it gives us no help as to these altars figured on the cylinders, which seem—at least most of them—to have been portable.

There are a number of early cylinders, showing offerings presented to the gods, on which there are no altars. Of all, the most frequent was the goat presented by the worshiper. This continued down to the middle period, when the altar was no

longer added. Often an attendant, who seems to have been a slave, as he frequently appears scantily clad, carries a pail or basket. On some fine old cylinders an attendant appears with several amphoræ on a tripod or a shelf, or on the ground. Such cases have been shown in figs. 214, 403, 404. The shape of the vase with a spout, out of which oil was poured over the altars, is well shown in the bas-relief of fig. 1251.

I have said that the goat (or possibly also the gazelle) is the only animal that appears to be regularly brought in sacrifice to the gods, yet we have observed what appeared to be the head of a ram on fig. 1233. There is one case, however, of a cylinder in the Louvre (MNB 1324) which may represent the sacrifice of a bull, but I have mislaid the cast of it. According to my notes it is a large cylinder of black serpentine, perhaps 3000 B. C., which shows a seated god with vase held to his breast, from which flow two slender streams, by which are eight fishes. Before him stands



1249



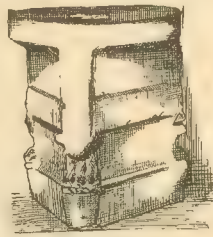
1250



1251



1252



1253

a bifrons figure, behind whom was probably a figure which has been erased. A bull lies on its back on the ground, with legs in the air, and is held by two men, one of whom holds a poniard at its neck. Over the bull is the eagle of Lagash. The slaying of the bull in the presence of the god suggests that it is offered in sacrifice. One of the bas-reliefs found by de Sarzec at Tello also suggests the offering of a bull. There are three fragments (two of them in Heuzey's "*Cat. Ant. Chald.*," p. 105) from which we gather the elaborate scene which represents the burial in a mound of the dead in battle and the carrying of earth in baskets to cover them. Near by is a bull on its back, with its legs tied close to the body and the animal tied fast with ropes to two posts. By the bull we see the feet and lower edge of the garment of a man whom we may take to be the sacrificing priest or king, and above the bull, on a third fragment, a part of a large vase, or perhaps an altar with a flaring top, from which seems to fall on one side a branch with leaves. It is a great pity that we have not the whole of this splendid bas-relief, the fragments of which are so interesting. (See fig. 1252.)

ASSYRIAN ALTARS.

We know the shape of the Assyrian altars in the time of Assurnazirpal from the one in the British Museum (Layard, "Monuments," II, plate 4) found at Nimrud (fig. 1253). Very similar is a later one of the time of Sargon, found at Khorsabad (Botta, plate 157). It differs from that of Assurnazirpal in having no hole in the round table at the top. A similar one, still preserving the name of Sargon, I saw in 1884 in a small village between Khorsabad and Mosul. These altars, of alabaster, I believe, could hardly have been used for burning a sacrifice.



1254



1255

Taking this as perhaps the typical shape of the altar at the time of the Assyrian Empire, with its round table on a heavy triangular base, we must yet remember that in the Hebrew worship the offering for Jehovah could be put either upon an altar (*mizbach*) or a table (*shulchan*). On the former a variety of offerings could be made, of animals, oil, flour, incense, etc.; and large or small altars were in use, as required by the nature of the sacrifice; while the table was reserved for cakes (shewbread) which were not burned or saturated with oil. So we find tables set before the gods in the earlier and later periods of the Mesopotamian history, and even stands for the support of vases supposed to be supplied with some sort of brewage from which the gods drink. Whether these are to be considered as representing offerings to the gods, or simply the gods in the act of feasting in their divine abode, may not be always clear; but there are instances where the table serves the place of an altar set before the gods. Such is the case in fig. 1254, although no offering is upon it; but it stands between the worshiper and the two emblems of the deities, one of which represents Sin, while the other is uncertain. This belongs to the period of the later Babylonian Empire. Here the table is a stand with three legs, a simple column and a broad top. Much more frequent is the table, of the Assyrian period—in fig. 1255 a four-legged table with the legs jointed and crossed, to fold up, and on it cakes and a drinking dish, and we may presume the fish, as its presence on the table is not unusual. In fig. 1256 there is a swan on the altar.



1256

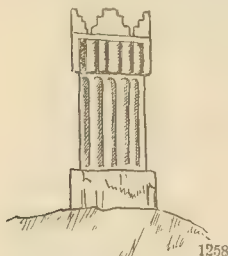
It is not always clear whether the table form is meant for human use or for the refreshment of the god. Thus in Place, "Ninive et l'Assyrie," plate LVII, 2, the king and queen sit under an arbor before a table heaped with food and are drinking from cups. But in fig. 1 of the same plate the king pours out a libation over slaughtered lions, evidently an act of worship, and before him is just such a table

heaped with viands, and also an ashera. It may be that in this case the table is waiting for him to eat, but it appears to be an offering to the gods.

There is a fine example of worship with a table altar in the "Gates of Bala-wat," B, 1, 2 (fig. 1257). Here is a lake, that of Van, into which two soldiers on an expedition are throwing portions of a slaughtered animal, as if to the water-gods,



and they are being devoured by the creatures of the deep. Then comes the bas-relief of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser II., beyond which are two standards, perhaps, which seem to rest on three legs and to be surmounted with a rosette. Next is a table altar, with a cloth over it, and next a column with a conical top, which resembles the ashera of Marduk.



In Botta's "Monuments," plate 114 (repeated in part by Place, plate XL, 3) (fig. 1258), is the representation of a hill by a river. At the foot of the hill is a temple with Ionic columns, and at the top of the hill, or "high place," is an altar, in the battlemented form, so as to give horns to the altar. It is very different from the Assyrian altar.

An unusual form of altar we have in fig. 1259, which may be Assyrian, but more probably comes from one of the outlying regions. The altar is of the shape of a round column with an enlarged base, with a large cup-like top to hold oil, or incense, here burning, and a still larger protuberance, or shelf, below the top. There is a seated deity, and the worshiper carries on the wrist the emblem of Belit-Ninkhar-shag, while behind are two tall slender vases on a stand. Very nearly the same form we have in a kindred seal (fig. 1260), where the cup-shaped top is shown as well as the flames; and again in fig. 1261, where again there are flames from the altar. This last case is clearly of the Assyrian period.



1259



1260

The Persian fire-altar was of a peculiar sort, and we may presume that it was intended to keep the sacred fire from being extinguished. The best example of it is in fig. 1262. On a wide fluted stand rests a square receptacle for the fire, hollowed deep, with steps, and with fire at the bottom. Other more usual forms of altars are found in the art of the Persian period, but not necessarily indicating Persian worship. Such are seen in fig. 1263 and fig. 1264, but altars are not common on

Persian cylinders. A very curious case of what seems a portable altar is seen in fig. 1265, where two scorpion-men face an altar of the hourglass shape, reduced so as to be almost columnar, with a conical top from which what may be a cord depends and is attached to the altar lower down, as if to carry it.



On the Syro-Hittite cylinders altars are infrequent. Examples are figs. 1266, 1267, where the sickle-like object and the branch held in the hand of the attendant figures seem to have some reference to the ceremony. In fig. 1268 we have the shew-bread on the altar between the two deities.

The animal brought in the arms for sacrifice is regularly a goat in Assyrian as in the earlier Babylonian. We have, however, in fig. 1269 a gazelle, also in fig. 1233, both on early Babylonian cylinders. Mention has been made of the rare sacrifice of a bull. Another case, perhaps, is a sacrifice by Shalmaneser (or to his image) in "Gates of Balawat," D, 7. We have seen cases where cakes (shew-bread), birds, etc., are on the altar.



There is no evidence in the Oriental art of human sacrifice. We see men killed in war, heaped in cages, torn by birds of prey, but never sacrificed to the gods. The literature is equally silent. The cases which have been supposed to have this meaning are those in which a god kills his enemy, and not where a man offers a human sacrifice to his god. These cases are explained in Chapter IX. The only case which suggests human sacrifice is that of the arms of a brazen bull in which children may have been burnt. See Chapter LIII.

CHAPTER LXVII.

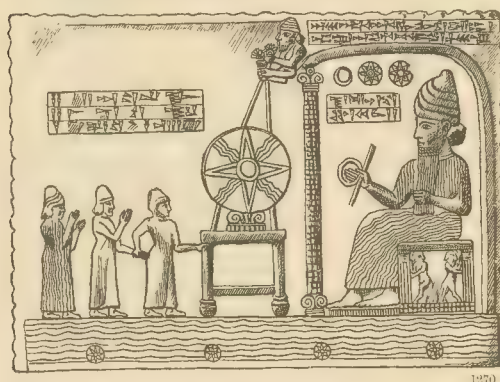
THE RECOGNITION OF THE DEITIES.

The following are among the principal data for the recognition of the gods, in which cases we find them fully figured and with names accompanying them.

1. The famous stele of Sippara (Abu-habba) gives us the Sun-god Shamash (fig. 1270) sitting, with rod and circle in his hand and with his name written over him. His disk, with streams and rays, is before him. This settles the representation of Shamash as a seated god.

2. Hammurabi, in his stele, carried from Sippara to Susa, stands before a similar god. The accompanying inscription identifies Shamash once more as a seated deity. See fig. 1271.

3. A cylinder seal (fig. 1272) gives the names of three gods against the figures of them. These are Sin, Shamash, and Aa. Sin is a seated god, not easily to be distinguished from the seated Shamash. He holds in his hand a rod and ring.



Shamash is the standing god, with his foot raised on what conventionally represents the mountain of the East from which he rises. In one hand he holds a peculiar weapon which takes the place of the notched sword often seen on the earlier seals. This particular seal is of the later Syro-Hittite family and does not fully follow the Babylonian conventions. The third figure is of the goddess Aa, and the exigencies of the figures compelled the engraver to separate the two characters of her name. Aa is not here represented in her usual attitude with both hands raised, but stands with both hands on her breast behind the worshiper. This cylinder thus assures us the standing form of Shamash.

4. Among the monuments discovered by the German expedition to Babylon in 1899, was a limestone stele (fig. 1273), with four figures in bas-relief and a long inscription of Shamash-resh-usur, Viceroy of Suhi and Maer. By three of the figures are epigraphs giving the names. By a female figure is the epigraph, "Im-

age of Ishtar"; by that of a god is the inscription, "Image of Adad"; by that of the worshiper is the inscription, "Image of Shamash-resh-usur." The third deity is imperfect by the fracture of the stone and no epigraph is preserved. This stele was probably carried by Nebuchadnezzar, or some king of his dynasty, to Babylon as a trophy of victory, just as the stele with the Hammurabi Code was carried from Sippara to Susa by a Median conqueror. The land of Suhi was on the Middle Euphrates, somewhere about the mouth of the river Habor. The date of this monument is perhaps 750 B. C.



Here we have an authentic record of the two deities Ishtar and Adad, as represented not by the Babylonians or the Assyrians, but by the Suhi, in the region between the two, at a comparatively late period. Adad appears to be the principal figure. He carries his special emblem, a thunderbolt, in each hand. With the thunderbolt is, in at least one case and probably in both, a ring. The thunderbolt is drawn with two prongs, and it is held by the single bar which connects the two, as in the case of the thunderbolt held by Marduk in the famous design of Marduk and the Dragon (fig. 564). The god wears the square feathered hat which we see in the stele of Marduk-iddin-akhi (fig. 664). Ishtar carries as her only emblem a bow with her star above the ring through which her hand passes to hold the

upper end of the bow. She has no quiver, such as is usually seen in the figures of Ishtar on the Babylonian monuments, but in those she carries no bow. A long curl hangs down the side of her face and her hair falls down her back. She is dressed precisely like Adad, in a long ornamented robe which covers her feet, and she wears the same feathered hat. One hand is raised in the attitude of respect or worship, much as Aa, wife of Shamash, raises both her hands. It is to be noticed that the king does not wear the feathered hat, which may be archaic, but a hat much like that worn by the modern Persians and the old Assyrians. He carries the scepter which Herodotus says all the Persians carried. Who the third deity is must remain doubtful, although it would seem that the staff ought to identify him. The three deities all stand on conventional hills, as do the gods in the reliefs at Boghaz-keui. Besides the four figures should be noticed the four emblems, Sin, the Moon-god, and probably Shamash, the Sun-god, to the right, and to the left the lance-head of Marduk, and the wedge, probably of Nebo. (See Koldewey, *Mit. Deutsch. Or. Ges.*, Nos. 3, 5; Weissbach, "Babylonische Miscellen," frontispiece and p. 9.)

5. Another relief (fig. 1274) in lapis-lazuli, with the name of Marduk attached, was also found by the German Expedition to Babylon. (See Koldewey, *ib.*, No. 5, p. 6; Weissbach, "Babylonische Miscellen," p. 16.) Here the god, with his characteristic horned beast and weapon (considerably modified) and with the same richly embroidered garment and feathered hat that we have seen in fig. 1273, stands over a stream of water. He holds to his breast the ring and rod.

6. Yet another small ornament (fig. 1275), found in the same deposit, bears the figure and name of Adad, said to be "of the temple of E-sag-gil." His head-dress and robe are the same as in the bas-relief of Marduk-resh-usur (fig. 1273) but he carries in each hand the simple, instead of the double, bident thunderbolt, and in one hand he also holds cords attached to the noses of a winged monster and a bull (the latter imperfectly drawn, but recognized from numerous other designs). The figure stands on the conventional mountain.

7. A cylinder that was in the Blau collection, but of which I do not know the present possession, is published by M. M.-V. Nicolsky in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1892, under the title "La Déesse des Cylindres" (see fig. 1276). The general design of the face has nothing to do with the inscription, which reads "God Martu" (Ramman) in one line and "goddess Shala" in the other; but between the sign for god and the name in each case is put the figure of the deity. The god is the well-known early form of Ramman with the hand back on one side and holding a rod against his body in the other. At least I think so, although the drawing is very indistinct. The figure of the goddess is the familiar one of the nude goddess, front view, with her hands on her breast. This is a very disconcerting design, as it has seemed clear, from the numerous cases in which "Ramman, Shala" appear on seals, that Shala was precisely like Aa, a flounced goddess with both hands lifted; and since Lenormant it has been usual to call the naked goddess Zirbanit. Similarly the very numerous cases in which the inscription "Shamash, Aa" accompanies the sitting or standing Shamash and the flounced goddess with hands lifted had made it most probable that they represent these deities.

8. Among the emblems on a kudurru from Susa we find one statue figured of a goddess whose name is there written down as Gula, who is identified with Bau.

She is seated, and corresponds with numerous figures of a seated goddess on the cylinders (see fig. 1284).

9. On a fragment of a bas-relief from Tello (fig. 1277), representing a goddess seated in the lap of a god, Heuzey recognizes the name of Bau. The god then is her husband Ningirsu.

10. The bas-relief of Anubanini, King of the Lulubi, found by de Morgan ("Expedition," plate 61, see fig. 413), gives us the standing Ishtar, or Ninni, with weapons rising from her shoulders, as the goddess of war.

We have thus found the following deities figured, with their names in the accompanying epigraph: Shamash, both sitting and standing; Sin, as a seated god like Shamash; Adad, with his thunderbolt; Ishtar, with bow and star; Marduk, with his considerably modified scimitar; Martu, in the older form of Adad, or Ramman; Gula-Bau; and Ea.

These, I believe, are all the known cases in which the name of the deity accompanies the figure of the god. But there are two other cases in which the name accompanies the symbol more or less closely and directly. The most important of these is the *kudurru* above cited. On it we find Adad (Ramman-Martu) with his name against his symbol, the thunderbolt trident, which definitely fixes the god with the thunderbolt and leading a bull by the thong as Adad.

Ea's name comes against his emblem of the ram's head on a pole, with the mythological animal and the throne.

With considerable probability we may presume that certain gods particularly worshiped by kings are represented on their monuments. Thus Sin would appear on monuments from Ur, and Ningirsu on those from Shirpurla.

The fact that in a cylinder's inscription the owner is mentioned as the worshiper of one or more gods is by no means a proof that the accompanying figures represent these gods. We have mentioned that many seals with the name of Shamash and Aa, or of Ramman and Shala, seem to contain figures of these deities, but the exceptions are as numerous as the rule. Yet in such a case as the physician's seal (fig. 772), where the name of the unfamiliar god Girra is accompanied by an unfamiliar figure of a god, we have considerable presumption that it is Girra that is figured and that he was the god of physicians.

That the flounced Aa-Shala is not a priestess is further proved by de Clercq, 225 (fig. 476), where we have Ramman and Shala facing and the sign for *god* engraved on the body of each. In such a case as fig. 1278 the sign for *god* is written before the figure of the standing Shamash.

In the chapter on "Symbols of Gods," and in the several chapters devoted to special designs, we have the indications for the identification of other gods, such as Ningirsu, Gula, Nergal, etc.



1278

CHAPTER LXVIII.

FIGURES OF DEITIES.

A chief difficulty in identifying the figures of deities found in the earlier art of the East comes from the paucity of types represented. Thus there was but a Babylonian type of the seated god. He was always the same bearded figure, in the same position, whatever god he might represent. He may be Bel or Sin or Ninkirsu, and we know not how many other gods, this being the dignified attitude of a king or a god. Similarly, a common type for a standing goddess attached to her consort, with hands raised, may represent the wife either of Shamash or Ramman.

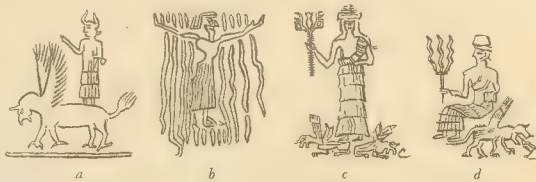
EARLY BABYLONIAN PERIOD.

The following figures of gods belong to the early Babylonian pantheon:

1. *The God in a Chariot drawn by a Dragon or standing on a Dragon:* This god is likely to be Enlil, the Elder Bel of Nippur, inasmuch as it was Enlil who was the hero of this myth before Marduk took his rôle. He appears only in the earlier art, and not frequently then. For these figures see Chapter VIII. It may well be Enlil who appears in certain old cylinders bearing a serpent as weapon, seeing that the serpent scimitar, developed out of a serpent, was the characteristic weapon of his successor, Bel Marduk, of Babylon (see fig. 30).



2. *The Goddess with the Dragon, Belit:* If the god driving the dragon is Bel, then the goddess with him, standing on the dragon and holding thunderbolts, is Belit. She appears in this form only on the early seals, and there is nothing which corresponds to her in the middle period, unless she became confused with Ishtar on the lions. With Bel on the dragon she may take the form *b*, with streams, apparently the same goddess of the rain (see Chapter xxv).



3. *Tiamat: the Dragon:* The so-called dragon, a composite monster, eagle and lion, is feminine in the Babylonian epic, but it is by no means clear that such was the original sex. In the famous Assyrian bas-relief the dragon is masculine, the phallus taking the form of a serpent. It represented the principle of disorder,

or chaos, and was conquered (according to the earlier cosmogony) by Ea or Bel, and later by Marduk. It seems, in the early art, to be related to both Bel and Belit, as shown in the preceding figures. We see it in a more threatening attitude, however, on the earlier thick hematite cylinders, as in fig. 453. When he is thus trying to swallow a man he may represent Nergal. (See Chapter XXIX.)



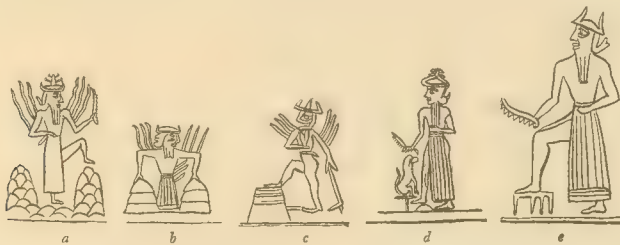
4. *The Man-boat:* A very archaic design shows a deity with a human or animal head and a long serpent-like body, bent to form a boat, in which figures of gods are seated. Whether this represents the primordial abyss, Apsu, or some form of Tiamat we do not know. (See Chapter VI.)



5. *The God Attacking an Enemy* (probably Nergal): This represents a hostile and destructive Sun-god, and therefore probably Nergal. He appears in very early art, contemporary with the early appearance of Shamash rising over the eastern mountains. But the representation is quite different. The Sun-god pushes, against the mountains, his enemy, who is therefore to be regarded as the cloud or mist that covers the mountains in the early morning, but is dispersed by the heat of the sun. (See Chapter IX.) Just as in the case of Shamash, the design became conventionalized, so that the mountain became a mere footstool, and this god lost his mountains and in the middle period simply held his weapon in one hand, while his foot rested on the body of his foe. (See Chapter XXIX.)



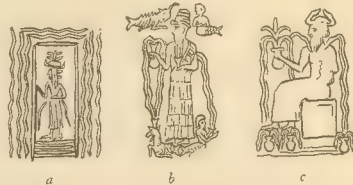
6. *The God Rising above a Mountain:* This god may certainly be recognized as Shamash. In the fullest form of the design he comes out of the gates of the morning, opened to him by a porter, and rises over the eastern mountains, either lifting himself by his hands (b), or stepping upon them (a). He may be surrounded



by rays, and he carries a notched sword, representing a very early wooden weapon armed with flint flakes. In the middle period he is quite conventionalized, and merely lifts his foot on a low stool (d, e), which represents the mountain of the earlier art, and so passes into No. 31. For fuller representations see Chapter XIII.

7. *The Water-god Ea:* We have but a single example (a) from the earlier period of the Water-god inclosed in streams and guarded by the duplicated figure

of Gilgamesh (fig. 648). Other forms of the Water-god, of a later period, are seen in *b* and *c*. With this we may compare the goddess with outstretched arms from which streams fall, while a vase before her pours down a flood of water, as seen in No. 2, *b*. It is possible that this does not represent the god of waters Ea, but Shamash arising from the eastern ocean and its gates. With that view the design would have a different geographical origin from that which represents him rising from the mountains. The deity with a complication of spouting vases begins to appear very nearly at the time of Gudea, but is not frequently found. He is not to be confounded with the seated Shamash with a single spouting vase held in his lap, No. 8; but he is almost certainly the same as the later Assyrian or Babylonian Water-god seen in No. 52 and Chapter xxxvii. With him is to be expected the man-fish and the goat-fish.



8. *The Seated God with Rays or Streams*: This is an alternative form of the Sun-god, which may well have originated at a different seat of worship. Thus we know that Sippara and Senkereh were each a seat of the worship of Shamash. He was regarded as the giver both of light and rain; so that both rays and streams with fish are associated with him, just as rays and streams are found alternating on his disk symbol. Usually it is this god with streams to whom the culprit bird-man is brought. (See No. 27.) The usual seated Shamash, with the approaching wor-



shippers, so many examples of which appear on the cylinders in the middle period, have neither streams nor rays and come under the next head in this chapter. Very frequent with this and the preceding form of the standing Shamash is the inscription: "Shamash, Aa," and Aa is frequently with him alone, or following the worshipers. For fuller account see Chapter xiv. Eduard Meyer, in his "Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien," p. 45, says that streams (or serpents) from the shoulders are a sign of divinity. I think that in careful engraving the streams come from the vase in the lap.

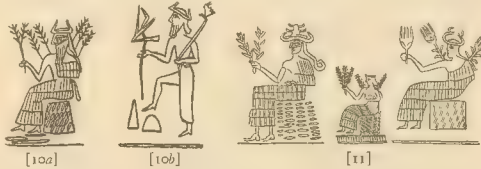
9. *The Seated Bearded God*: This is, artistically, an undifferentiated deity. He is usually to be recognized as Shamash, or presumed to be that god, as Shamash was the most popular of all the gods. In *f* he carries the rod and ring ("tablet of destiny?") which we know belong to Shamash. But there are occasions when the figure seems to represent Sin, as in fig. 30, where it is to be presumed that the tutelary deity of Ur is represented, and at this early period the presence of the moon may be intended to identify him. Equally if he is accompanied by three dots, for Thirty, it is probably Sin. Similarly in the art of Tello he is likely to be

Ningirsu; and in that of Nippur he would be Bel, and equally he might be Anu, or any other god. He may wear various forms of headdress and may carry in his hand a vase or the notched sword of Shamash.

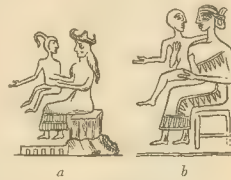


10. *The Agricultural God* may very likely be Ningirsu, who provided fertility, or perhaps Tammuz in one of his protean forms. Like the corresponding goddess he may carry the plow and is adorned with grain. He may be either sitting or standing. In the latter case we see him with his foot on a mountain, which relates him to Shamash. Indeed there is no reason why the god of rain should not also at times be considered the god of fertility. (See Chapter XIX.)

11. *The Agricultural Goddess*: It is by no means certain who this seated goddess is who is adorned with wheat and is related to the plow. She belongs to a very early period, if not to the most archaic. She is likely to be Bau-Gulâ, who was goddess of fertility, or perhaps Nisabu. (See Chapter XIX.)

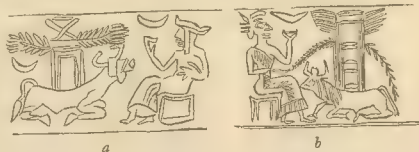


12. *The Goddess with a Child*: A very few cylinders, and all of an early period, give us this design. The identity of this goddess is not clear. She may be any protecting goddess, perhaps Bau; and there is no particular reason to identify the child with Tammuz, who does not have the infantile relation in Babylonian mythology, so far as we know, that Horus bears to Isis. It may be, quite as likely, that in this naive way the protection of the goddess over the owner of the seal is represented. (See Chapter XXIV.)



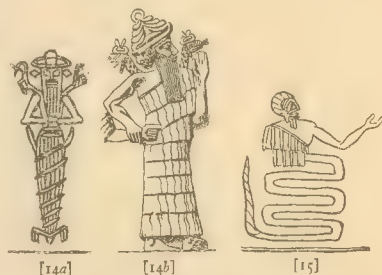
13. *The Goddess with a Winged Gate over a Bull*: This goddess it is impossible to identify, with the scanty literary sources at our command. No design is more puzzling. It is not evident why the gate should have wings, nor what is the meaning of the streams from below the wings, nor what is the relation to the bull. This

composition appears only in the early period, perhaps the earliest; and it may have come either from Elam or Arabia. (See Chapter xvii.)



14. *Ningishzida*: This is the god whose worship was favored by Gudea—a secondary divinity, who led his worshiper into the presence of the superior seated god. He is remarkable for the serpents from his shoulders. For examples see figs. 368a and 368f; also Heuzey, *Rev. d'Ass.*, vi, p. 95, and Eduard Meyer, "Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien," plate vii.

15. *The Serpent-god, probably Siru*: The serpent appearing on the kudurrus is Siru, and probably this is also Siru, or Kadi, mother of Siru, although it is possible that it is Ea. This deity appears only in the older Babylonian period. (See Chapter xviii.)



16. *The Archaic Seated Deities*: These figures belong to the most archaic period, and the sex is not distinguished by the beard. When two are together we may presume that they are a god and goddess and that they indicate a prevalent monogamy. In such a view and in the extremely popular worship of female deities the honor paid to woman is very clear, but the general impression opposes polyandry or promiscuity. In the designs here considered the most frequent form is that in which two deities are drinking through a curved tube, or hollow reed, from a vase between them. This type is found in the earliest cylinders from the Assyrian region, and there prevailed even to a late period, but was soon dropped in Babylonia. Very likely it had a common origin in the region to the East. The deities have no headdress and wear a single garment apparently of skin. (See Chapter v.)



17. *The Seated Goddess Bau-Gula*: She is simply seated and has no special distinguishing emblem or weapon on the older cylinders, on which she so frequently

appears, although she often carries a club-like scepter. On the kudurrus she has the dog attached to her seat (*e, f*). It would seem as if the long-necked bird, crane or goose, may have belonged to her. (See Chapter XII.)

18. *The Seated Ishtar*: She belongs to the earlier, or earliest, period, and is seldom if ever seen in the middle or later Babylonian period. Her characteristics are the lions, and the clubs and the sickle-shaped scimitars alternating over her shoulders. (See Chapter XXV.)



19. *The Goddess of Hades, Ninkigal*: She could not be distinguished from the seated Bau-Gula, except by the accessories of the scene. In two cylinders of an early period we see her seated on the throne of the lower world and attacked by Nergal. In the late funerary art she is represented in a very different way, standing and suckling pigs or other animals. (See Chapter XXIII.)

20. *God with a Triple Club*: A god, with a three-headed club raised in one hand and with a serpent-weapon resting on his other shoulder, is seen in one cylinder of the time of Dungi, King of Ur (see fig. 31). A scene precisely similar, except that the god is flounced and bears no weapons, is seen in fig. 32. In the latter case the god mentioned in the inscription is Nusku; otherwise we might expect Sin, who is the special god of Ur.



21. *Gilgamesh*: This god, or hero, appears very often on the most archaic and on the early cylinders: less frequently on those of the middle and later period. He fights the bison or the water-buffalo, when associated with Eabani, or the lion often when alone. He also may fight a leopard or an oryx or ibex. He more usu-

ally is represented in the archaic period in profile, but in the period from the time of Sargon he is in front view and is distinguished by the short curls each side of his face. In the earliest representations he is quite nude, or has simply a narrow girdle, the ends of which fall by his side. In the earliest period it is not the buffalo, but the bison of the hill country which he fights. (See Chapter x.)

22. *Gilgamesh as Standard-bearer*: Yet another representation of Gilgamesh, or one like him, shows him as if he were the attendant of a superior god and bearing a sort of standard or mace.

That in these cases it is Gilgamesh that is meant is far from certain, indeed hardly probable; but we can not otherwise identify this god of waters, or this secondary god who carries the mace. We may be certain that in whatever relation he appears he is not a full deity, as he is never an object of worship. As attendant on a god he is seen in fig. 648 and elsewhere.



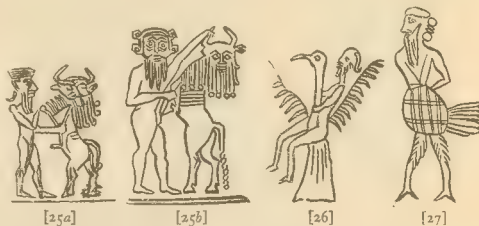
23. *Gilgamesh as Water-god*: He thus appears on the most important of all cylinders, that of Sargon I., fig. 26, where he holds a vase and gives water to a buffalo. In the later cylinders, even to the Syro-Hittite period, he frequently holds a vase from which streams gush out. (See Chapter XI.)

24. *Eabani*: Closely connected with Gilgamesh in Babylonian art is his associate Eabani. He is the monster with the body of a bull and the head and arms



of a man, but with the horns of the bison. He, like Gilgamesh, or a figure like him, is an attendant on the gods and also carries a mace or standard, as in figs. 269 and 481. (See Chapter x.)

25. *The Human-headed Bull*: He is often fought by Gilgamesh. He differs from Eabani in that he has the fore legs of a bull, and not human arms. While we have indications that Eabani was created by Ishtar to attack Gilgamesh we have no information about the human-headed bull. (See Chapter x.)



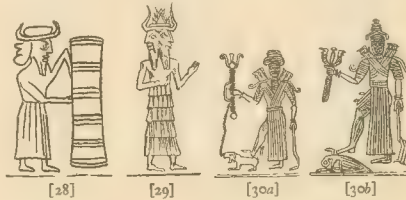
26. *Etana*: Like Gilgamesh this is the figure of a legendary hero rather than of an actual god. He is carried to the heaven by an eagle. The scenes in which

he appears are very complex and seem to represent scenes in the life of Etana in regard to which we have no literary remains. (See Chapter xxii.)

27. *The Culprit Bird-Man:* This may represent the Zu-bird as brought before the Sun-god for punishment as seen in No. 8. He has evidently been guilty of some offense, for which he is brought for judgment. (See Chapter xv.)

28. *The Porter:* This auxiliary deity is usually attached to the older figures of Shamash rising over the mountains. The porter opens for him the gates of the morning. (See Chapter xiii.)

29. *The Bifrons:* While the two-headed figure appears occasionally, and generally on the older cylinders, to lead the bird-man or the worshiper into the presence of the god, he is seen also in the Hittite period. He must be regarded as merely a conventional device to show that he is paying respect to the god before him, while also attending to the personage brought to the god. (See Chapters xv and xlvi.)



The deities thus far considered belong chiefly to the early Babylonian period, although some of them pass down into the Middle Empire. Those that follow, down to No. 40, belong properly to the Middle Empire, although they may be continued in the later periods and the neighboring regions.

30. *The Standing Ishtar:* The attributes of the standing Ishtar are much the same as of the seated goddess, the lions and the scimitar. But from each shoulder should appear the ends of the arrows in her two quivers, and she carries often in her hand the Babylonian caduceus, which may quite lose the serpent shape and look like a candelabrum. The lion is often degraded into a squat animal which might as well be a dragon. (See Chapter xxv.)

31. *Shamash with Lifted Foot on a Stool:* This is the degraded conventional form of Shamash stepping on a mountain, shown under No. 6. There are intermediate forms, but in the period of the Middle Empire, and later, this was a very common element on the cheaper hematite cylinders, showing how pervasive was the worship of this deity. He usually carries his notched sword, even after its meaning, coming down from a stone age, was forgotten; but later he may carry a modification of the Egyptian emblem of stability.



32. *The God with the Scimitar: Marduk:* Inasmuch as Marduk emerged late as a principal deity he is not to be expected to appear in art much before the time of Hammurabi. He is probably a western god and derived from the same Hittite original as the next. He is recognized by his peculiar weapon, the scimitar, which was originally a serpent. Marduk slaying the dragon with the scimitar appears in Greek story as Perseus killing the Gorgon with the same weapon. Sometimes his foot is on his later characteristic animal (c). (See Chapter xxvii.)



33. *The God with a Wand: Ramman-Martu:* This god belongs to the middle period, and then as a western or foreign god, but he appears first somewhat before Gudea's time, although an imported Syro-Hittite deity. His identity is confused with that considered in No. 36, which was also a Syro-Hittite god brought into the Babylonian pantheon. This god was not the original Syro-Hittite Adad, who is the god with the bull and thunderbolt; but he and Marduk probably came from the superior Syro-Hittite god (No. 68). He is very frequently accompanied by his consort Shala. (See Chapter xxxi.)



34. *The Standing Goddess with Lifted Hands, Aa or Shala:* This represents an undifferentiated goddess who may be the wife either of Shamash or Ramman-Martu. She always, unless possibly in the earlier art, appears in a flounced garment and wearing her hair in a very long slender lock down her back. She carries no distinguishing mark except it be the high headdress of the elder gods. Her relation to Ramman makes her a frequent figure, but she seldom appears alone. (See Chapter xxxi.)

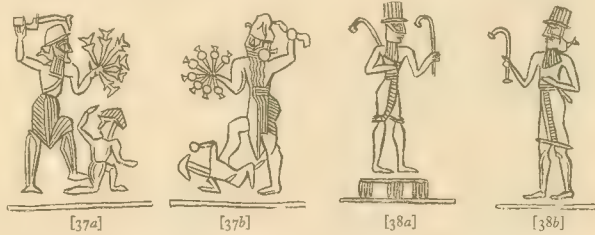
35. *The Naked Goddess with Hands under her Breasts: Zirbanit:* This goddess, as the wife of Marduk, is the successor of Belit, the wife of Bel, whom Marduk supplanted. She resembles this naked goddess, as seen in Section 1, but is probably derived from the nude Syro-Hittite goddess. She is usually absolutely nude and holds her breasts with her hands. In the true Babylonian art in which she appears, she is a late comer, like Marduk. In the still later period, under foreign influence, she may appear in profile, as in *e*, and on later cylinders the umbilicus often is shown. (See Chapter xxvi.)



36. *The God with Thunderbolt and Bull: Adad:* This god also appears first in the middle period, and is more properly identified with the Syrian Adad than is the god considered in section 33 of this chapter (*a, b, c*). The bull is led by a thong attached to a ring in its nose, the same hand holding a thunderbolt, which may be the continuation of the thong. The other hand carries a weapon. The zigzag weapon represents the lightning, while the bull represents the bellowing of the thunder. (See Chapter xxx.)



37. *God with Foot on Victim:* The god carries in one hand a weapon over his head and in the other a sheaf of radiating clubs or arrows, while one foot rests on a prostrate victim. This may be the later conventional form of the god figured in No. 5, in which case it would probably be Nergal; or it may be a variant of the last, as Adad. (See Chapter XXVIII.)



38. *Goddess with Crook:* This goddess, designated as such by her square hat and her spreading necklace, or pectoral (not a beard), appears occasionally in the later period of the Middle Kingdom. She doubtless came from the Hittite region, but can not be identified (see fig. 456).

39. *God with Crutch:* The crutch is very likely a crescent on a pole, and the god comes, like the last, from the north, and may be a form of Sin. In some cases the sun is in the crescent.



40. *The Two Figures Wrestling:* What mythologic personages are meant is not clear. It is easier to suggest Gemini than to prove it.

The Assyrian deities differ somewhat in appearance, but represent generally the same as the Babylonian; but some forms, mostly subordinate, require separate treatment. For Ashur in the winged disk see No. 1 in the next chapter.

41. *The God Fighting a Dragon, etc.: Marduk-Gilgamesh:* The design which represents the conflict between order and disorder is new in the Assyrian art. It appears to be drawn from the story of Marduk and Tiamat, but confounded with that which represents Gilgamesh fighting wild beasts. The god is winged, which

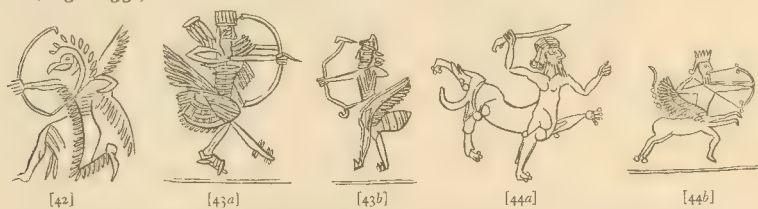


is a bold addition to the true Babylonian thought of the gods, and this feature has passed into all later representations of heavenly beings. The god may be standing or on his knees, and may fight a dragon, a sphinx, an ostrich, or a wild beast. (See Chapter XXXVI.)

42. *The Eagle-headed Archer:* This is a form of winged Sagittarius, representing probably an inferior deity.

43. *The Scorpion-man:* This is yet another Sagittarius, and of comparatively late origin.

44. *The Centaur:* This is also late, and it is very probable that the Greek Centaur came from this Eastern source. He carries a bow or other weapon. (See figs. 21, 631-633.)



45. *The Dragon and its Substitutes:* The original form of the dragon in Assyrian art is seen in *a* of section 41, and is precisely what we have seen in fig. 564, copied from the very early Babylonian type; and so it appears in quite a number



of Assyrian cylinders, of an early, but not the earliest period, in conflict with the hero who is a composite of Marduk and Gilgamesh. But the dragon takes on, in the course of time, many other shapes, as the serpent rarely, the sphinx, the winged bull, the wingless bull, the ostrich, etc.

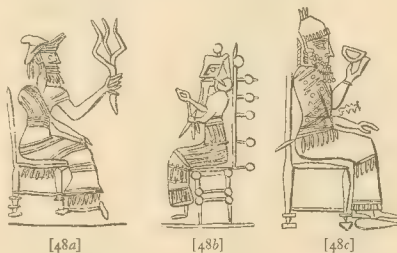
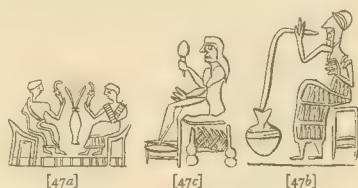
46. *The Standing God with Bow, or Club:* It is on the older Assyrian cylinders, of serpentine, that we find this god, usually holding a rude bow, sometimes a club and with a worshiper standing before him, or a stand with a vase and an attendant with a fan. This is doubtless a primitive Assyrian deity, hardly one of the Babylonian pantheon, although very likely identified with some one of them, but which one is uncertain. He is to be compared with the principal Hittite god (No. 68). With these cylinders we see often the peculiar wide angular borders. (See figs. 723, 727-731.)



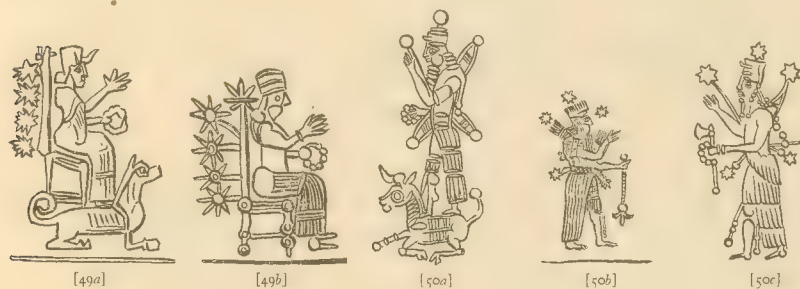
47. *The Goddess on a Stool Drinking:* This goddess is also frequently seen on oldest Assyrian serpentine cylinders. It is especially characteristic to see her

apparently drinking through a bent tube from a vase on a stand before her. She much resembles the very archaic Babylonian deities shown in No. 16. In the plainly Syro-Hittite cylinders she appears as shown in Chapter XLIX. For examples see figs. 732, 734, 738.

48. *Adad Seated in a Chair*: A characteristic of the northern art is the use of the high-backed chair in place of the square stool. The latter is made of the ribs of palm leaves, a material not stiff enough for the back of a chair. Wood would be used for seats in the north, especially in the hilly regions, and from this chair-backs could be made. While the seated god in such a chair belongs to the Assyrian period and empire, he probably is not indigenous to Assyria itself, or at least to the Semitic Assyrian people, but comes from the northern regions. Frequently, in these cylinders this god, or a goddess, is attended by a servant holding a fan. The back of the chair may be adorned with stars or rude circles which take the place of stars. Occasionally we have the stool in place of the chair. It is far from certain whom this god represents, although infrequently he carries the thunderbolt, in which case he is a form of Adad. (See Chapter XXXIX.)



49. *Goddess Seated in a Chair*: She may be resting her foot on a dog, as if she were Gula or some kindred goddess; or she may be the Asianic goddess Ma, or possibly Belit. She is of northern origin and is to be related to the seated Hittite deity, or to the more archaic form shown in No. 47. (See Chapter XXXIX.)



50. *The God with Stars*: *Adad*: The god usually adorned with stars ought, from the stars, to be Adar (Ninib) or Jupiter. But the evidence seems to connect him with the more popular and warlike Adad. He does not usually stand in a circle, as does Ishtar, but the stars may be at the end of his bows or on the top of his hat. His animal is a bull or some composite animal in which the horns or tail of the bull enter. (See Chapter XL.)

51. *The Goddess with Stars: Ishtar:* The Babylonian Ishtar on the lion or lions, with weapons rising over her shoulders from her quivers, does not appear in the Assyrian art, except rarely, and then much modified. Such an example we have in *b*, where the quivers are retained and as many other weapons added as she can carry. But the peculiar addition is the stars. In fig. *a* we have the more usual Assyrian form, in which she is surrounded by a circle of stars. The lion is



also modified so as to be a composite creature, partly lion but more like the dragon; but this may be omitted and the circle of stars may be modified so that the stars disappear. Indeed, the form may become very rude, but can hardly be mistaken, especially when, as is usually the case, she is accompanied by her male companion. (See Chapter XL.)

52. *The God with the Goat-fish:* In the Babylonian art we have had occasion to identify this god with Ea, and the same god must be recognized in the Assyrian art. He is either seated or standing. (See Chapter xxxix.)



53. *The Assyrian Water-god:* This form is closely related to the Babylonian No. 7, from which it is derived; and yet it sometimes, as in *c*, suggests Shamash, who was also a water-god, rather than Ea. But it was a more popular device than in Babylonia, and appears on the later cone seals, often in quite a decorative form. (See Chapter xxxvii.)

54. *God with Lion's Head and Eagle's Feet, probably Nergal:* This deity, who may, perhaps, often represent a destructive spirit rather than the lion-god, seems to appear in *b* of No. 3 in the form of a dragon opening his mouth to bite the man's head. It does not frequently appear in the cylinders.

55. *The Eagle-headed God* appears frequently on the bas-reliefs of Assurnazirpal and also on the cylinders with the tree of life. We can regard him simply

as one of the *genii*, or protecting spirits, and not as a principal god. He carries the pail or basket to gather the fruit of life and fortune.



[54]



[55a]



[55b]



[56]

56. *The Winged Attendant of the Tree of Life*: He often carries a basket and takes a cone from the tree. A simpler and more usual form of No. 55.

57. *The God in a Fish-skin*: This deity must also be regarded not as a principal god, but rather as one of the protecting *genii*. He occasionally appears on the cylinders of the Assyrian period, as also on the bas-reliefs, as an attendant of the tree of life. He does not seem to be any special fish-god.



[57]



[58]

58. *The Man-fish*: Among the emblems of the gods in the next chapter, section 35, the man-fish is coupled with the goat-fish at the period of Gudea. But in Assyrian art the man-fish is differently treated and seems of more importance, as a guardian of the tree of life and the source of gushing streams, or even as seized by Bel. (See Chapters XXXVII, XXXVIII.)

59. *The Human-headed Bull*: The bull is treated in various ways in the Assyrian art. In No. 45f, we have the winged bull representing the evil spirit overcome by Bel. But often it is the human-headed winged bull, as in No. 45e. The wingless human-headed bull frequently appears in a different honorable rôle, as supporting the winged disk of Ashur.



[59]



[60a]



[60b]



[60c]

60. *The Gorgon*: This grotesque figure is of late appearance and may be the origin of the Greek Gorgon or, perhaps, giants who fought the gods. See figs. 643-646. Also for the bearded representation in c, see fig. 939a.

It has been mentioned that certain forms of Assyrian gods were not derived from Babylonia, but were probably of indigenous origin and adopted by the Babylonian conquerors. Others came from the neighboring people to the north and west. We may be more certain of this in regard to several deities which are characteristically Hittite or Syro-Hittite. Others have their origin plainly in Egypt. Of the Egyptian gods we note the following on Syro-Hittite seals. But it is likely that they are rather Palestinian than either Syrian or Hittite. They come mostly from Sidon or from the east of the Jordan and probably represent a period of Egyptian rule and influence, perhaps even earlier than the eighteenth dynasty. For these from No. 61 to No. 67, see Chapter XLIV.

61. *Sekhmet*.

62. *Seth*.

63. *Ptah*.

64. *Apis*.

65. *Horus*, who appears under various forms. 65*b* may be *Rê*.

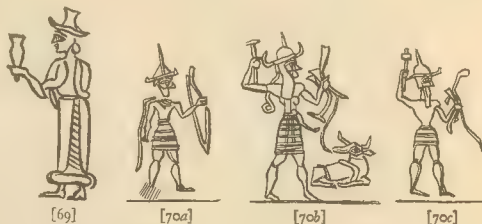
66. *A Winged Goddess*.

67. *A Winged God*.

Others are more definitely Syrian or Hittite.

68. *The Vested God*, probably *Tarkhu*, *Sandu*, or *Khaldi*: This god is probably the original from whom the Babylonians borrowed their *Adad-Ramman-Martu*, No. 33, and probably by an earlier invasion their *Marduk*, No. 32. He is represented as standing with great dignity, carrying no wealth of weapons, like *Adad-Teshub*, and indeed very rarely any weapon. His usual form is that of *c*. He is probably the principal god of the Hittite pantheon, who in the west was *Tarkhu* or *Sandu*, and *Khaldi* among the *Vannai*. (See Chapter XLVII.)

69. *The Vested God's Consort*: We have no means of knowing the name of this goddess. Indeed it is doubtful if she was anything more than the pale reflection of the god. She is known by the square hat characteristic of Hittite goddesses. Sometimes for her is substituted the usual Babylonian form of the undifferentiated flounced goddess (No. 34), who may indifferently be *Aa* or *Shala*. (See Chapter XLVII.)



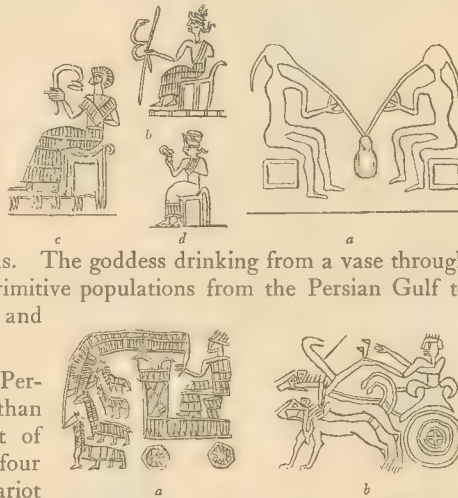
70. *The Hittite Teshub-Adad:* In this northern deity of the storm we have the origin of the Babylonian and the Assyrian Adad, Nos. 36 and 50. He is known by his short garment, scarce reaching to the knees, with horizontal bars across it, his round spiked helmet, and his two hands grasping weapons, rather the ax or the club and the bow than the thunderbolt. He may stand on mountains and lead his bull. His name Teshub, under various forms, was common in the regions north of Assyria. He corresponds to the Hebrew Yahwe. (See Chapter XLVIII.)

71. *The Naked Goddess, Ishkara:* The usual and most characteristic form of this goddess is that in which she seems to be holding before her a skipping-rope or a garland, as in *b*. But really she is withdrawing her garments each side to

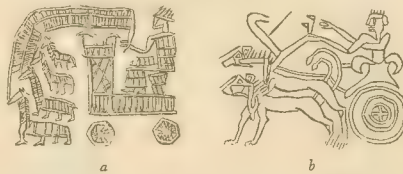


disclose her nudity. Occasionally, as in *d*, she appears under an arch, and at other times, in the larger seals, her garment is clearly seen, and not the mere lower line, and it is drawn to one side to show her body, as in *g*. (See Chapter L.)

72. *The Hittite Seated Goddess:* We have in *a* an extremely archaic deity with a queue. This cylinder (see fig. 900) was found in a mound in Cappadocia. We are by no means certain that these figures represent the same goddess. That in *c* seems to carry an Egyptian lotus. The goddess drinking from a vase through a tube seems to extend over the primitive populations from the Persian Gulf to the Black Sea. (See Chapter XLIX and Nos. 16, 47 of this chapter.)



73. *The Goddess in a Chariot:* Perhaps this goddess is more Syrian than Hittite. The four-wheeled chariot of state is characteristic, as well as the four horses. This hardly seems to be a chariot of war, but rather of display for worship in processions. - It is not easy to identify her with any great probability. Whether the deity drawn by lions is the same we do not know. (See Chapter LIII.)



74. *Winged Figures*: It has already been mentioned that the figure of Marduk-Gilgamesh (No. 41) is winged in the Assyrian art, doubtless following the



northern convention. But there is in the Syro-Hittite mythology a multitude of winged genii which we are not able to distinguish or identify. (See Chapter LI.)

75. *Fantastic Figures with Twisted Legs*: See figs. 954, 956a. These appear to be late Syrian.

76. *Two-Headed Figures*: These also appear to be late Syrian. (See figs. 954, 955, 1212.)



77. *Persian God Fighting Animals*: We can hardly take the frequent Persian god fighting animals, usually one or two lions, as any other than borrowed from the Marduk-Gilgamesh of Chapter xxxvi. But there is a change of dress and the lions have a peculiarly solid, stout body. The god also wears the crown, which seems to have come into use first with the Persians. Sometimes the god lifts a lion with each hand by the hind leg and stands on two sphinxes. The animal the god fights may be a winged bull, or sphinx, or an ibex. It may not be amiss to take him for Mithra. (See Chapter LX.)

78. *The God in a Crescent*: As we have Ashur developed in human form out of the solar disk, so in the Persian period we have the figure of the Moon-god within the circle thickened at the bottom to simulate a crescent. This can be only Sin, perhaps under some Persian name. (See Chapter LX.)



CHAPTER LXIX.

EMBLEMS OF DEITIES.

On the earlier Babylonian cylinders the gods are usually represented by the full human figure; but as art became more conventionalized emblems of gods were substituted for the gods themselves, until in the later mythologic art we sometimes find, especially on the kudurrus or "boundary stones," occasionally on the later cylinders and generally on the Assyrian cone seals, only the symbols representing the divinities. It becomes necessary, from all sources of evidence, to disentangle these emblems, and, as far as possible, to assign them to their several divinities. In the case of a few this is easy enough; with others it is difficult, if not impossible. The three that come oftenest together, the sun of Shamash, the crescent of Sin, and the star of Ishtar, are easily recognized. Others require more study.

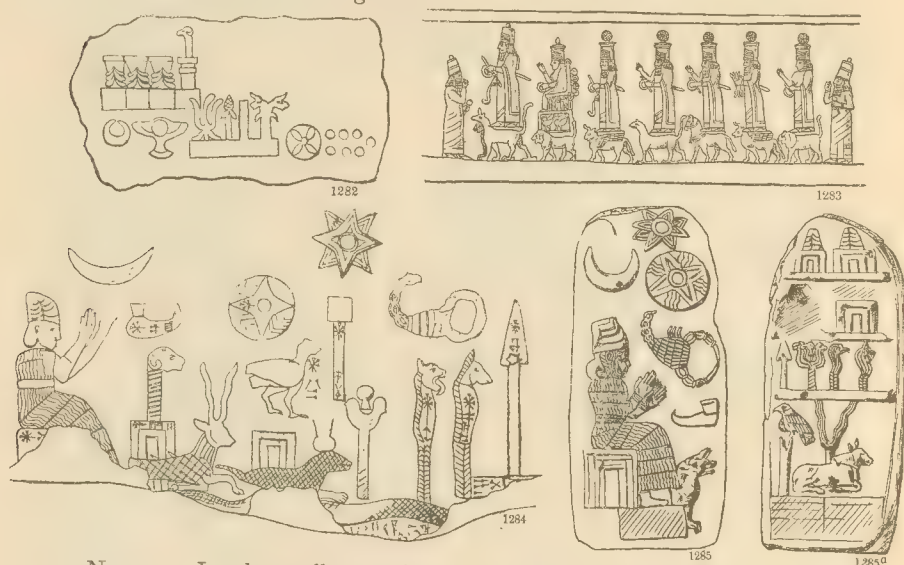


The first careful study* of the various emblems of gods found in connection with the bas-reliefs of the Assyrian kings was made by von Luschan, in a chapter on "The Monolith of Asarhaddon," contained in Heft XI ("Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli," pp. 11, ff.) of the "Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen" of the Imperial Museum of Berlin, 1893. This monolith, found at Senjirli, contains twelve figures or emblems of gods (fig. 1279) just in front of the head of the king, one of the most elaborate of the designs of this sort known. Other examples generally have a smaller number of emblems. Four of these emblems are such columns as are found on the cone seals. With this bas-relief von Luschan compares other steles of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Sargon, etc., also the bas-relief of Maltaia, all of which have similar figures. Of the identification of some of these emblems there can be no doubt. Thus the crescent is certainly the Moon-god Sin, and the star is Ishtar; and there can be no question but that the deity who holds the thunderbolts is Adad. We should also naturally conclude that the winged disk represents Ashur. This would account for four out of the twelve figures. We now

* See *Ann. Journal of Semitic Languages*, October, 1902.

turn to the accompanying inscription and we find that the king begins with an invocation to ten gods whom he specifies, and then groups the rest "*ili rabuti kalisunu*," "the great gods, all of them." The ten gods mentioned are (in order) (1) Ashur, (2) Anu, (3) Bel, (4) Ea, (5) Sin, (6) Shamash, (7) Adad, (8) Marduk, (9) Ishtar, (10) the Seven, the last being the seven Igigi. Besides these deities here specified, Nabu is afterwards named in connection with Marduk. Inasmuch as among the specified deities are the seven Igigi, it is easy to recognize the seven dots as representing these deities, which gives us five out of the twelve figures which we can recognize, but none of the columns.

The inscription gives us hardly any further help, as the order of the figures and that of the names is evidently not the same, and especially as there are more deities figured than are specifically named in the inscription; and, further, only one goddess, Ishtar, is mentioned, while two appear to be figured, one the star of Ishtar and the other a seated goddess.

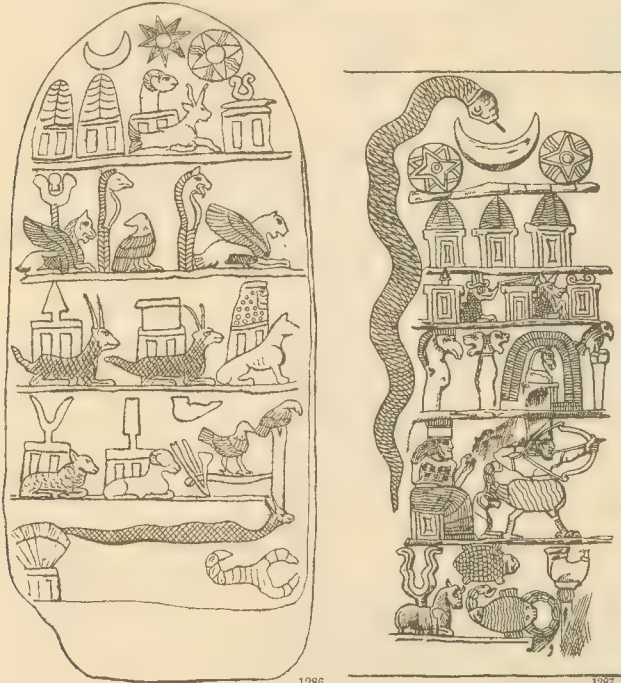


Next, von Luschan calls attention to a stele of Assurnazirpal (fig. 1280), on which are figured five emblems of gods, and on which five gods are invoked. We might naturally presume the five figured to be the same as the five invoked. They are the crescent, Sin; the star, Ishtar; the thunderbolt, Adad; and also the familiar circle with four rays alternating with four streams, which we know to be Shamash. That leaves the horned hat, which would seem to be Ashur, who is named and who had seemed previously to be represented by the winged circle.

On a stele of Esarhaddon (fig. 1281) are figured six emblems of gods and six are mentioned in the accompanying inscription. But the names of the gods and their figures do not correspond, and we do not need to dwell on them. It would seem that the artist put in the small emblems as he happened to choose, while the scribe selected the names of the two triads of gods, except that Ashur takes the place of Anu. Only two of his list appear to be figured.

Yet another stele of Esarhaddon, on the Nahr el-Kelb, shows eight emblems. Unfortunately the inscription is imperfectly preserved.

Another case to which von Luschan calls attention is much more important. It is the rock-relief of Sennacherib near Bavian (fig. 1282). On it are twelve emblems of gods, and the inscription mentions twelve. It has been observed that in previous cases there was no care taken to secure correspondence between the emblems figured and the names or order of the gods mentioned, so that the list of gods invoked gave little help in identifying the emblems. Those in one category might not appear in the other. The artist of the emblems was not in consultation with the scribe. But in this case there is a correspondence, not observed by von



Luschan, but recognized later by Jensen (*"Hettiter und Armenier,"* p. 143, note). There are twelve emblems and twelve gods named; and the important fact is that the order in a number of cases is evidently the same. Thus the crescent, Sin, is fifth in both; Adad's thunderbolt is seventh; the star of Ishtar is eleventh; and the seven dots, or stars, are twelfth. These coincidences pass quite beyond any law of probable accident and must have been intentional. The one apparent violation of coincidence is in the case of the god Shamash, who comes sixth in the list of gods. But the sixth emblem is the winged disk, which was supposed to represent usually Ashur. It would here seem to represent Shamash; and, indeed, if it represented Ashur it ought to hold the first place of honor and not the sixth, next after the moon, just as in fig. 1279 it came between Sin and Ishtar. We then conclude that the winged disk must have originally represented the sun and was so

meant on the stele at Senjirli (fig. 1279), and that later it was confined to the representation of Ashur. Indeed, for all we know, Ashur, who was a new Assyrian god unknown to the Babylonians, may have been originally a Sun-god, and so at first identified or confused with Shamash. At any rate, the winged disk here appears to be the emblem of Shamash and not of Ashur. Ashur ought to have the first place in the designs, as he has in the inscriptions, and in that case he must be represented here by the first of the horned hats, or turbans.

We have, then, good reason to recognize the coincidence in the order of all those emblems that we know with the gods enumerated; and it follows that all the twelve emblems can be identified. The order is as follows:

1. Horned turban	Ashur	7. Thunderbolt	Adad
2. Horned turban	Anu	8. Column with pineapple top	Marduk
3. Horned turban	Bel	9. Simple (double?) column	Nabu
4. Column with ram's head	Ea	10. Column with two bulls' (lions'?) heads, Ninib(?)	
5. Crescent	Sin	11. Star	Ishtar
6. Winged disk	Shamash	12. Seven dots	Igigi

In this list the order has been followed both of the emblems and the gods specified. The name of the god No. 10 is illegible, but is Ninib or Nergal. But the bas-relief is not always plain, and I presume, from comparison with other monuments, the emblem for No. 10 should be drawn with two lions' heads instead of bulls' heads. Also, the emblem No. 9 should doubtless be made double, like the two narrow columns seen in fig. 1279, instead of a single wider column.

We have thus gained knowledge of twelve emblems of gods (three of them identical horned hats or turbans), of which five are columns or asheras; and these columns are so differentiated as to represent the five gods, Ea, Ramman, Marduk, Nabu, and Ninib or Nergal.

The bas-relief of Maltaya (fig. 1283) is of value not only for the figures of gods, but also for the emblematic animals related to them—the dragon, with uplifted tail, of Marduk and Nebo, the lion of Belit and Ishtar, the winged bull of Adad and probably Sin, and the horse of some uncertain god.

Now comes another very important step in the identification or corroboration of these emblems. We have considered the bas-reliefs of Assyrian kings, with their



accompanying emblems. But these emblems were evidently borrowed, with variations, from the accepted Babylonian emblems of the gods, as found scattered on the seal cylinders, but gathered in numbers on the so-called boundary stones or kudurrus. While Hommel and others have given some attention to them, and the accompanying inscriptions have been translated by Oppert and his successors, the figures themselves had not received the study they deserve, as they are very

difficult to understand. But a study of a number of kudurrus by M. J. de Morgan first gives us new light. In a volume of his "*Mémoires*," the "*Recherches archéologiques*," 1900, with the account of the diggings at Susa in 1897-99, is given, pp. 165-180, a chapter on twelve kudurrus found by de Morgan at Susa, where they had been gathered as trophies by Elamite kings in their raids in Babylonia. Some of these are fragmentary, but others are among the finest that have yet been discovered. One (fig. 1284) is of especial value, because it actually gives us, in a



little epigraph against each emblem, the name of the god, which finally settles the matter. Unfortunately, not all of the names are legible. De Morgan, writing at Susa, and without access to other material, and apparently having no knowledge of von Luschan's studies or Jensen's identifications, writes quite independently.

These various emblems fully corroborate the conclusions drawn from a study of the bas-relief of Bavian. There is, of course, no winged disk, which is a Syrian and Assyrian device, probably borrowed from Egypt, perhaps before the invasions of the eighteenth dynasty, and modified by the omission of the asps and the addition of the tail. Shamash is represented by his familiar Babylonian emblem, the circle with four included rays of light alternating with four streams of water. Ishtar

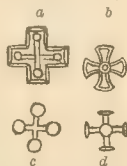
is, of course, the star. The seated goddess is Gula, identified with Bau. We had concluded that among the columnar gods the ram's head on the column represented Ea, although it seems strange that he should be crowded out of the triad of gods represented by the horned turbans in order to make room for Ashur, who precedes Anu. But this subordinate position is here justified, as well as the representation of Ea by a ram's head, as Ea is represented in the same way, by a ram's head on a column. But the column stands on a square seat or throne, under which is the fish-tailed capricorn of Ea, and the name is distinctly written. The name of Marduk, another god whom we might have expected to be represented with more dignity, is also distinctly inscribed on his column, which gives us a sort of lance-head, evidently corresponding with the emblem identified as that of Marduk on the Bavian bas-relief. The original idea is possibly that of a triangular-pointed flame on the top of a column, but more likely a lance-head, which is sometimes developed to a sort of pineapple, as in fig. 1282, and sometimes reduced to a large round dot, as in fig. 1298. The column with one lion head is certified by its epigraph as Nergal, which leaves the column with two heads of lions (*cf.* fig. 1282) for Ninib (so Hinke). This kudurru gives the names of five deities, Nergal, Gula, Zamama, Shuqumuna, and Nusku, whom we do not find on the relief of Bavian.

With this very satisfactory basis for our study of the emblems of the gods we may proceed to consider these, and others, separately, but first presenting several other important kudurrus for comparison of emblems. (Figs. 1285-1292; figs. 1285 and 1285a represent two sides of the same monument.)

1. *The Disk of Shamash:* This emblem occurs more frequently than any other, which shows that although Shamash did not belong to the first triad of gods, but to the second, yet he had, as might be expected for the Sun-god, the first place in the worship of the people. The identification of this emblem with Shamash is proved, if any proof were necessary, by the stele of Abuhabba, which we have seen in our study of the Sun-god (fig. 310). The four angular rays, arranged in the form of a cross, alternate with four streams. There can be little doubt that they represent the light-rays of the sun, while the streams indicate that the Sun-god was regarded as also the giver of the rain. Indeed we have seen in our study of the Sun-god that he is often represented seated, with streams as well as rays about his body.



2. *The Kassite Cross:* This is a simple modification of No. 1, as shown in Chapter xxxiii, on Kassite seals (see fig. 542). The circle is omitted and the cross (or rays) has been reduced to two cross-lines, which are set in a frame, the frame being sometimes omitted. This included cross also appears in Crete. (See "Annual," British School in Athens, 1902-03, p. 93.) Out of this cross perhaps, as seen in fig. 1293, was derived the swastika, which had such a vogue in many countries both to the east and west, but which we do not find in Babylonian or Assyrian art, although de Morgan found it on pottery in Elam with the more usual cross ("Délégation en Perse," VIII, p. 110). With this may be connected the fact that the Assyrian sign formed of two wedges crossed has the meaning of "Sun-Ninib," as mentioned by Jensen ("Kosmologie," p. 116). That the swastika represented the sun is shown by Birdwood (Bonavia, "Migration of Symbols," p. xi), who



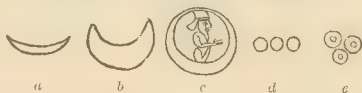
cites a coin of Mesembria on which the inscription is MEΣΣ. Yet another late form of the cross (*b*) appears on necklaces worn by the kings, as in Layard's "Monuments," plate 519, 82.

3. *The Crescent*: The crescent is evidently the emblem of the Moon-god, Sin. It appears in art earlier than the emblem of the sun, corresponding to the superior dignity, and perhaps earlier worship, of the moon in primitive Chaldea. On the kudurus and cylinders it constantly accompanies the emblems of the sun and Venus, forming with them the heavenly triad. In the earlier art the crescent was long and shallow (*a*), but in the time of the Second

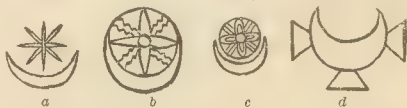


1295

Empire it became even more than a half circle (*b*). Somewhat later the crescent is seen on the top of a column, as a sort of ashera, and, after the Assyrian style, with streamers from below it, as in fig. 1294 from a small lapis-lazuli cylinder. In fig. 1295 the Moon-god stands on a crescent, and we have also the ashera of Marduk. In this connection we may mention the triple circles occasionally appearing during the Middle Empire, which represent Sin as the god Thirty.



4. *The Sun in the Crescent*: In the period of the Middle Empire of Babylonia it became usual to combine the sun of Shamash and the moon of Sin in a single emblem, owing to the contracted space on the smaller cylinders of this period. In the still later and depraved art, the careless engravers often neglected to fill out properly the details in the representation of the included sun.



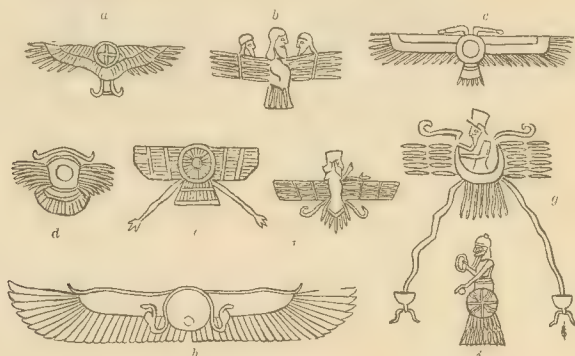
The symbol *d*, worn on a necklace by a king, is probably a combination of the crescent with the cross, instead of with the circle, of Shamash. We have it on a cylinder, fig. 751, taking the place of the sun in the crescent.

5. *The Star of Ishtar*: As the disk represented the sun and the crescent the moon, so the star, which so generally accompanied them, must have represented the goddess of the planet Venus, or Ishtar, and yet on certain earlier cylinders it may represent the sun. Such particularly may be the case in *b*, which belongs to the earlier period.



6. *The Winged Disk*: *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *g*, and *i* are Assyrian, while *c* and *f* are Persian. The winged disk appears to have originated in Egypt, as the symbol of Ra, under his various forms as Amon or Horus. It appears there as early as the fifth dynasty (Sayce, "Religions," pp. 76, 89). It probably does not appear in Assyrian art until after the invasion of the eighteenth dynasty, but may be earlier in Syria and Phenicia. In the very early art of Babylonia we have the winged gate (Chapter xvii) but not the winged circle. A study of the Egyptian history of this winged circle does not belong to the present investigation. The Count Goblet d'Alviella, in "The Migration of Symbols" (p. 214, English edition), who traces it back to the sixth dynasty, finds its elements in the circle of the sun, the uræus

serpents, the wings of the sparrow-hawk, and the horns of the goat. The Egyptian winged disk is seen in *h*. Here, on each side of the disk, are the two wings of the sparrow-hawk; depending from the disk on each side are the two uræi; and reaching out above the wings on each side are the horns of the goat, all of which are symbols of the sun.



With the native Egyptians who came as rulers into Syria and Phenicia, was doubtless brought the pure Egyptian winged disk; but as it entered into the art of the country, and passed eastward into Assyria and Persia, it was greatly modified. It kept the disk as the predominant and essential emblem of the sun, but it lost the uræus serpents and the goat's horns. The wings were retained and to them was added a tail, which was absent in the Egyptian symbol. There was also added, at times, a long streamer on each side, like a cord or ribband, which might end in a tassel or handle, and which was meant to be grasped by the worshiper, as if to give him tactual connection with the supreme deity. Abundant illustrations of the winged disk as it appears on the cylinders have been shown on the Assyrian, Syro-Hittite, Persian, and other cylinders. The variations of form are countless.

It is a question which is open to doubt whether the winged disk, as it is here seen, is wholly derived from the Egyptian solar disk, or whether it may not also have derived part of its origin from the Egyptian hawk, or more often vulture, which is often seen in a protecting attitude over the king on Egyptian and Phenician art with wings extended or one depressed. The fact that it is more ornithomorphic than the Egyptian disk, in that it has the tail, makes this possible. Indeed, at times it has the wings depressed in Phenician art, as shown in the remarkable cup of Præneste seen in fig. 1296. Here we have a series of pictures, an epic of a hunt and a combat. In the first scene the hunter, in his chariot with his charioteer, drives out from his castle; in the next scene he discovers, shoots, and kills a deer, and hangs up and flays its carcass. He then sits down to eat his venison and offer a sacrifice to his god, whose symbol of protection in the shape of the winged disk is over his head. But from the entrance of a cave in a near hill is seen the head of a watching troglodyte who, as the hunter leaves in his chariot for the next scene, follows him with a stone. But the god is his protector, as is symbolized by the chariot and its riders drawn up to heaven and encircled under the wings of the

deity, as is so often expressed in Hebrew hymn and story. Thus protected the hunter discovers his enemy and turns back and kills him and returns safely to his castle. The depressed protecting wings are much in the style of the bird so often seen in Egyptian art. It seems almost indifferent in Egyptian art whether it should be this bird (vulture or hawk) or the solar disk with its uræi, but with the wings omitted, that should protect the king. It would perhaps be safer to say that the two emblems, the disk with asp, and the vulture-goddess, were combined in the winged solar disk of the Assyrians.

That the disk represented the sun would hardly need argument. Its shape proves it almost certainly, and it is recognized as solar by Egyptian scholars. Among the Assyrians the disk with wings certainly designates the supreme deity Ashur; but we have at least several cases (figs. 1279, 1280, 1281) in which it stands in the place of the Sun-god, with the crescent of Sin and the star of Ishtar. See also



the stele of Bel-Harran-Beluzur, in Maspero's "Passing of the Nations," p. 208; Scheil, "Recueil de Travaux," vol. xvi, p. 106. Doubtless Ashur himself was identified with the Sun-god Shamash as the supreme deity. When in later Assyrian and Persian periods a single human figure took the place of the disk between the wings, it was then Ashur, and when two additional human figures were represented as rising one from each wing, we may suppose that the chief trinity of gods, Anu, Bel, and Ea, was intended, but that Anu was identified with Ashur, and equally with the Sun-god. In *i*, from a seal probably of one of the outlying districts of Assyria, the wings are omitted, but the sun is distinctly represented. But in all cases it was still the sun that was in mind, as supreme emblem of the chief deity, a thought which was familiar enough in Hebrew worship, as where we are told in Malachi 4:2, that "the sun of righteousness shall arise, with healing in his wings." Indeed the Hebrew Scriptures are full of references to Jehovah as protecting his followers who rest under his wings, in all which cases it is not the figure of a hen protecting her

brood, but the majestic figure of the great sun-disk with outstretched wings resting over the worshiper. Chantre ("Mission en Cappadoce," p. 44) is in error in supposing the Assyrian god Ashur to represent the Moon-god Sin.

In the earlier Syro-Hittite and Assyrian period the wings were short, as in *d*, and the entire figure was very simple, merely the circle with the wings and tail. Then followed, as an Assyrian development, the cords connecting the worshiper with his deity; much as in the very early Babylonian designs we see in Chapter XVII the kneeling worshiper grasping what looks like a stream from under the wings of a gate. In this Assyrian period we begin to see the deity represented in human form—as a warrior with a bow, even; and, finally the divine triad—as in *b*. We find the triad also in Persian art, frequent as an architectural ornament, as well as on cylinders, etc., and the wings are often made very long and narrow, as in *c*. The fact of the prevalence of the triad in Persian times may indicate that there by no means prevailed a pure dualism, with one supreme god of good, Ahura-mazda, but that the polytheism of Babylonia still continued to survive. The proper place for the winged disk, whether of Ashur or Ahura-mazda, was over the king or owner of the seal; or it might be placed over the tree of life, where it represented the same idea of protection, since the tree itself was the emblem of life and all the bounties of fortune, supplying these in the form of fruit to the owner of the seal. Morgenstern says ("Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion," p. 23) that "Ashur and Ashuritu were always the god and goddess of the king of Assyria, but of no one else." The frequent appearance of the winged disk on private seals does not agree with this statement.

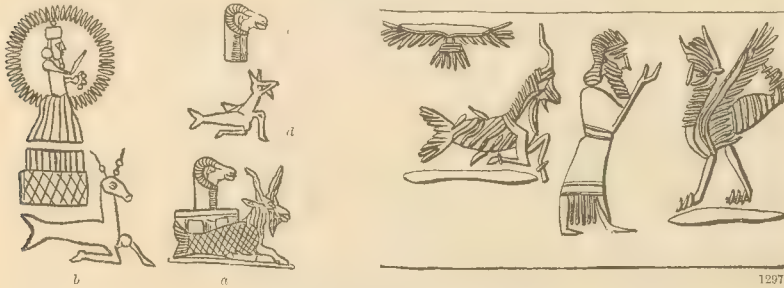
7. *The Divine Seat and the Horned Turban*: Two or even three of these figures frequently occur together on the kudurrus, at the beginning of the succession of emblems, or following the three gods of the sky, Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar. The lower portion is not an edicule, a shrine, or an ark, but a seat, the resting-place of the god. It is so designated in the text accompanying one of the kudurrus, where we read: "All the great gods whose names are mentioned on this stone, whose weapons are figured, whose seats are represented" (Scheil, in de Morgan, "Délégation en Perse," II, p. 89). When Marduk conquered Tiamat, the gods gave him "a scepter, a throne, and a ring (?)" (King's "Seven Tablets of Creation," I, p. 61).



One may perhaps consider the seat as representing the god's residence in the sky, and the animal under the seat sometimes seems to be his emblem as a constellation. Above the seat is the sign of the god, his high horned hat, or turban, with its folds arranged like horns. The fact that there are two or three of these shows that the god was not in familiar representation, so that two or more gods could be figured in the same way, much as we have seen that, in the Middle Empire, the goddess Aa, wife of Shamash, and Shala, wife of Adad, were figured in the same dress and attitude, or as, in the yet earlier art, the seated Shamash can not be always differentiated, except by some emblem attached, from the seated Sin. The seats represent Anu, Bel, and sometimes Ashur, and at other times perhaps Ea, although this is not his usual emblem. Anu of the Heavens was never a familiar god even among the Babylonians; and the same was true of Bel, after the emergence of Marduk, who assumed his functions and displaced him. They were quite too far off from the relig-

ious life of the people even to be held in clear remembrance, and their attitude or form was lost. Accordingly both had the same emblem, which was repeated to designate them. Sin is called "Lord of the royal miter" (*Zeitsch. für Ass.*, vi, p. 159).

8. *The Ram and Goat-fish of Ea:* That this represents Ea is proved conclusively by its order in fig. 1282 and the name of Ea assigned to it in fig. 1284. To be sure, in fig. 1282 we have simply the ram's head on a column, as in *c*, while in the



fuller form of *a* we have the ram's head also on a column, but resting on the god's throne. The fuller form, for which there is room on the kudurrus, can not be expected on the cylinders; and there we may find solely the goat-fish (fig. 1297), which must be taken as the emblem of Ea wherever it occurs. In fig. 756 Ea is recognized by his goat-fish, above which he stands in a circle, emerging from the divine seat. On the cone seals the column with the ram's head will be expected on account of its vertical compactness allowing it to be placed beside other asheras, or columns; but as Ea was not a god so much worshiped as Marduk or Nebo we may not expect it to be frequent. Examples of the goat-fish will be seen on the cylinders (figs. 649, 654, 658) and elsewhere its shape allows it to be placed over or under other objects.

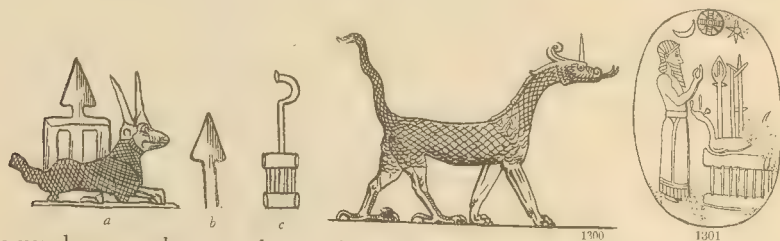
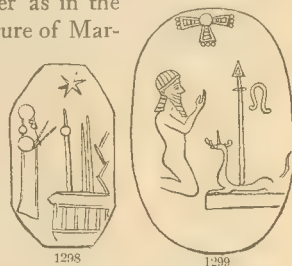
9. *The Thunderbolt of Ramman-Adad:* On the kudurru, fig. 1286, we have the emblem of Adad in its developed form, as in *a*, and in *b* (fig. 1287) we have a more wavy thunderbolt over the calf, or hornless bull, the divine throne being omitted. But more frequently only the thunderbolt is shown, sometimes with two and sometimes with three prongs, and generally zig-zag rather than wavy. It is not the imperfection of the stone, as might be thought, that accounts for the absence of the horns of the bull, for the same absence appears in at least three kudurrus. Where the god is represented in full on the cylinders, leading the bull by a cord, as shown in Chapter xxx, the bull has horns. Wherever the thunderbolt appears above or on a bull, it must be regarded as the reduced emblem of the god Adad, who holds a thunderbolt in his hand and leads a bull by a thong attached to a ring in its nose, as in fig. 455. The thunderbolt does not often appear on the cone seals, but we see it in fig. 1298. The earliest form known is that of *f* (see fig. 127), which was the origin of *g* in fig. 564. But in the earliest form it belonged to Enlil.



10. *The Spear, Scimitar, and Dragon of Marduk:* The spear is certified to Marduk both by the Bavian rock-relief of Sennacherib and the named kudurru

No. 1 of de Morgan (fig. 1284) and also, in a less certain degree, by the stele "Bel Harran bel Usur," at Constantinople (see de Morgan, "Délégation en Perse," Mémoires, I, p. 168, note), on which are given the names of five gods, one of them Marduk, with their emblems in the same order as in the relief of Bavian. Final proof is in the magnificent figure of Marduk (Weissbach, "Babylonische Miscellen," p. 16, fig. 1). (See fig. 1274.) In its developed form (fig. 1300) it is a composite monster, with the head of a serpent (as shown by Heuzey, "Revue d'Assyriologie," VI, pp. 95-104), the front legs of a lion, and the hind legs of an eagle; with two long upright slender horns and a lifted tail; it is crouched under the divine throne above which rises the end of a spear.

The throne may be omitted, or even the composite beast, leaving only a column, or ashera, with the spear-head. The composite animal is characteristic and perhaps is sometimes found alone to represent Marduk on the cylinders. But this same animal also goes with the emblem of Nebo, as we shall see in the next number. It is to be considered whether this was not an alternative form of the dragon Tiamat (see fig. 562). But that dragon belonged to the elder Bel Enlil, and had the head of a lion and not of a serpent. The name of Marduk's dragon is *Sir-russu* (*ib.*, p. 100). But he appears in fig. 650 on a cylinder of the Gudea period, and so before the emergency of Marduk as a chief god. It is remarkable that this spear-head should be the emblem of Marduk, seeing it never appears as a weapon carried by Marduk, or, indeed, by any god that is figured, his usual weapon being the scimitar, or sickle-shaped weapon, as in figures shown in Chapter XXVII. But the scimitar occasionally appears on the cone seals, as in *c*. In fig. 1299 we have



the usual spear, where we also see the symbol of Belit-Ninkharshag. It is also in figs. 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304. But we learn from l. 101 of the fourth "Tablet of the Creation" series, that it was with the spear *mulmullu*, which also became the star Mulmul, that Marduk conquered Tiamat, after forcing the evil wind into her belly.

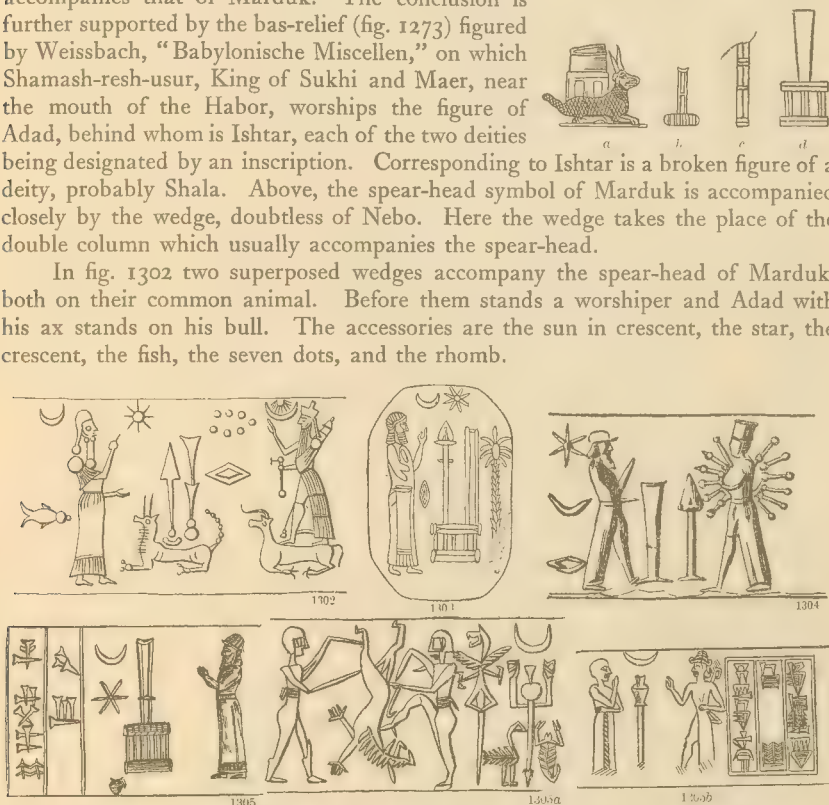
The terrible winds filled her belly,
And her courage was taken from her, and her mouth she opened wide.
He seized the spear and burst her belly.
He severed her inward parts, he pierced her heart.
He overcame her and cut off her life,
He cast down her body and stood upon it.

—King's "Seven Tablets of Creation," p. 71, cf. p. 209, note.

Either Marduk or Nebo stands indifferently on this dragon (fig. 1200).

11. *The Column, Ziggurat, or Wedge of Nebo:* The usual representation of Nebo on the cone seals, where it appears a multitude of times with that of Marduk's spear-head, is that of a double column (*b, c*), and is so certified on the relief of Bavian. In its fuller form it has, however, a wedge on the divine seat (*a*), over an animal precisely like that of Marduk (No. 10a). On the stone of Nebuchadnezzar I. (fig. 1287), however, the animal appears to be a goat. The close relation between Marduk and Nebo in Babylonian worship and the fact that their two columnar emblems are usually associated are the sufficiently satisfactory reasons for assuming that the wedge emblem also represents Nebo, inasmuch as on the kudurrus it usually accompanies that of Marduk. The conclusion is further supported by the bas-relief (fig. 1273) figured by Weissbach, "Babylonische Miscellen," on which Shamash-resh-usur, King of Sukhi and Maer, near the mouth of the Habor, worships the figure of Adad, behind whom is Ishtar, each of the two deities being designated by an inscription. Corresponding to Ishtar is a broken figure of a deity, probably Shala. Above, the spear-head symbol of Marduk is accompanied closely by the wedge, doubtless of Nebo. Here the wedge takes the place of the double column which usually accompanies the spear-head.

In fig. 1302 two superposed wedges accompany the spear-head of Marduk, both on their common animal. Before them stands a worshiper and Adad with his ax stands on his bull. The accessories are the sun in crescent, the star, the crescent, the fish, the seven dots, and the rhomb.



On the stone of Merodach Baladan I. (fig. 1288), as usual, Nebo follows Marduk; but here his dragon is inclosed in a Ziggurat, intended perhaps to suggest that of Birs Nimrud. On the cone seals he appears very frequently with Marduk, as in figs. 1298, 1301, 1303. The wedge is a very appropriate emblem for the god of letters, but what is the origin of the double column it is not easy to say. From the representation in *c* (de Morgan, fig. 388, p. 179) it would seem to consist of two or more rods bound together. For a possible explanation, however, see No. 50, the crook, of this chapter. The column is occasionally single and solid, as in fig. 1304. For an ex-

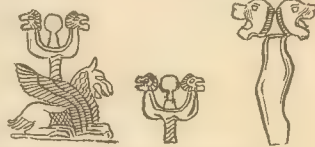
ample of the column of Nebo on a cylinder of the later Babylonian empire, see fig. 1305. On a kudurru shown in "Mitt. d. Or. Gesells.," No. 4, 1900, Nebo is represented by *d*, with his usual dragon. It looks like one of the celts found in Asia Minor.

12. *The Seated Goddess Gula:* We are familiar with Bau, or Gula, as she appears on the cylinders (Chapter xvi). It is remarkable that she is represented so frequently in the full figure of a seated goddess, as in the previous chapter, No. 17, instead of by symbol. Under her is placed, in figs. 1285-1287, a dog, as it seems to be by comparing the plates. We may then gather that the dog was her emblem, and when we find the dog alone in figs. 1289, 1290, following close after the symbols for Marduk and Nebo (they have to be spread to plot them in a circle), just as they do in fig. 1286, or as in fig. 1291, we may presume that the dog here and elsewhere on the kudurrus represents Gula-Bau. It occasionally appears on cylinders of the Kassite or later period, as in figs. 521, 524, 525. It is possible that the great honor given to the dog in the Zoroastrian religion may be related to the symbol of the dog for the goddess Gula. It is the dog who protects from the death-spirit (see "Sacred Books of the East," Zend-Avesta, p. LXXIV).

13. *Nusku, the Lamp:* Of the significance of the lamp there can be no doubt, as it is certified by the inscription in the kudurru figured by de Morgan (fig. 1284). This is a very appropriate emblem, as Nusku was the god of fire, in which attribute he was identified with Gibil, and later with Nebo. But Gibil may be considered, more exactly, the lamp-emblem of Nusku, as appears from the text accompanying the kudurru, fig. 1285, where, in the list of gods whose curses are invoked, we find "Mighty Gibil, the instrument of Nusku" (Scheil, de Morgan, "Délégation en Perse," II, p. 90). On one kudurru Nusku appears as a censer (?) (Hinke, "A New Boundary Stone," p. 120) instead of a lamp.



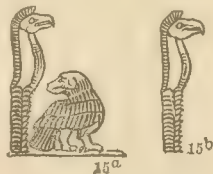
14. *The Two Lion Heads of Ninib:* This emblem is left in a degree of doubt by the relief of Bavian (fig. 1282), on which a column with two heads, which Layard ("Babylon and Nineveh," p. 211) calls heads of bulls, but which are more probably heads of lions, occupies the tenth place. The name of the god in the tenth place is Ninib as shown by Hinke ("A New Boundary Stone," cf. Nebuchadnezzar I., p. 87), who reads the epigraph of Nergal not understood by de Morgan. We find the same representation of Ninib, with two lions' heads on a column, on the bas-relief of Senjirli, as seen in fig. 1279. The lions' heads are not always fully drawn. In fig. 1286 the heads are reduced to mere bulbs, with what appears, as in fig. 1284, to be an inverted vase between them. The two heads thus arranged with the vase suggest the Babylonian caduceus, with its two serpents' heads and a vase between them; but these seem to be distinctly lions' and not serpents' heads, as appears on the Senjirli stele. But this figure adds another important feature. Here the emblem of the column with two lions' heads (not distinctly drawn) rests on a lion-headed winged sphinx. We have previously found Ea borne by his goat-fish, Marduk and Nebo by a fantastic animal with high horns, Adad by his bull, and Bau-Gula by her dog; and we may now accept the lion-sphinx as the animal belonging to Ninib and may



recognize him in the winged sphinx on the lower register of de Morgan's kudurru No. iv, and the stone of Merodach Baladan I. (fig. 1288). We see on the kudurru, fig. 1286, that a second deity is attached to the same sphinx, just as we have seen Marduk and Nebo borne by the same fantastic animal. This suggests that the second sphinx may represent Nergal, who was so closely associated with Ninib, as Nebo with Marduk; but see paragraph 15 below. The lion properly belongs to Nergal, who is, in the texts, represented as a lion. On the kudurru figured in Mitt. d. Or. Gesellschaft, 1900, No. 4, p. 17, the figure of an archer has the winged lion attached, and we may presume this to be Nergal.

Before passing from this emblem it is well to recall the two lions' heads surmounted by the eagle of Lagash (No. 28) carried as a standard of war by the king on the so-called Stele of Vultures, of the very early times of Eannadu (Heuzey, Catal. des Antiq. Chald., p. 107; de Sarzec, "Découvertes en Chaldée," plate 4 bis), where the standard is probably held in the hand of the god Ningirshu. But Ninib was identified with Ningirshu, and the double lion head has thus a very early origin. See No. 28. Hommel in his discussion of the kudurrus ("Aufs. Abh.," II, pp. 236-268) sees Gemini in the two lions' heads.

15. *Zamama*: A column with an eagle's or hawk's head. This identification is verified by fig. 1284. To be sure it is not well drawn by de Morgan, and the head looks more like that of an ass, but it is certainly that of a hawk or eagle. This appears from its association with a similar column with a lion's head here, as in so many other cases in which the hawk's head can not be mistaken. So we have it in figs. 1286, 1287, and 1292. In fig. 1286 the full hawk is drawn with head turned back in front of the column, and belonging to it, just as an animal accompanies emblems of gods on divine seats or thrones. Here it must be understood that the column and the bird before it represent a single deity, *Zamama*. This hawk, with head turned back, is not to be confounded with the hawk, if hawk it be, which we find perched on a column with two prongs at the top, as that occurs on the same kudurru with this hawk emblem of *Zamama*. The choice of the eagle as the emblem of this god allies it with the frequent old design of the eagle seizing two animals with its talons. The relation of *Zamama* with Ninib (No. 14) gives some difficulty. (See No. 28.)



16. *The Lion-headed Column*: This emblem usually accompanies that of *Zamama*, the eagle-headed column; but what deity is indicated by it is not clear. The column of Ninib, with two lion heads, is usually found with them. This close relation indicates a related god, and, as stated under No. 14, Hinke finds the name of Nergal attached to it on fig. 1284. This very important identification solves two principal difficulties about the emblems, for it follows that the two lion heads of No. 14 represent Ninib.



17. *The Club, Shuqamuna*: This emblem is identified by its name on fig. 1284. *Shuqamuna* is a Kassite deity, similar to Nergal, according to de Morgan (or Scheil), p. 169. It does not appear on other kudurrus in just this form and seems to be replaced by other or more developed emblems. Thus in fig. 1286 we have what may be the same emblem, but like a truncated spear-head resting on a throne, over

a ram. We may suspect that in de Morgan's kudurru No. 4 the broad spear-head with a very broad shaft, to the right of the upper register, as drawn (really on an angle of the stone), represents this club, and not Marduk, as Marduk and Nebo, represented by their fantastic animals, are together on the lower register. On de Morgan's kudurru No. 5 there is a column near the bottom, perhaps an altar not found elsewhere, which may be considered in this connection. In figs. 1289, 1290, we have a definite club.



Shuqamuna was the head of the Kassite pantheon, and takes the place of Marduk, who was the principal god under Hammurabi. It is then somewhat surprising that his emblem is usually the mere club, although once it seems to appear with the divine throne and a ram. Even so it has not the position of honor of Ashur in the Assyrian art. He was, in the religious schools, identified with Nergal of Cutha, but the deities were really distinct.

18. *The Coiffure and Knife of Ninkharshag (Nin-Karrak, Nin-makh), Lady of the Mountains, Ninni*: This emblem is found as a full female head with the hair, and in two other forms, one representing the coiffure or wig of the goddess, and the other the same object upside down. As a symbol it was probably derived from the hair of the Egyptian Hathor (*e*) and reached Babylonia probably by way of the Hittites, perhaps after the conquest of Syria by the Egyptians in the eighteenth dynasty. It was one of the characters in the Hittite syllabary.

The indication that this sign represents Ninkharshag, or Belit, is found in the text accompanying the kudurru, for example, of Melisihu (fig. 1286), where, in the maledictions against any one who should violate the grave, we read (Scheil in "Délégation en Perse," II, p. 108): "May Anu, Bel, Ea, and Nin-khar-sagga, the great gods whose will is irresistible, observe him with angry countenance! May they curse him with destructive, implacable maledictions!" Here four deities are mentioned as of the first rank, the first to pronounce their curse. The first deities to be represented on the upper register after sun, moon, and star, always on the top of the stone, are Anu, Bel, and Ea, followed by this emblem we are considering, and which we may therefore, with much probability, presume to be Ninkharshag. We have here the divine throne, on it a knife shaped like one of the characters in the Hittite syllabary, and over it this coiffure of the goddess, in this case reversed. The meaning of the knife is not at all clear, except as it is a weapon for offense and punishment.



The representation of the goddess Hathor by her hair was most appropriate, as that was her distinguishing feature, and it was precisely in the form of this emblem, as shown in *e*. Such an Egyptian goddess would be naturally assimilated with Belit-Ninkharshag. It would not be strange if the constellation Coma Berenices (also said to be the hair of Ariadne) were originally the emblem of Belit; or perhaps she is represented in Lyra, which is quite as much in the shape of this

emblem; indeed this emblem has been taken for a lyre. Whether the emblem of this goddess appears in the later Greek letter omega is to be considered. The Egyptians seem to have identified their Hathor with an Asianic goddess whom they called by the Syrian name of Kedes, if we may judge from her figure (fig. 775) which wears precisely the same coiffure. That she corresponds with the later form of Zirbanit appears from such cases as fig. 211.

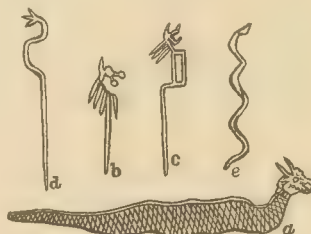
Examples of this emblem on cylinders are not numerous, although it occasionally occurs. It will be seen in fig. 722, where the worshiper before a burning altar wears the emblem of his god on his wrist. It is seldom omitted on the kudurrus.

But that this represents the coiffure about the face of the goddess appears in a few seals of a rather late period after the ingress of Egyptian influence. Examples are seen in figs. 432, 452, 843. In fig. 462 we have the face drawn within the coiffure of tresses, over the "thirty" of Sin, which is over a figure of Zirbanit. We have also Adad on his bull, Shamash, if Shamash it be, with his foot on a human-headed bull, the goddess Aa, a worshiper with a goat, and as many other minor objects as can be crowded in; a vase (without its "libra"), the sun in its crescent, an ape over a dancing figure, and a tortoise. Another such case we have in fig. 1305c, a cylinder of the Syro-Hittite type, in which the face within the tresses is distinctly drawn, the remaining design including two sphinxes under the winged disk, a star, a hare, and an ibex head, and also an elaborate braided rope pattern.



The Knife has already been mentioned as associated with the coiffure of Belit-Ninkharshag, and when it appears alone it may be regarded as also her emblem.

19. *Siru, the Serpent*: This identification needs no argument. The serpent is usually a most conspicuous object on the kudurrus, and occasionally its name appears in the accompanying text, as in fig. 1284, where it is the sixteenth in the list. It is, however, more often omitted in the accompanying lists, as if hardly a recognized deity. It must have been, however, more than local, as it is omitted from few of the kudurrus.



It was of enough importance, at any rate, to reach the rank of a constellation.

20. *Iskhara, the Scorpion*: The evidence that the scorpion is Iskhara is drawn from an astrological omen tablet. In Thompson, "Reports of the Magicians" (II, p. 76), we read: "*Anu (D. P. mul) Akrabi (D. P. ilu) Iskhara ina la'ab urrisha*," etc., "when in the flaming light of Scorpio Iskhara," etc. Here Scorpio and Iskhara are identified. See also Jensen ("Kosmologie," pp. 72, 73) for "*(Mul) Girtab-Iskhara tamtim*," where Girtab, Sumerian for Akrabu, scorpion, is equated with Iskhara, a goddess resembling Venus. The scorpion is frequently depicted on the stones and Iskhara is frequently mentioned. She is a goddess of the Kassite pantheon of whom very little is known. She is related to Ishtar and is called "Goddess of the Holy Mound," that is, of the sea (Sayce, "Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia," p. 374).



There now remain the following emblems on the kudurrus thus far unidentified: The tortoise; the bustard (or sparrow) on a plow; the eagle on a forked column (hawk); the sheaf (?), shell (?), sponge (?), scale (?); the eagle-headed column; the arrow; the scorpion-man hunter; the horse under an arch (appears once).

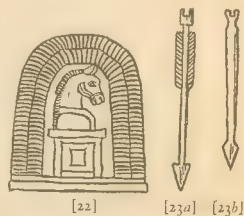
We find the following deities mentioned, which we have not assigned to any one of the emblems: Anunit, Shumaliya, Papsukal, Shulpaudda, Aruru, Sidlamtaudda.

Of these Shumaliya, as the subordinate consort of Shuqamuna, is probably not figured separately. We meet Anunit but once, and she is to be identified with Nana and Ninni, which are other forms of the great goddess Belit-Ninkharshag. Aruru is another goddess who is mentioned but once on the kudurrus, who aided Marduk in the creation of mankind; but we can not further identify her with her emblem. Papsukal is spoken of as a messenger of the gods. He can not here be the same as Nebo, messenger and associate of Marduk, for their names are on the same stone. He may be Nusku. Sidlamtaudda is another form of the god Nergal, and so may be eliminated from the list. As to Shulpaudda (or Umunpaudda) we simply know that he represents a god of brilliancy, and so solar, not to be distinguished in qualities from other solar gods, such as Shamash and Ninib. There is no special evidence which connects any one god with the half-dozen symbols or emblems which remain undetermined. Most of them, and the important ones, we know, but the tortoise, the sparrow, the lion-headed column, and the eagle perched on a two-forked column (the notch of an arrow) appear frequently enough, so that it is unfortunate we do not know their significance. Others, as the sheaf (?), the horse's head, and the scorpion-man shooting the arrow, occur too seldom to give us much indication of their identity.

21. *The Scorpion-man or Sagittarius*: This occurs rarely on the kudurrus; it is on the stone of Nebuchadnezzar I., fig. 1287. He shoots with a bow, and so seems to be related with such a constellation as Sagittarius. He is a composite figure, having the legs and talons of an eagle, as well as the body of a scorpion and the head and arms of a man. He is to be distinguished, of course, from the scorpion which represents Iskhara. With the scorpion-man must be connected Sagittarius in the form of a centaur, which is seen in figs. 629, 631-633. As we have the arrow alone as an emblem, it may be that it represents this same Sagittarius. An illustration of the scorpion-man is seen on cylinders fig. 630. Here see the "Arrow," No. 23.



22. *The Horse's Head* appears but once, resting on the divine seat and under a high arch, on the kudurrus of Nebuchadnezzar I., fig. 1287. This is, perhaps, the earliest representation of the horse that we have in Babylonian art, and we may presume that some foreign deity is represented, but it is not clear which one.



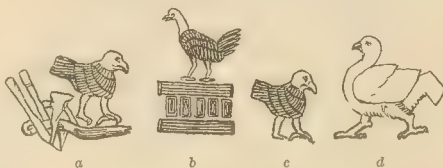
23. *The Arrow*: We are unable to identify this emblem, except as it is likely to be related to the scorpion-man Sagittarius, considered in No. 21.

24. *The Eagle on the bifurcated Column:* While this emblem occurs quite frequently on the kudurrus, I am unable to identify it. The bifurcated column suggests the bifurcated end of the arrow notched for the string, as the shape is the same, and this may relate it to No. 23, but the two appear on the same kudurru, as in fig. 1291 *a* and *b*.



[24]

25. *The Sparrow and Plow:* This might be taken for a bustard, but for the fact that it is represented on kudurru No. III of de Morgan as standing on a plow. The plow occurs in early Babylonian cylinders, as seen in Chapter XIX, on "Agricultural Gods"; but the plow is shown in connection with deities of both sexes, so that it is not possible here to relate the sparrow and plow to either one of the deities that preside over agriculture. Perhaps it is Tammuz that is represented, or the goddess Nisabu, or more likely Bau, whose name Hinke ("New Boundary Stone," p. 231) reads doubtfully on the kudurru, fig. 1284. Whether the bird on fig. 554, which is shown in *b*, is the same sparrow is a matter of doubt, for the cylinder belongs to the Persian period; but the goose (?) of *d* taken from fig. 1290 is the same sparrow.

*a**b**c**d*

26. *The Sheaf* (shell? sponge?) occurs but once, on kudurru No. III of de Morgan (fig. 1286), and we have no clue to its meaning. Possibly it is a sector, to measure angles in architectural work. On an unpublished kudurru an object something like this represents an Elamite headdress, with a circle of feathers.



[26]



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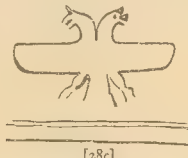
27. *The Tortoise* occurs both on the cylinders and on the kudurrus, and with great probability is an alternative emblem of Ea, as it occurs on a divine seat in the order where Ea elsewhere appears. Yet in this case, as in others, we desire a more definite translation, by students of the texts, of the animals mentioned. The tortoise in the place of Ea's emblems is seen in figs. 1289 and 1292.

28. *The Eagle of Lagash:* We can do no better than to regard Heuzey as correct in supposing that the eagle on a pole, with lions' heads at the base, (*d*) was the standard of the city of Lagash, or Tello. Inasmuch as the chief god was Ningirsu or Ninib (Nirig, Enu-reshtu, or En-mashtu), we may also regard it as equally his emblem. When we further find the eagle figured alone, with no standard, but in an heraldic attitude, we have the right to regard it as representing the same god. Even further, when we see the eagle with a lion's head, in the same heraldic attitude, seizing an animal with each of its talons, as shown in Chapter IV, we may presume a relation to the same chief god, who was afterwards identified with Ninib. The divine bird *Imgi*, mentioned on the cylinder of Gudea (Thureau-Dangin, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, October, 1904, pp. 127, 137), may be related to this bird (see No. 15). Occasionally it is seen on cylinders, as in fig. 1305*a*. We are told that the star called "Zamama's eagle" was the god Ninib

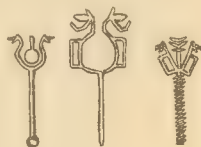
(Pinches, P. S. B. A. xxviii, p. 207). For an illustration of the eagle on a standard, see fig. 39*a*. For the early appearance of the two-headed eagle, more characteristically Hittite, see fig. 421. A Hittite example is fig. 825. In the Gudea period it appears on the cylinders, single-headed usually.

29. *The Standard of Gilgamesh*:

This is regarded by Heuzey as a form of gate-post, and when found alone would represent the god who carries it as porter, guardian, or warder. It has various modifications, sometimes the lower point of a spear, to allow it to be fixed in the ground, and sometimes a square enlargement at the top. According to Thureau-Dangin (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, October, 1904, p. 130) the Babylonian designation is *urigallu* (see Heuzey, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, v, p. 132). It will not be surprising to see Eabani carrying a standard like Gilgamesh, as in fig. 269. It is shown in No. 22*a* and *b* of the previous chapter.



30. *The Caduceus*: This important emblem, called a candelabrum by Ménant, is not infrequent on Babylonian cylinders, especially of the Middle Empire. It does not appear in the Assyrian or Syro-Hittite figures. It is further referred to in No. 14 of this chapter. It consists of two serpents rising from a vertical stem, with imperfect bodies and heads thrown outward. The neck is thickened, like that of the Egyptian asp. Between the two serpents is often a vase, as in fig. 1305*a*, but this is not always clear nor always present, so that the object looks like a bident or trident, or even a candelabrum, and may be pointed, to be set up in the ground. Its serpentine character is discovered by comparing it with the single serpent, as in fig. 427 or in fig. 31, where the god carries the serpent as a rod over his shoulder. In fig. 1305*b* we have a similar serpent over the shoulder, as in fig. 31. The vase on a column is peculiar. This emblem is held in the hand of Ishtar, as in figs. 135, 414, 416, 417. Doubtless this caduceus, which may be the source of the Greek caduceus, was originally conceived of as a weapon (see Ward, "Proc. Am. Or. Soc.," 1888, pp. lxxxv-lxxxviii).



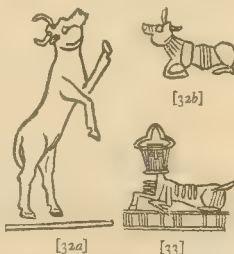
31. *The Vase and "Libra"*: The vase is one of the most common emblems on the cylinders of the Middle Empire, and is also to be seen, but more usually in the hands of a god, on those of an earlier period. The seated, and sometimes the standing, Shamash holds a vase to his breast, from which the streams flow upward and then downward, as seen in Chapter II. The vase was also an element in the Babylonian caduceus, between the two serpents, and is seen on the kudurrus between the two lion heads in the symbol of Nergal (see No. 13). When seen by itself it was usually engraved in the upper part of the field, in a vacant place, and

is properly accompanied by the so-called "libra," which stands upright on the lower part of the field. But there is little reason to believe that the latter represents a balance. The vase in the older seals has the definite shape of an aryballus, but later it would hardly be recognized as a vase and the lower part seemed slit with vertical lines, as if showing the dropping of water. In the case of one cylinder of the older period we see the vase turned on its side and the wide stream falling to the ground (fig. 129). The protuberance on the "libra" is usually a little above the middle, which unfits it to be a balance, and sometimes it is a complete circle,



as in fig. 1306, where, most unusually, the vase is beside it. See also fig. 1307, where the double "libra" suggests the symbol of Nebo. The "libra" appears so often that it would seem that it should be easy to discover what it is the emblem of, but I am unable to offer any sure conclusion. Possibly it is the object like a mace held in the hand by figures like Gilgamesh or Eabani, on each side of a god or other object, which Heuzey takes to be the post of a gate, and so the symbol of the gate or of the god who is its warder; or, more likely, it is the rod and circle held in the hand of a chief god, as in figs. 323-327. Prof. W. Max Müller suggests that it is a stand.

32. *The Bull*: We have seen that the bull is related to Adad, the bellowing god of thunder, who carries the lightning in his hand. The bull is led by the god with a cord attached to a ring in its nose. But the bull was also related to the Moon-god Sin, probably because of the shape of the horns of the bison of the Elamite forests and mountains. It is occasionally seen leaping into the lap of a god (figs. 317, 318), who may be Sin. In the case of the bulls attacked by Gilgamesh there is no emblem intended, but simply wild beasts conquered by the hero, as Hercules destroyed dangerous animals.



33. *Human-headed Bull*: Under the feet of a god is occasionally seen, on the Babylonian cylinders, a bull lying down, with a human head. Precisely the same figure has been found in bronze or stone (fig. 322), as shown in Heuzey ("Cat. Ant. Chald.," pp. 269, 287; "Monuments Piot," vi, plate xi; *ib.*, vii, plate 1). This bull seems to be the foot-stool of the seated Shamash, and is hardly to be related with the figure of either Eabani or the human-headed bull with which Gilgamesh fought, in the early Chaldean cylinders.

34. *The Crane or Goose*: For the discussion of this emblem see Chapter XII on Bau-Gula, in which attention is called to the frequency with which this bird accompanies the goddess, although not confined to her.



35. *The Man-fish*: The human-headed fish appears as early as Gudea, with the goat-fish of Ea, as shown in Chapter xxxvii, fig. 649. Heuzey takes it to represent the mythical Oannes, who came out of the water and taught the arts of civilization to the Babylonians. On the other hand Oannes has been identified by Lenormant and others with Ea. The man-fish is associated with the goat-fish, and so with Ea, and no better identification than that with Oannes is at hand, although Oannes as distinct from Ea is not yet known in the literature of the inscriptions.

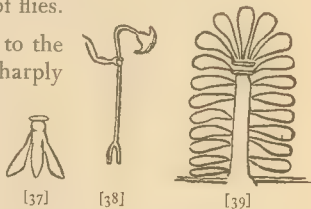


36. *The Monkey? Goat?* It is not at all uncommon to meet with a squat creature, on the Babylonian cylinders of perhaps the later portion of the Middle Empire, which may be a monkey or an ape or a jackal, and sometimes (once or twice distinctly) a goat; but the tail does not usually agree with either animal. It must have had a significance, but what it was is unknown. A consideration of figure 380 would lead to the conclusion that the animal was originally a goat.



37. *The Fly* does not often appear, although sometimes seen on comparatively late cylinders, as in fig. 523; but we have no further identification than is suggested in the name of the Syrian Beelzebub, god of flies.

38. *The Lotus*: At times on cylinders related to the Syro-Hittite class, we see a deity holding a wand sharply bent in the middle and expanded at the end, which is not a throw-stick, but is to be regarded as derived from the Egyptian lotus held by the gods, as in figs. 923, 940.



39. *The Tree of Life or Sacred Tree* has been fully discussed in Chapter xl and takes various forms there shown. It represents the gifts of life and fortune presented to the worshiper, and certainly not the fertilization of the date-palm.

40. *The Rhomb or Oval*: This has usually been taken to be what Lenormant first called it, the *πτεῖς*, or feminine emblem. But there is no special reason for so regarding it and it does not seem to be according to the spirit of the Assyrians, with whom we perhaps first find it. It does not appear until after the period of the middle Babylonian Empire and probably was introduced from farther to the west. It is usual enough in the Syrian art, and perhaps the most probable interpretation of it is to identify it with the eye so frequent in Egyptian symbolism. The attempt to show that the triangle was the feminine emblem is supported by no evidence on the cylinders. All that can be said is that the *capillus pudendi* is occasionally drawn by a triangle, as in fig. 422. For further discussion see Ohnefalsch-Richter, Text, p. 147.



41. *The Seven Sibitti*: Seven round dots are among the most common emblems at a late period, but are not found in the first or middle Babylonian empire. They are called the Seven on the Senjirli relief, and we may perhaps take them to be the seven Igigi; although they have



sometimes been regarded as the seven heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, and five planets. But this would imply an improbable duplication. Or they may represent Nergal, lord of the Pleiades; and this is supported by the fact that on a kudurru figured in No. 4, 1900, of the "Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft," the dots have stars included, as in *a*. Similarly the dots are stars in fig. 752.

42. *The fish* is a very frequent emblem on the late Syro-Hittite cylinders, but there is no definite clue to its symbolism known to me. On the older Babylonian cylinders the fish accompanies the streams that fall from the vase held by Shamash, to indicate that they are streams of water. But this seems to offer no solution to the fish which, with the rhomb, is so common on the late seals. We may naturally recall the sacred fishes still held in reverent protection in certain sacred pools in the East.



[42]



[43]

43. *The frog* is not frequent, and its attribution is not known to me.

44. *The Head or Ax of Teshub*: Very rarely we have a column, or ashera, with the head of the Hittite Teshub on it, as in fig. 1308, or his ax as in fig. 1309.



1308



1311



1309



1310

45. *The Guilloche or Rope Pattern*: There are many forms of this, some complicated, which will be seen in the chapters in Syro-Hittite cylinders. This design comes into use with the Syro-Hittite period; and yet there are three examples of it in what seem to be quite archaic cylinders (see figs. 58, 95, 108a). In the case of two of these the rope pattern is, however, very irregular and angular, quite different from the carefully, if not suspiciously, regular form of the guilloche in the bituminous bas-relief, which would appear to be of the extremely early date of Entemena. For this see Heuzey, "Une Villa Royale," p. 80; "Cat. Ant. Chald.," p. 123. Heuzey says ("Une Villa Royale," p. 40) that a copper vase of early Babylonian work has the interlace. This seems to be in Constantinople and I have not seen it. But certainly the guilloche was so rare in the early and middle Babylonian period that it might almost be said to be non-existent. It is characteristic of the Syro-Hittite art, being its most favorite ornament. It has many variations in the choicest examples, being developed with braided forms, and at other times it is extremely simple. The guilloche probably had its origin in ornamental work in gold wire, which was applied to metal or other work. In the earlier forms the helix, or *S* curve, seems to have prevailed, probably brought from Egypt, and then in Syria contracted, or consolidated, into the rope pattern. In the later forms,

made with the tubular drill, the guilloche is almost lost, and often the partial circles of which it is composed have a central dot. This guilloche is abundant, with allied elaborate interlaces, in Mycenæan art, also developed from Egyptian ornaments at an early date. It is not clear that the guilloche was an emblem of any god or idea, and it may have been simply an ornament.

46. *The Rosette*: We may regard this as simply an ornament; but there is a certain amount of evidence that it has relation to the sun. The rosette is Assyrian or Syro-Hittite rather than Babylonian. In fig. 1310 the rosette is included in the circle of the winged disk.



47. *The vulture* does not often appear on the cylinders, but is occasionally seen, with its long neck, on the more finely cut Syro-Hittite seals. It may be regarded as an importation from Egypt and as representative of the goddess Nut.



48. *The dove* appears to be occasionally represented as accompanying a Syrian Venus, as in figs. 924, 926, 927.

49. *The goat's head* is occasionally found on Hittite seals, and is a characteristic element in the Hittite syllabary. Sayce says it represents the god Tarkhu.

50. *The Crook*: This is single or double. In fig. 1311 an example is seen of the double crook, the curved ends divergent, standing over a recumbent gazelle.



Beside it is the spear, emblem of Marduk. This suggests that this double crook is the origin of the double column of Nebo, which usually accompanies the symbol of Marduk in the later art. Another example is to be seen in fig. 1312, where the two emblems again appear; but this time the crook is single, over the gazelle. In fig. 1313 the two crooks are again over the gazelle, but without the symbol of Marduk (see also de Clercq, No. 277).

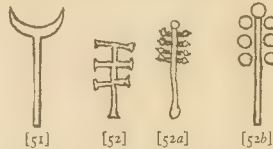
The crook is carried in the hand of a god, who may be Nebo, in fig. 1314. We have the crook alone in fig. 1315. This seal has four flounced figures. One is a bearded god, before whom is the crook, and also a worshiper with a goat. Then follow two goddesses *en face*, identical, except that one lifts her right hand, and the other her left. Beside them are inscribed the names of two deities, "Shamash" and "Ram-



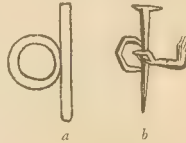
man"; but these have evidently no relation to the deities figured and were very likely added later by some owner of the cylinder. It seems somewhat probable that the crook is related to Nebo, but this is by no means certain. The crook must not be confounded with the lotus, to be seen on the Syro-Hittite cylinders, while those with the crook are Babylonian.

51. *The Crutch:* It is not clear what this rather late emblem means. It sometimes seems to represent the crescent of Sin, and at other times it might be a form of the crook.

52. *The Emblem of Stability:* This is taken from the Egyptian, where there are cross lines instead of the dots. This emblem may be carried in the hand of such a god as Shamash.



53. *The Rod and Ring:* That this is an emblem significative of supremacy there can be no question from the way it is employed, as on the relief of Abu-habba, to give dignity to the Sun-god. The two objects are separate originally, but are carelessly united. In the relief of Abu-habba the rod is simple as in *a*, but in later art it became a wedge. This does not relate it to Nebo. It and the circle appear not to be weapons, but symbols of majesty and power, like the tablets of destiny.



54. *The Crux Ansata:* It is only in close relation to Egyptian influence that we find the crux ansata on the cylinders.

55. *The Hand:* For examples of this Phenician emblem see figs. 901, 1189.



56. *The Herm:* In addition to the emblems of Teshub, arranged as a herm on a column, or ashera, we may include the undesignated deity which we see in figs. 840 and 1017. This belongs to the western region, not occurring in Babylonia or Assyria. It seems to correspond to a character in the Hittite hieroglyphics.



The above are the more important emblems appearing on the cylinders. The others are mostly accidental, and so far as we know meaningless.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE ANIMALS AND PLANTS FIGURED ON THE CYLINDERS.

The *Bison* or *Bison bonasus* (*Bos bonasus* of the older nomenclature): This is the "bull" of the more archaic cylinders. It is still found wild in the Caucasus and is identical with the Lithuanian bison. The only other species is the American bison, the *Bison bison*, which it much resembles. It is of the same size and shape, but it lacks the heavy, almost black, hair on the top of the head, which nearly conceals the horns in the American male. The Asiatic (and Lithuanian) bison is of a reddish brown or rufous tint, and the hair on the head is of the same length as that of the body. The tail is rather shorter than in the domesticated cattle. The horns are short, rounded inward and slightly backward, quite different from the longer and more upright horns of the ancient aurochs, which is figured in the Cretan art. The horns are very accurately drawn on the cylinders in the earlier figures of Gilgamesh fighting the bison, which was properly regarded as a more formidable animal than the lion to meet in single combat. Accordingly Gilgamesh is represented as in fight with the bison, and Eabani with the lion. In the period immediately following the archaic, Gilgamesh fights the buffalo of the swamps, quite a different animal. The bison is an animal of the mountains and forests. The Babylonian name for the bison was *rimu* (Hebrew *re'em*). The archaic sign for *alpu*, ox, was , and that for *rimu* was , in which the three inclosed wedges are the sign for *mountain*, so that the meaning was *the bull of the mountains*, a proper definition of the *rimu* or bison.

The bison may also be included in the meaning of the Babylonian *buru* (Hebrew *bôr*), which was connected with the moon-god Sin, probably because of his horns, which are moon-like. Sin is described in a hymn to Nannar (Moon) as "the mighty *buru*, whose horns are strong" (W.A.I., iv, plate 9). That the "*rimu* of the mountains" is the *Bison bonasus* follows from the fact that the only other possible bull, the aurochs, or *Bos primigenius*, perhaps did not exist in Elam and does not seem to be clearly figured in the wild state. (See next page, "The Domestic Cattle.") It has very much larger spreading horns, quite unlike those of the bison, which may be, says Lydekker, 38 inches long. The horns on the archaic cylinders are always short and round, whether on the head of the bull with which Gilgamesh is fighting, or on the head of the man-bull Eabani and the human-headed bull. The hairy body, so unlike that of the buffalo, is often shown as in fig. 182. The bison was not a native of the lowlands of Babylonia, where the buffalo wallowed in the swamps, but only of the highlands and forests of Elam. Many illustrations of the bison are to be seen in Chapters vi and x.

The *Buffalo* or *Bos bubalus*: This is the native water-buffalo of the swamps of southern Babylonia, which prevails on the cylinders of the time of Sargon I. and his successors. It is an almost hairless black beast of enormous size, six feet high at the shoulders, and with immense ridged or crinkled horns, which fall back over the shoulders. In its wild state it is now extinct in this its native

home, but it, or a near congener, is still wild in the swamps of Nepaul and as far east as the island of Formosa. It is the ordinary domesticated cattle of the rice-fields in southern Babylonia, India, China, and the Philippines, and is to be seen even in Italy. It is perfectly evident from the early Babylonian art that it was as indigenous to the Euphrates valley as to India, although India is generally spoken of as its original seat and writers discuss as to the time when it was brought from India to Egypt, where it appears on the monuments. But there is no reason why the *Bos bubalus* should not have been indigenous also in the Nile valley. Indeed, Dr. J. Ulrich Duerst, in an article on "Prehistoric Bovidæ," in *L'Anthropologie*, 1900, pp. 129-158, declares that the buffalo which is represented on Algerian rock-carvings is identical with that on Chaldean seals. The wild buffalo must have been the most formidable animal known to the early Babylonians, even more so than the bison and much more so than the lion. It is not clear what was the Babylonian distinctive term for the buffalo. It may have been included under the term for *alpu*, or even *buru*, although *alpu* was applied to the domesticated humped ox.

The *Aurochs* (*Bos primigenius*) has been extinct for more than a century. While we have no evidence of its former prevalence in Elam, and it can not have lived in Babylonia, it was familiar to the north and throughout Europe. It appears to be found in the later cylinders from Asia or Syria. It is to be recognized by its long and raised spreading horns, very different from those of the *Bos bubalus* or the *Bison bonasus*. Our common domestic cattle are supposed to have come from the aurochs. Illustrations of the *Bos primigenius* are to be seen in figs. 484, 1220. In fig. 1060 a bull, apparently of this species, is drawing a chariot of war.

The *Domestic Cattle*: Rarely a cylinder of much antiquity shows a purely agricultural scene, plowing with oxen. Examples are to be seen in figs. 369, 371, 372. In these cases there are indications that the cylinders are not from lower Babylonia, but from some other region. The oxen attached to the plow are distinctly not the bison nor the buffalo, but they have long upright and bent horns, and are doubtless the usual domesticated breed which appears early in Egypt and was domesticated from a very early prehistoric period, and widely disseminated. It doubtless originated in the aurochs, *Bos primigenius*, now extinct. It may be noticed that the copper head of a bull figured by Heuzey in de Sarzec's "Découvertes," plate 5 ter, figs. 2a, 2b (Heuzey, "Cat. Ant. Chald.," p. 319, fig. 165), has horns of the type *Bos primigenius*, yet it very likely was not a work of Chaldean art, but was imported from abroad. The bull tied apparently for sacrifice and lying on its back, in *ib.*, 4 ter, fig. F1 (Heuzey, "Cat. Ant. Chald.," p. 105, fig. F1) may be a wild bison; it is not clear that it is a domesticated ox. It is possible that it is the domesticated ox that is represented in such scenes as figs. 370, 373, 1098, or even that it is the same which is seen in the designs where a bull is under the winged gate (Chapter xvii), as the horns appear more like those of the *Bos primigenius* than of the *Bison bonasus*, and it differs in the shape of the body as well. Nor is it clear what is the species of bull or bison on which a warrior rides in fig. 137b (as later one would ride a war-horse) and tramples over a fallen foe. This seems to show that the bull was used for riding as now in Africa. In fig. 1098 we have the cow suckling her calf. In fig. 1252, from a bas-relief, we have a unique case of sacrifice.

The *Zebu* (*Bos indicus*) has the horns turned back and a hump on the shoulders. It is a somewhat smaller species of the ox family. It does not appear in Babylonian or Assyrian art until a rather late period, probably not earlier than 1000 B. C., perhaps somewhat later. A tablet once in my possession had on one side the contract for the sale of an *alpu*, or ox, and on the other side the scratched figure of this humped ox. More definitely the humped ox was *alpu sumu'u*. For perhaps the older examples, see figs. 459, 461, 930. There is a picture of an *alpu* head, named, in Scheil's "Recueil de Signes Archaïques," 1898, p. 11.

The *Lion* was well known and was found everywhere, in low lands and high. He still infests the Chaldean wilds, haunting the occasional thickets. He is powerfully and realistically conceived, usually as conquered by Gilgamesh, who lifts him by a hind leg, or tosses him over his shoulder, or swings him on his back, or breaks his back over his knee. On his part the lion attacks buffaloes, bulls, ibexes, or other animals. In the later Hittite art he becomes simply a heraldic emblem. The lion is the emblem of Ishtar, who stands often on one lion, occasionally on two, or has the lion figured on her throne. The lion's head is given to composite animals, as the eagle of Lagash and the representations of Tiamat and the evil spirits. In the Persian art the lion is preëminent, being attacked by the god, and the lion is the present emblem of Persia and many other countries. On a Hittite seal a bull tosses a lion. The early drawing of the lion is crude, as seen in Chapter VII.

The *Leopard* occasionally appears on the more archaic cylinders, very rarely on those of a later period. He is one of the animals engaged in conflict by Gilgamesh and Eabani and is easily recognized by his lack of a mane and his spots. Examples of the leopard on archaic cylinders are to be seen in figs. 179, 195, 196. For later examples see figs. 702, 751.

The *Oryx* (*Oryx leucoryx*) is one of the largest of the ruminants, next after the Bovidæ. It is a powerful animal, about the size of the elk, and is remarkable for its long tail. Its horns are very long and reach over the shoulders and the back. It inhabits hills and forests. It rarely is seen in the older cylinders and is one of the animals with which Gilgamesh and Eabani fight. Examples appear in figs. 58, 66, 67, 68. The oryx may be the Sumerian *alim*, which is also a Sumerian name for Bel, and is translated *kaptu*, *great*, *honorable*. The Semitic for *alim*, oryx, is *ditanu*, which seems to be the powerful animal of Bel (Pinches).

The *Mountain Sheep* (*Ovis tragelaphus*) seems to be occasionally represented on the cylinders. It will be recognized by its divergent, curved, spreading horns. See figs. 60, 170, 174, 380, 1069.

The *Ibex* or *Ture* (*Capra caucasica*) may be confounded, from the shape of its horns, with the mountain sheep; but it has a beard (see figs. 56, 1075), which neither the sheep nor the oryx has. The Babylonian word for the ibex is *shapuru*, goat of the mountains. There is another wild goat of the mountains known as the *Capra agagrus*, which has very long horns reaching over its back. Examples seem to be figs. 57, 63, 66, 94, 484, 490, 1067. The ibex was also perhaps *ayalum* in Babylonian, Hebrew *ayal*. The Sumerian is *si-mul*, which means *star-horn* or *bright-horn*. Delitzsch makes it the stag, but the stag's horns are not shiny. The Assyrian *turakhu* is translated *steinbock* by Delitzsch. It is one of the names of Ea (W. A. I., iv, plate 25, 1.40) and forms part of four other names of Ea (*ib*, II, plate 55). *Na-a-lu* is translated *hind* by Delitzsch, and *armu* is made the *chamois*.

The *Domestic Sheep* was domesticated from the very earliest period and is occasionally figured, but not so frequently as the goat. It does not seem to be the present fat-tailed sheep of the region, which has probably been modified under domestication. For examples see figs. 392-396. The domestic sheep and goat are admirably shown on bas-reliefs from Nippur. See figs. 54, 1251, also 1257.

The *Domestic Goat* is frequently seen on the cylinders and in bas-reliefs. It is extremely common to see a goat brought in the worshiper's arms for sacrifice. That it is usually a goat and not an antelope, we may gather from cases like fig. 289, where the beard is distinctly drawn. The sheep and goats are seen driven out of a fold, or inclosure, at the earliest period of Chaldean art. The Babylonian words for goat are *attudu* (Hebrew *attud*) and *enzu* (Hebrew *'ez*). The goat as figured on monuments about six thousand years old does not differ essentially from that now so familiar. It is being milked in figs. 391, 396. See figs. 54, 392-396, 1251.

The *Stag*: It is not usual to find Gilgamesh fighting the stag, but occasionally he so appears in the more archaic monuments, as in figs. 149, 151. On the silver vase of Entemena (fig. 56) it appears with the ibex. In the later hunting scenes it is likely to appear, as in figs. 1081, 1084; sometimes distinctly the spotted fallow deer, as in figs. 1066, 1089, 1090. We also find the stag on the thick marble cylinders, as in fig. 498. The head of the stag is on an altar, or table, before the god in fig. 733.

The *Gazelle* must have been a very familiar animal to the inhabitants of the Euphrates valley from the earliest times, and even now is often made a pet. It is not unfamiliar on the cylinders, as is seen in figs. 703, 766. In fig. 277 it seems to be offered in sacrifice in place of the usual goat.

The *Antelope* was, like the gazelle, a well-known animal and often appears on the cylinders, although it is not always easy to distinguish it from the wild or the domesticated goat. We seem to have the antelope in such cases as figs. 55, 94, 118, 1008. In fig. 55 it seems to be domesticated and used for plowing. According to M. E. Naville the primitive Egyptians had domesticated the deer and the ostrich before the time of Menes (Report of lecture in Athenæum, 1906, p. 208).

The *Ass* was familiar from the earliest times, as both wild and domesticated; and yet I recall but a single case in which it is figured in the older art of the cylinders. That is shown in a very archaic cylinder (fig. 108) in which an ass draws a two-wheeled chariot. It is probably the ass which in fig. 1096 draws a four-wheeled chariot. Boscawen says ("The First of Empires," p. 124) that the chariot of Eannadu (about 4000 B. C.) was "drawn by asses," but Heuzey says the animals drawing the chariot are missing, and they are not figured in either Heuzey's "Catalogue" or his "Découvertes."

The *Horse* in Sumerian was called "the ass of the mountains." It was, then, a later animal to come to the knowledge of the Babylonians and was not domesticated as first known. It is figured on a so-called boundary stone of Nebuchadnezzar I., about 1140 B. C. (fig. 1287), but must have been known to them in domestication much earlier. Indeed, it was introduced into Egypt at the time of the Hyksos about 1700 B. C. It is, perhaps, not found at all on the cylinders coming from Babylonia before the Persian period, but we find it at a much earlier period on the Syrian and other cylinders of northern regions. A Syrian goddess

is drawn by horses in a chariot, as seen in Chapter LIII. In hunting scenes the hunter often either rides on a horse (figs. 1075-1079, 1081, 1082) or is in a chariot (see figs. 1083, 1084, 1088, 1104), and the same is true of the soldier in war (see figs. 1057-1060). But that wagons or chariots were known at an extremely early period, even the most archaic, is clear from the war chariot of Eannadu (Heuzey, "Catalogue des Ant. Chald." p. 105, D 1; "Découvertes," plate 3 bis, and 4 ter), but unfortunately the animals drawing it are missing. They may be, as Boscawen says, asses, or more likely bulls, just as in fig. 137*b* one is riding on the back of a bull. Those archaic cylinders in which we see a god in a chariot drawn by a dragon (figs. 127, 128) are also evidence of the very early employment of some kind of animal to draw wheeled vehicles. The only archaic cylinder known in which the chariot is drawn by an animal and not a mythical figure (fig. 119) is very much worn, so that it is not clear what the animal is. I supposed it to be a horse (Am. Journal of Arch., 1898, pp. 159-162), but on further study I am inclined to think it is a bull. The horse is mentioned in the Gilgamesh epic (tablet 6, 1, 53), and the reading is clear, the common ideograph for *sisu*, ass of the mountain, being used. The word also appears in 1, 20, but (as Jastrow writes me on this subject) the passage is doubtful. "If Jensen's restoration *sisuka*, thy horse, is correct, we would have a proof of the horse tamed for drawing a chariot. As the passage stands it remains doubtful whether in the Gilgamesh Epic the wild or the tamed horse is meant. At all events the juxtaposition with *lion* (*nesu*, 1, 51) indicates that it is used as a symbol of strength." Jastrow further mentions that the horse first appears in Kallima-Sin's letter to King Amenophis, No. 1 of the Berlin Collection of Amarna archives, about 1400 B. C., in which he gives greeting to the King's "house, wives, land, chariots, and horses." From the time of Tiglath Pileser I. (1100 B. C.) horses are often mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. Most important of all to show the earliest use of an animal for draft purposes is the fragment from Nippur, of the extremest antiquity (fig. 55), given in Hilprecht's Babylonian Expedition, 1, plate 16. This seems to antedate the use of even the ass as well as the ox and the horse, and shows us a man plowing with a horned animal, not a goat or sheep, which may be a gazelle or antelope. It would be interesting to know at what period the horse was adopted in the Babylonian constellation.

The *Bear* is seen, as I remember, on but one late cylinder (fig. 1077). The animal stands on its hind legs, in the attitude familiar in modern art.

The *Camel*: This quadruped occurs but once, I think, on a cylinder (fig. 1080) where an Arab is hunting a lion.

The *Wild Boar* must have been very common, as it still is, in the valleys and swamps, but it is very rarely figured. It appears on one very early cylinder (fig. 102), where it is feeding in a swamp among the reeds. We have a much later cylinder (fig. 1030) all covered with small swine; and there are scenes in which a hunter attacks a boar with a spear (figs. 1063, 1064, 1082, 1097*a*).

The *Dog* appears very early, and then perhaps as the guardian of the flock. We see him in the seals which show us Etana and the eagle, looking up to heaven as if to watch his vanishing master (Chapter XXII). He is on the later Babylonian cylinders, as in figs. 549, 551. He is frequently figured on hunting scenes (figs. 630, 1064, 1075, 1094) of the Persian period or earlier. The dog was the emblem of Gula-Bau, as shown by the kudurrus (figs. 1285-7, 1289, 1290, 1292).

The *Monkey*: We seem occasionally to have what is definitely the monkey, as in figs. 733, 914, but usually what may look like a short-tailed monkey rampant is more likely a goat. It is a plain monkey in fig. 926.

The *Fox* is shown on a single cylinder (fig. 1033).

The *Rabbit*: A long-eared rabbit or hare is very often to be found on the Syro-Hittite cylinders, rarely elsewhere. It is figured as held in the hand, as for food, or by itself. The head sometimes is given alone. It is also abundant in Egyptian art and is a fundamental hieroglyph. See figs. 401, 839, 902, 904, 917.

The *Porcupine* occasionally appears on cylinders of the middle Babylonian period, as if to fill up a space near the top of the scene, as in fig. 425.

The *Tortoise* also appears on cylinders of the middle Babylonian period, and in the same position as in fig. 453.

The *Frog*: The same is true of the frog, except that we also have cases in which, at a later period, frogs fill the whole space of the cylinder surface, as in fig. 1028. See also fig. 528.

The *Crocodile* or *Lizard*: We seem to have a lizard in fig. 151. It is some such creature which is speared in the curious archaic cylinder, fig. 900, which belongs to a very early Asianic art.

The *Serpent* plays a considerable part in Babylonian art. Two serpents, twined about a pole, occupy the central portion of the design on the extraordinary vase of Gudea shown in fig. 368c, on each side of which is a fantastic dragon holding the standard discussed under No. 22 of Chapter LXVIII. This was dedicated to the god Ningishzida. With this compare quite as old a cylinder in fig. 95. On the cylinders of the early and middle Babylonian period, especially the latter, the serpent does not usually seem to be an important element, but it is simply the upright serpent, which seems to have been added to fill a space. An example is the seal seen in fig. 388, which shows us a god and a goddess sitting each side of a tree, but which has been supposed to represent the temptation of Adam and Eve. A serpent seems to protect a tree in fig. 710. See also figs. 139a, 428. The serpent does not seem to have been usually an evil spirit; but we find later, in the Assyrian period, the serpent taking the place of Tiamat in the fight with Marduk. Two such cases have been given, in the chapter on "Bel and the Dragon." In one of these (fig. 579) the serpent is simply armed with horns; while in the other (fig. 578) it is also provided with short hands. In the Hittite cylinder art we have a case which reminds us of the serpent vase of Gudea, for we see (fig. 796) the serpent twined about a pole, precisely as in the biblical story of the brazen serpent, *nehushtan*, gazed at by the Hebrews when bitten by the fiery serpents, and afterwards destroyed by Hezekiah for its idolatrous character. Compare fig. 905. In fig. 823 a Hittite worshiper grasps two serpents. In Egyptian art the serpent was related to the king, and so in Hittite art the king carries a serpent in his hand. See figs. 777, 778, 794, 855, 856; cf. 811, 823, 913. In the later Assyrian, Gilgamesh strangles serpents, thus preparing the way for the myth of Hercules. It appears to be Adad-Teshub who does the same in fig. 913. But this contest is even of the archaic period as seen in fig. 120; and Horus equally strangles serpents (fig. 640). In fig. 72 the eagle of Lagash similarly strangles the serpents. It is also to be noticed that in the magnificent Assyrian bas-relief of Bel and the Dragon (fig. 564) the dragon's phallus is a serpent. Doubtless Heuzey is right in seeing serpent heads on

the composite figures each side of the serpents in the Gudea vase. The very frequent use of the serpent as a caduceus or weapon is considered in No. 30 of Chapter LXIX.

BIRDS.

The Eagle or Hawk: One chapter of this volume is devoted to "Etana and the Eagle" (Chapter XXII). There we have Etana borne by the eagle to heaven. In Chapter IV, on archaic cylinders, we see again a mythological eagle seizing with its talons two lions or other animals. This eagle is always drawn in a heraldic attitude, and there is one case given, as early as Gudea, where the eagle has two heads. But the two-headed eagle is rather characteristic of Hittite art, as seen in fig. 825. Possibly the eagle is confounded with the vulture, but the latter appears rather on the Hittite seals. In certain seals of probably the Assyrian period a god attacks three eagles (figs. 597, 598). The eagle is apt to be one of the elements that enter into the composition of various fantastic mythological creatures (such as Tiamat, Chapter VIII) and the monsters with which the god fights in the Assyrian representation of Bel and the Dragon. The composite creature brought before Shamash for judgment (Chapter XV) has the body of an eagle and the upper portion human, while the Tiamat figures make the head that of a lion. We must regard the wings and tail of the solar disk as belonging to the eagle. For the relation of the eagle, or hawk, to the Persian simurgh, see page 237 in the discussion of the Tree of Life, Chapter XXXVIII.

The Vulture: The true vulture, with the long naked neck, is hardly to be seen on the Babylonian or Assyrian cylinders, or is not distinguished from the eagle; but in the Syro-Hittite cylinders we occasionally see this purely Egyptian form, which represents the protecting goddess Nut. Probably it was introduced at the time of the Egyptian invasions of the eighteenth dynasty. Examples are in figs. 813, 835, 917.

The Ostrich comes in only at a late period as taking the place of Tiamat in the conflict with Bel. A very fine case is seen in the cylinder (fig. 42) belonging to an Armenian king. The ostrich was exceedingly well drawn, showing perfect familiarity with this bird, which must at that time have lived in the Arabian desert and perhaps elsewhere in the neighborhood of Assyria. The god sometimes attacks one ostrich and sometimes two ostriches. See figs. 587-597, 687.

The Stork: It is by no means clear what the bird is that so frequently appears with the goddess Bau-Gula (figs. 230-234). Sometimes it rather appears to be a goose, and sometimes a crane. The stork feeds in winter in great flocks in the swamps of Babylonia, and builds in the neighborhood. The importance of the goose in Egypt might suggest that this is the bird figured with the goddess, and at times elsewhere. It would appear to be a crane which we see looking up on each side of a cypress in fig. 235. Inasmuch as a bird like a bustard appears on the kudurrus (figs. 1284, 1289, 1290), we might expect it on the cylinders, but I am not sure that it appears, unless it may be the same as that which looks like a goose, etc.

The Swan: In one or two archaic Babylonian or Assyrian seals we have clearly the swan repeated to form one register of the design (fig. 93). It also appears on an altar or table, as if for sacrifice (fig. 735).

The Goose: In addition to what is said above, under "The Stork," it would seem to be the goose which we see in such a case as fig. 408.

The *Cock* appears doubtfully only on quite late cylinders, of the Persian period or not much earlier (see figs. 554, 556, 1126). This suggests the late introduction of this bird to the country. In his Introduction to Count d'Alviella's "Migration of Symbols," p. x, George Birdwood calls attention to the fact that in the fifth century the cock had reached Lycia, as shown by cocks' heads on a Lycian coin forming the three "legs" of the *triskelion*; and the cock is also on the harpy monument at Xanthus. It is somewhat earlier on the cylinders, probably; and, as it seems characteristic of the Persian period, we may connect it with the Avestan honor to the cock Parodans which calls to early prayer. See Vendidad, XVIII, 23 (51).

The *Sparrow* was doubtless abundant everywhere in Babylonia from the earliest times as now; but it does not clearly appear in the cylinder art until we meet it with the eagle and vulture in the Syro-Hittite art, evidently taken, with these two birds, from Egypt. The sparrow is distinguished from the eagle by its round head, while that of the eagle is represented as slender and flat. The sparrow was the standard of the West in Egypt, and formed the head of Horus (see fig. 943). It is very likely the sparrow that is on the plow in a kudurru (fig. 1286.) But compare figs. 1289, 1290.

The *Dove* appears as the special bird of the nude, or semi-nude, goddess on the Syro-Hittite cylinders. We have examples in figs. 902, 924, 926, 927, 938.

Occasionally a bird is seen on a tree, or standard, as in figs. 702, 712, which can not be identified with any particular bird and perhaps was not intended to be. In some cases, as in fig. 697, it may represent a mythologic Persian bird, simurgh.

The *Locust*: Once or twice the locust is distinctly shown, as in figs. 770, 1091. On Assyrian bas-reliefs we sometimes see locusts strung on a stick, as if for food.

The *Fly*: Once in a while a vacant place is filled with a fly, or bee, as in figs. 425, 475, 480, 523. We need not forget that there was a Syrian god Baal-zebul, Baal of the Fly.

The *Scorpion* is one of the most frequently figured objects on the cylinders. The scorpion was a rather abundant insect and much feared. It therefore became the emblem of the god. For examples see figs. 178, 194, 1021. It appears on the cylinders from a very early period. It was the emblem of Iskhara.

Fishes: Little need be said of fishes. No particular species is indicated. In the earlier cylinders we see the fish figured to indicate that the stream flowing from a vase in the god's lap (Chapter XIV) was really water. It often appears to be used in later seals simply to fill a space otherwise vacant.

The *Crab* is seen in fig. 199.

TREES AND PLANTS.

There is by no means the care in the delineation of trees and plants that we find in that of animals, and only a very few are distinguishable. Thus, the vine which we find on Assyrian bas-reliefs is not, I think, to be found on any cylinders. Among those that we meet are the following:

The *Cypress*: It is not possible to say certainly that it is the cypress that is found especially on the older cylinders, and it may be considered a pine or a cedar. It has a conventional form and is at times figured as growing on a mountain. We may fairly take it to be a tree of the hills, and so of either Elam or Arabia, much

more probably the former, especially as it occurs with figures of the sun rising in the east and in connection with mountains. For examples see figs. 46, 177, 200. (See also Chapter LXXI.) The shape of the cone is not fully given to the fruit, which, indeed, the dimensions of the cylinder would hardly allow. In the later art the cypress quite disappears.

The Date-palm is generally quite conventionally represented, so as sometimes to be hardly recognized except from its fruit. The branches are usually placed one above another, as if growing successively out of the prolonged trunk, instead of forming their annual growth in a clump from the apex of the stem. But the fruit leaves no manner of doubt. This is drawn in two masses of indistinguishable dates hanging one on each side of the trunk, below the leaves. An example, not of the earliest period, is to be seen in the famous "Temptation Cylinder" (fig. 388); and a better one on the cylinder in The Hague (fig. 389), which must always be compared with it. Probably many rude representations of trees, but without fruit, must be referred to palms. In a certain number of cases, and apparently the older ones, the Tree of Life is evidently a palm (figs. 665, 680), but it soon lost the likeness of any sort of tree that ever grew out of the ground. In the chapter on "The Tree of Life," it is shown that the theory which supposes the flowers of the date-palm to be fertilized by the attendant figures holding up what looks like a cone, is an error. The date is supposed to have originated in Africa, but it must have reached Babylonia at an early period, quite as early as Sargon, although it is not found on the cylinders of the archaic period. See figs. 1104, 1120.

The Fig: It was not till a very late period, perhaps five or six hundred years before our era, that a tree appears which may be regarded as the fig. For examples see figures 1066, 1089. In connection with the fig tree, we find sometimes a peculiar aster-like flower.

The Reed of the swamps appears occasionally in a fairly early period, but not the very earliest. The reed belongs to the swamps and would hardly appear in the earlier art of mountainous Elam. We see it in a fine cylinder in the Louvre, which represents two oxen in a swamp. Here we see how the lower thick leaves are distinguished from the tall flowering spikes (fig. 370). See also fig. 181. We may conclude that where we find figured a single strict spike it represents a reed.

Wheat or Barley: It would be impossible to distinguish these grains in the art of the cylinders. They are seen in the worship of deities, as in the figures in Chapter XIX, on the "Agricultural Gods." There the god is adorned with heads of grain, as also the worshipers.

The Millet, sometimes called Egyptian wheat or *doura*, is to be seen occasionally on older seals. It has a heavier head of grain and at present is considered a coarser food. It is to be seen in fig. 381.

The Lotus does not properly belong to Babylonian or Assyrian glyptic art; but being so familiar in Egyptian art it could hardly escape being introduced into the Syrian region with other Egyptian elements, and extending farther east. It appears, however, only as held in the hand of a god; and even so it is not so distinctly drawn as to be easily or even surely identified. When we see, as in fig. 904, a god holding in his or her hand a bent rod, with the upper end enlarged and held to the nose, we may probably take it to indicate the lotus. The papyrus does not certainly appear.

The *Daisy*: A star-like flower accompanies the fig-tree on a number of seals of the Persian period. It is probably impossible to designate the species, but it appears to be a composite flower, much resembling a daisy or aster of some sort (see figs. 1066, 1069, 1072).

Silphium: Perhaps we should add the silphium, so much valued in ancient commerce. At any rate a peculiar and apparently conventionalized plant is occasionally seen which may perhaps represent the silphium (see figs. 612, 682). For a drawing of silphium see Ridgeway's "Early Age of Greece," I, p. 223.

The *Ivy*: A single late cylinder with an ivy leaf is shown in fig. 1216. The ivy gave the cylinder the look of early Greek workmanship.

The *Thistle*: A flower like a thistle is shown in fig. 913.

CHAPTER LXXI.

ORIGIN OF THE BABYLONIAN CIVILIZATION, FROM ARCHÆOLOGY.

For many years there was an inclination among scholars to regard Egypt as the home of the oldest civilization. Such was the Greek and Roman idea, and it was accepted among modern scholars whose first explorations in the field of primitive culture and history were made in Egypt. About 1890 a number of adventurous scholars in the field of Babylonian antiquity began to suggest that certain common characters in the mythology of the two peoples, and certain common points in their culture, pointed to a common origin at a very early period, and even that the Babylonian culture was the source of that of the earliest Egyptian dynasty. This conclusion, at first stoutly resisted, has now come to be very widely held among Egyptologists, especially as the remains of the autochthonous population of Egypt begin to be known and distinguished from that culture which was superposed by the first Egyptian dynasty, which we now find to be historical.

But the question must now be carried a step further. What is the source of the Babylonian culture? Is it truly autochthonous? Such has been the usual supposition, based on the supposed earliest traditions of Genesis and other sources, and we knew nothing back of it. Further, it has seemed plausible that a civilization was most likely to begin in a river-bottom, where agriculture would be first developed, and where cereal grains could be best cultivated, and population become dense, and a division of labor would result, with the consequent division of property. To be sure there are many such river-bottoms of various extent, but the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, like that of the Nile, is one of the largest in the Old World and supplies ideal conditions for such a development; and, besides, it has the advantage of old tradition.

At an extremely early period in Babylonian history two races, with two different languages, occupied the land, the Sumerians and the Semites. The Semites are supposed to be of a later invasion and to have come from Arabia. The Sumerians were of a Mongol or Turanian stock, and would seem to have extended far to the east of Babylonia. The question before us is whether they developed their civilization in Babylonia, or whether they brought it with them.

In favor of their being the original autochthonous stock is the fact that we know of no antecedent population. There may, very likely, have been an original inferior negrito population, who lived by hunting, but the only evidence we have of it is in an occasionally discovered stone arrow-head. The Sumerians were acquainted with bronze as well as gold and silver, but with them the use of stone implements survived, and they may have used stone arrow-heads. The dense bottom-lands of the Tigris and Euphrates were hardly adapted for the residence of hunters, where there were no trees or rocks or caves for refuge and residence. Such a region belongs to an agricultural people. As to the native origin of Babylonian culture we are confined mainly to the evidence of Babylonian art, and that the oldest. We must go back to the most archaic period, and see what were the ideas of the

people and whether they developed their mythology in a land of rivers and swamps and fertile bottoms, or in another kind of surroundings. Our sources of information must go back of Hammurabi, who is comparatively late, back of Gudea, back even of the Elder Sargon, and must reach back at least as far as Eannadu and Lugal-zaggisi, to an unrecorded antiquity.

And yet there are certain clues from the written monuments that are not to be entirely overlooked and which point to an extreme or equal antiquity for Elam as compared with Babylonia. The physical conditions of Elam were quite different from those of Babylonia. There the river-bottom reached to the forest foot-hills of high mountains, with their entirely different plant and animal life. As early in the second chiliad B. C. the Kassites from Elam overran Babylonia, so these hardy men did the same thing at the earliest historical period. The first inscriptions of Babylonian rulers record wars with Elam, implying a conflict with races whose rivers flowed down from not very distant hills and forests. Further, the oldest legends are related to Elam. Gilgamesh himself, conqueror of Erech, appears to have come from Elam; and as ruler of Erech he fought with Khumbaba, the Elamite king, whose palace was in a garden of cedars, trees that do not grow in Babylonia. Equally Etana, in his search for the plant of birth, went to the mountains, doubtless of Elam. For aught that historical research shows, Elam may have had a civilization as old as that of Babylonia, or older. It is the purpose of this chapter to show that there are indications that Babylonian art and religion had their origin in Elam.

The ordinary representation of the Sun-god, Shamash, in the period of the Middle Empire, say from 2800 B. C. downward, was that of a standing figure, in a long garment, with one leg thrown forward and bare, and the foot resting on a low stool (see fig. 262). That stool was the conventional suggestion of a mountain. In the earliest period in which we find this god represented, going back to an archaic period, we find the Sun-god, holding a flint-studded weapon, standing sometimes with one foot stepping on a mountain, sometimes between two mountains and lifting himself up by his hands resting on them both. He comes out from the gates of the East and rises out of the mountains (see Chapter XIII).

Now there are no mountains in Babylonia. The eastern mountains are not visible from the valley of the Tigris. One has to go east into Elam, to the region of the city of Susa, to find mountains in the landscape. To be sure there were travel and trade, no doubt, and visitors to and from Babylonia might tell of high mountains, but in Babylonia itself it would not be likely for a conception of the Sun-god to be developed which would connect him with mountains. Indeed, there is another frequent figure of the Sun-god seated (Chapters XIV, XV), and yet another of the god in a boat (figs. 110a, 293), which might very well have arisen in Babylonia.

But Shamash was not the only Sun-god, although the one most worshiped. There were Sun-gods of various seasons of the day and year. Another figure of a Sun-god, perhaps Nergal, represents him as fighting an enemy and pushing him against mountains (Chapter IX). This also is a very early and archaic design, and in the later art, as the god was conventionalized, the mountains were quite lost. They had been forgotten. Here the thought seems to be that the Sun-god rising towards noon attacks the cloud-spirits hovering over the mountains and drives away the mists; or it may be that he drives away the storm-demons of winter, as he passes the

vernal equinox. Here are not only mountains, but there appears to be the conception of the nature of the clouds that hover over them, and which are driven away by the sun. This is a conception that could not have originated in Babylonia.

Further evidence comes to us from the plant life and animal life represented in the earliest art. Babylonia was a land of swamp and lowlands, not of forests. It had thickets, but no tall trees except the palm, as far as we know. The thickets were overgrown with willows, tamarisks, and other low shrubs, but no high trees except the cultivated date-palm. The swamps were thick with reeds, but still no trees. On the somewhat higher alluvial levels, not covered with water and reeds, the sun beat down in the long summers, and only those plants could grow that might resist the drought, the licorice and leafless vegetation, just as cactuses grow on our western deserts. It required irrigation to make this soil fertile. The reeds that were most characteristic, before the date-palm was introduced, probably from Africa, are often represented on the bas-reliefs, which show later royal conquests and are also seen on the cylinders, as in figs. 102, 159, 162, 181.

But we also find, in the earlier cylinders, a high tree that appears to be a cypress or cedar—such a tree as we are told the early kings brought from distant mountains for the construction of their temples. Such we see in figs. 46, 50, 200, 217, 296, 317. With such trees, which grow on mountains, and are in figs. 46, 177, 200 set on a mountain, their gods were connected. Such trees could not have been found in the valley system of the two great rivers. To be sure we know that as early as the time of Gudea timber of such trees was brought by commerce by great rulers, and so the trees were known, but their design would naturally have been produced originally in a land where they grew and were familiar; and further, the cylinders on which these cypresses are drawn are of an older period than Gudea.

But we could not expect much evidence from plant life. That from animal life is more abundant and would seem to be almost, if not quite, conclusive.

The animals of the mountains and forest are generally different from those of the swamp and the river-bottom. Chief among the animals of the river-bottom and neighboring thickets are the lion and the water-buffalo. The lion extends into the lower forests, but hardly on the higher mountains. The water-buffalo, *Bos bubalus*, is found only in regions where he can wallow in the water. He is an immense black, almost hairless animal, with marked and notable horns, that lie back over his shoulders. In art he is perfectly distinct and is often represented on the cylinders of an early period, as he is the beast attacked by Gilgamesh while Eabani attacks a lion. This water-buffalo is shown in figs. 26, 161, 163, 167, and the cylinders on which he appears are older than Gudea, and go back to the time of Sargon I., whose age is variously estimated from 3000 to 3800 B. C.

The bull of the mountains and forests is a very different animal. It is the *Bison bonasus*, a near relative to the American bison. It is also a very powerful animal with thick red hair and short round horns, not spreading and bent back, but rising moon-like from the head. It is still found wild in the Caucasus, but is a different animal from the true aurochs, now extinct, which may also have been native to this region. It is impossible to confuse this bull bison of the forests with the water-buffalo of the swamps, although it might be confounded with the longer-horned aurochs. Now this highland bison is the only bull, with the possible exception of the aurochs, which appears occasionally in later cylinders, depicted on the

most archaic Babylonian cylinders, which antedate the time of Sargon. The water-buffalo is never found. Illustrations are to be seen in figs. 114, 116, 119, 120, 141*d*, 143, 144, 152, 154, 155, 168, 169, 171, 179, 182, 188, 189, 196, 197, 201. It would then seem that to those who first produced this art the bison was more familiar than the buffalo. That is, this art had its origin, apparently, in the hill region of Elam, and not in the valley system of the Euphrates and Tigris, and equally not in the dry and barren and treeless regions of Arabia.

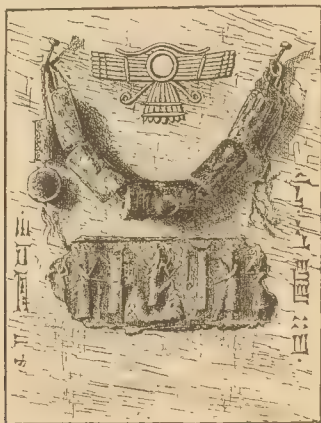
Another very important point is that the composite man-bull Eabani, the friend of Gilgamesh, has the body of a bison and not of a buffalo, as shown sometimes by the hair and especially by the horns, which are short and round and are not those of the water-buffalo. Illustrations are seen in figs. 125, 142, 144, 150, 176-187. These horns rise from the top of the human head of Eabani. Equally the human-headed bull—more bull-like than Eabani, not having, like Eabani, human arms, with which Gilgamesh also fights—always has these same short bison horns, as shown in figs. 110*a*, 144, 147, 148, 188-197. This fact as to these two mythological beings is even more important than the representations of the bull itself, for here the shape of the horns persists even to the latest period of the representation of Eabani and the human-headed bull, although the bison, when attacked by Gilgamesh, has given place to the buffalo. Now it is to be considered that these composite beings (Eabani, mostly human, and the human-headed bull, mostly bull) are of the very greatest antiquity. These forms must have been created in the land where the bison was the familiar animal, and therefore in the mountain region and not in the river-bottoms; and this carries with it the origin of the Babylonian civilization and mythology.

The bison is not the only animal characteristic equally of the very earliest art and of the mountain region of Elam or Persia. Over and over again the lion, or Gilgamesh, or Eabani, is represented as attacking the ibex or the oryx, with hill and forest animals, and occasionally the deer with branching horns. None of these animals, except the lion, was to be found in Babylonia, but in Elam. Figures of these animals occur repeatedly on the most archaic cylinders and show the evident source of the art. Examples are shown in figs. 56-59, 62-69, 80-82, 89, 94, and in Chapters VII and X *passim*. In fig. 151 we thus see lions attacking a bison and a deer with branching horns.

We have then a combination of evidence from different directions, but all converging to the same conclusion, that the origin of the art and mythology of Babylonia was not in Babylonia, but in Elam. This evidence includes the mountains themselves, the trees upon them, and the animals that wandered in the forests, and we must further consider that the very materials of which the cylinders are made point to the same conclusion. Only the shell is found on the coasts of both Chaldea and Elam; the serpentine, black and green, the marble, the aragonite, the jasper, the lapis-lazuli, all must have been found in a region of hills, such as that where we know the lapis-lazuli was obtained. In such a country the art would seem to have arisen, where its material was at hand. Elam is more probable than Arabia; the ostrich and camel never appear in the older art.

Nor is this conclusion at all contradicted, so far as I can see, by the written monuments. If the earliest civilized race was the Sumerian it may well have come from Elam, where there was in later times a Turanian population. Further the

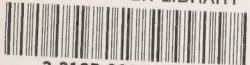
very early inscriptions tell of constant wars with Elam, which seems to have been equally a strong and populous country which in its turn conquered Babylonia. We know that as early as the time of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon I., and even earlier, there were such campaigns. One of the most spirited of the very early bas-reliefs gives the conquest of Naram-Sin over Elam; and de Morgan believes that he found in Elam the oldest of all the existing rock sculptures and inscribed tablets. So far, then, as the written texts may guide us, the civilization of Elam may be as old as that of Babylonia; and the evidence here presented shows that it may well have been the source from which it was conveyed by conquest to Babylonia. Indeed, according to the genealogical lists of Genesis 10 Elam was the eldest son of Shem, and Asshur came next after him.



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